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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

Volume LXVI JULY 1960 *Number 1*

INDUSTRIAL MAN: THE RELATION OF STATUS TO EXPERIENCE, PERCEPTION, AND VALUE*

ALEX INKELES

ABSTRACT

Perceptions, attitudes, and values relating to a wide range of situations are shown to be systematically ordered in modern societies. The average proportion of persons holding a particular view may be distinctive of a given country, but within all modern societies the order or structure of response is the same, following the typical status ladders of occupation, income, and education. The findings support the theory that the standard institutional environments of modern society induce standard patterns of response, despite the countervailing randomizing effects of persisting traditional patterns of culture.

Ever larger segments of the world's population are living and will come to live in what is now commonly called "industrial society." The standard complex of institutions—most notably the factory—associated with this system daily becomes more widely diffused into a variety of traditional and even "primitive" cultural contexts. These institutions rather rigorously prescribe a set of norms, with regard to such matters as dress, time, order, and authority, which must be conformed to, at least during the time that individuals are engaged in their industrial and related occupations. This aspect of the diffusion of the industrial order is easily recognized.

It is less evident that the distinctive roles of the industrial system also foster typical patterns of perception, opinions, beliefs, and values which are not institutionally prescribed but arise spontaneously as new subcultures in response to the institutional conditions provided by the typically differentiated role-structure of modern industrial society. This paper reports an exploratory comparative study of the influence of these standard environments on attitudes, which yielded considerable evidence that the process is effective and pervasive.

In this investigation I take the institutional pattern or setting as given and the responses to it, particularly those not explicitly required by the institutional forms, as the dependent variable. The individual and groups of individuals, not institutions, are the central concern, and we study variation not in formal institutional arrangements but in individual and collective social perception and action. Only one institutional complex is considered here, namely.

* This is a revised and somewhat abridged version of a report prepared for the Conference on Political Modernization which met in June, 1959, under the auspices of the Committee on Comparative Politics of the Social Science Research Council. I am particularly indebted to the Committee's chairman, Professor Gabriel Almond, for support and encouragement. The data were assembled with the aid of a grant from the Ford Foundation, supplemented by the Russian Research Center at Harvard. Dr. Elmo C. Wilson generously made available special tabulations from studies undertaken by International Research Associates, Inc. Jay Greenfield rendered creative research assistance.

that which characterizes the modern large-scale, bureaucratic industrial system. What is not given, namely the response to it, will be sought in a number of different realms but in each case will be measured through reported experiences and expressed attitudes and values.

The underlying theory is very simple. It is assumed that people have experiences, develop attitudes, and form values in response to the forces or pressures which their environment creates. By "environment" we mean, particularly, networks of interpersonal relations and the patterns of reward and punishment one normally experiences in them. They include not only access to facilities and items of consumption, necessary and conspicuous, but also such intangibles as prestige, the comforts of security, respectful treatment, calculability in the actions of significant others, and so on. The theory holds that, within broad limits, the same situational pressures, the same framework for living, will be experienced as similar and will generate the same or similar response by people from different countries. This is, of course, not a denial of individual variation, of personality as a determinant of perception, cognition, or affect. Neither is it meant to deny the effect of traditional cultural ways on behavior. These will mute the independent effect of the industrial institutional environment, but it is assumed that they cannot eliminate it. Rather, its force is sufficiently great to assert itself clearly despite the countervailing influence of personal idiosyncracy and traditional cultural ways of thinking and feeling. Insofar as industrialization, urbanization, and the development of large-scale bureaucratic structures and their usual accompaniments create a standard environment with standard institutional pressures for particular groups, to that degree should they produce relatively standard patterns of experience, attitude, and value—standard, not uniform, pressures. The situation of worker and manager may be relatively standard in the factory, wherever it is located, but relative to each other these positions are by no means uniform.

The test of the assumption is very simple. It is made by comparing the perceptions, attitudes, and values of those in comparable positions in the typical hierarchies of modern society, in particular the occupational, educational, and socioeconomic. If the "foreign" (read: "industrial"), externally introduced institutional environment plays no role, there should be no pattern or similarity in the response of incumbents of a given type of position from country to country. If there is such a pattern—if, for example, workers are everywhere less "happy" or "optimistic," or more insistent on obedience in children, than are engineers—this can come only from the similarity of their situation in the hierarchical setting of occupation, income, or education, since on the basis of their nationality or culture alone they should obviously differ.

To discern this influence of the industrial environment is, of course, not the same as determining either its extent or its intensity. The pressure generated by the institutional setting of industrialism may affect only a narrow range of experience and attitude—possibly only that relating to work experience. It may exert only a moderate influence, producing only a small part of the variance, the main part being accounted for by other factors, such as traditional cultural orientations. These are important problems for further elucidation. For now, we restrict ourselves to a statement of the main proposition—*that men's environment, as expressed in the institutional patterns they adopt or have introduced to them, shapes their experience, and through this their perceptions, attitudes and values, in standardized ways which are manifest from country to country, despite the countervailing randomizing influence of traditional cultural patterns.* I trust it will be understood without great elaboration that this proposition is stated so unequivocally only to facilitate clear exposition. The hypothesis is tentative, a guide to the exploration which this paper reports and not a dictum or an empirically

established fact. We are equally interested in proof and disproof and must expect to find both supporting, negating, and ambiguous evidence.

I can hardly claim novelty for the proposition. The idea that the institutions in which men live shape their character and their views is old indeed. So is the more refined notion that a man's distinctive standing and role within the social structure will influence not only his perspective on the world but his wishes, beliefs, and values as well. Probably very few will argue that any people can indefinitely, or even for very long, utilize the material and institutional forms of industrial society without also absorbing some of its culture. At the same time, very few will argue that the industrial system is indeed so standardized or its influence so compelling as to permit no variation in the culture of those who share it. The obvious task of serious investigation, therefore, is to determine with some degree of precision where and how far the institutions of industrial society impose or foster the development of new subcultures wherever they are introduced and in what realms of life and to what degree traditional patterns maintain a relative independence of or immunity to the influence of the industrial institutional system.

There are two main avenues open to us. The first would be to designate certain attitudes or values as indexes of the industrial "subculture" and then to test the degree of association between these indexes and the level of industrialization in various countries. This is essentially the path taken by Davis and Lipset in their comparative studies. Both used the percentage of males engaged in non-agricultural pursuits, and the per capita consumption of energy, as indexes of industrialization. For his dependent variable, Davis studied the degree of urbanization; Lipset, the extent and stability of democratic political processes.[1] If we were to follow this path, our dependent variable would be the proportion of the population in each country holding a certain belief or sharing a particular value presumed to be fostered by the industrial milieu—for example, the belief that most human problems can ultimately be solved by technological advances.

There are several reasons for not adopting this procedure. Indexes of industrialization tend to generalize to the population, as a whole, characteristics which may in fact be intensely developed in only one segment. An outstanding example would be the Soviet Union, which is highly and intensely industrialized, but in which about half the population is engaged in agriculture. In such cases a nationwide index of the industrial subculture might be low, not because the industrialized segment of the population failed to show the expected characteristic, but because so large a part of the population was not integrated into the industrial structure. Our theory applies only to those segments of the population whose life conditions are standardized through industrial or other large-scale bureaucratic organizations.

Another reason for not adopting this method is that the average level of response for a nation may so heavily reflect traditional cultural orientations, or recent events, as to mask the independent influence of the industrial environment. To control this would require matching countries sharing the same traditional culture but varying in degree of industrialization. On the face of it, many would deny the possibility of meaningfully accomplishing this, even if the pool of countries available for matching were much larger than it is.

The most compelling reason for not relying on a single national average as an index of the industrial subculture, however, lies in the nature of the theory being tested. The idea that the industrial institutional order carries with it a distinctive industrial cul-

[1] Kingsley Davis and Hilda H. Golden, "Urbanization and the Development of Pre-Industrial Areas," in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr. (eds.), *Cities and Society* (rev. ed.; Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957), pp. 120–40; Seymour M. Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," *American Political Science Review*, LIII (March, 1959), 69–105.

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ture does not necessarily mean that the culture is the same for all who live in industrial society. This commonly made assumption can be quite misleading. We should, rather, expect that, in accord with the differences among positions in the modern occupational hierarchy, the different occupational groups will have differentiated attitudes and values. What is likely to be common to industrial societies, therefore, is not a single idea or a set of commonly held ideas but a particular *structure* of experience, attitude, and value which takes its form from the occupational structure.

Our expectation, that the distinctive feature of the industrial culture is a structure of response characteristic of the occupational hierarchy as a whole, also accounts for our not adopting the simple alternative of studying just one distinctive group, such as factory workers. From country to country the proportion of factory workers giving a particular answer might be quite different, yet in each country the workers might stand in a fixed relation to the other strata. This regularity would not be evident at all if we studied only one typical occupational group in different societies. We therefore take as our unit of analysis not a national average or a score for a particular group but the structure of response in some status hierarchy representing the entire nation or, at least, its industrialized segment.

We will speak of the existence of a structure of response when the proportion in each stratum (occupation, prestige, income, or educational group) reporting certain experiences or holding particular views rises or falls more or less regularly as we ascend or descend the hierarchy. We will speak of a cross-national *pattern,* with which we are most concerned, when the structure of response is more or less the same as we move from country to country—that is, when the direction and, to some degree, the magnitude of the changes in proportion are similar in different national populations.

We assume that the industrial order fixes the situation of different groups relative to each other in a more or less invariant fashion. We also assume that occupational groups, as units, respond distinctively t[illegible] their occupational environment and th[illegible] world outside it according to their situa[illegible] tion and the characteristic pressures i[illegible] generates. Insofar as these assumptions ar[illegible] correct, we should expect to find a cross national pattern of response on many issue[illegible] directly and indirectly related to the typica[illegible] pattern of experience in the roles commo[illegible] in industrial society. The similarity in th[illegible] structure of response as we move from coun try to country may exist, even though th[illegible] average response varies widely from one na tion to another. The typical response of an[illegible] population may be strongly shaped by it[illegible] traditional culture, and that of any par ticular group in some country may be in fluenced by a unique local situation. But by focusing on the occupational hierarchy a[illegible] a whole, country by country, we at onc[illegible] control both the effect of traditional cultur[illegible] at the national level and the special cir cumstances affecting one or another occu pational group at the "local" level.

To test these assumptions, we should ideally, have data gathered for this specifi[illegible] purpose. Our samples should come from [illegible] variety of countries selected to represen[illegible] diverse cultural traditions, and the sampl[illegible] from each country should be restricted t[illegible] those holding strictly comparable position[illegible] in each respective society's industrial secto[illegible] The questionnaires would be carefull[illegible] translated to insure comparability of mean ing. But what is actually available is ver[illegible] far from meeting the optimum requirements I have had to rely on already complete[illegible] studies drawn from a file of the reports o[illegible] various national survey agencies,[2] the on[illegible] major international compilation edited b[illegible] Hadley Cantril,[3] the few, more systematic comparative studies such as those under

[2] Particularly useful were the Italian agenc[illegible] *Doxa Bolletino published in Milan* (hereinafte[illegible] cited as "*Doxa*"), the releases of the Netherland Institute of Public Opinion in Amsterdam (herein after cited as "NIPO"), and the bulletins of th[illegible] Australian Gallup Polls of Melbourne (hereinafte[illegible] cited as "AGP").

[3] Hadley W. Cantril (ed.), *Public Opinion, 1935-1946* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Pres[illegible] 1951).

taken by UNESCO[4] and International Research Associates, Inc. (INRA),[5] and sundry other scattered sources. None of these studies was designed for the purpose for which we wish to use them. The selection of countries is highly variable. The sample subgroups are frequently not equivalent from country to country, and it has been necessary to use other criteria of stratification than occupational status, which is most relevant to our theory. The questions used in different countries are often only very approximate equivalents. Under the circumstances, failure to find the expected patterns would be somewhat inconclusive as a test of our hypothesis. On the other hand, the presence of so many potentially randomizing influences in the data means that the emergence of the expected pattern, even if weakly manifested, may be taken as highly suggestive of the probable predictive power of the theory.

THE REALM OF WORK

If our theory holds at all, it should be most effective in ordering information in the realm in which it has most direct and immediate applicability, namely, within the industrial enterprise. Wherever the factory or the large-scale organization exists, there will be a clearly stratified hierarchy of authority and of technical competence. A hierarchy of income, prestige, and other rewards will also be found following the main lines of the hierarchy of authority and technical competence. There is, naturally, a great deal of variation, but the general pattern is seldom departed from in fundamentals.

[4] William Buchanan and Hadley Cantril, *How Nations See Each Other* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1953).

[5] During 1958 they undertook a substantial number of comparative surveys, released through the *New York Herald Tribune*. Additional tabulations were made available through the courtesy and cooperation of Dr. Elmo Wilson. Although the Gallup affiliates in various countries often ask the same question at more or less the same time, detailed consolidated results suitable for comparative study are generally not available. Some reconstruction is possible from the bulletins released by the individual affiliates.

Our problem, then, is this: In what ways and to what extent does this objective hierarchy, this standardization of external conditions of work and pay, shape the attitudes and feelings of the incumbents of the commonly differentiated positions? We may begin with the simplest and perhaps most obvious of examples—that relating to job satisfaction, or the sense of pleasure or gratification a man finds in his work. Since those in certain positions, such as managers and engineers, are almost always better paid, given more security, granted more respect, and perhaps also allowed more freedom and autonomy, we may reasonably expect that they will more often express satisfaction.

As Table 1 reveals, this expectation is indeed borne out. We have in hand fairly good data on job satisfaction in six countries, covering a fair range of situations. There is a definite and unmistakable structure in the responses manifested from country to country. Those standing at the top are, as a rule, more satisfied than those in the lower positions. Indeed, in every country the proportion who report job satisfaction decreases quite regularly as we descend the steps of the standard occupational hierarchy. Even the departures from the strict step pattern appear to be the same, at least in those countries where the data permit a comparison. Thus, in each of the three countries for which we have the more refined data (United States, U.S.S.R., Germany), the skilled manual workers are slightly more often found among the satisfied than are the rank-and-file white-collar workers. This presumably reflects the fact that, generally, the pay and often the prestige accorded the skilled worker exceeds that of ordinary white-collar personnel.

There are, of course, some other departures from the standard pattern which could not be so easily explained. Note, for example, that in Germany the group with the smallest proportion satisfied are the unskilled workers, whereas the farm laborers are twice as often satisfied men. The latter are disgruntled only as often as the semiskilled workers. By contrast, in the Soviet

TABLE 1

NATIONAL COMPARISONS OF JOB SATISFACTION, BY OCCUPATION

PERCENTAGE SATISFIED*

U.S.S.R.		U.S.		Germany		Italy		Sweden		Norway	
		Large business	100								
		Small business	91					Upper class	84	Upper class	93
Administrative, professional	77	Professional	82	Professional	75						
Semiprofessional	70			Upper white collar	65						
White collar	60	White collar	82	Civil servants	51			Middle class	72	Middle class	88
				Lower white collar	33						
Skilled worker	62	Skilled manual	84	Skilled worker	47	Skilled worker	68				
Semiskilled	45	Semiskilled	76	Semiskilled	21	Artisan	62	Working class	69	Working class	83
Unskilled	23	Unskilled	72	Unskilled	11	Unskilled	57				
Peasant	12			Farm labor	23	Farm labor	43				

* *U.S.S.R.*—percentage answering "Yes" to: "Did you like the job you held in 1940?" (Soviet-refugee data, Russian Research Center, Harvard University). *U.S.*—percentage answering "Yes" to: "Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your present job?" (Richard Centers, "Motivational Aspects of Occupational Stratification," *Journal of Social Psychology*, XXVII [1948], 100). *Germany*—percentage who would choose present occupation in response to: "If you were again 15 years old and could start again, would you choose your present occupation or another one?" (from German poll data, courtesy of S. M. Lipset). *Italy*—those "satisfied" or "fairly satisfied" with work (*Doxa Bolletino*). *Sweden and Norway*—percentage giving "satisfied" in response to question. "Are you satisfied with your present occupation, or do you think that something else would suit you better?" (Hadley W. Cantril [ed.], *Public Opinion, 1935–1946* [Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1951], p. 535).

group the situation is reversed. The man least often satisfied is the peasant.

Such variations, or departures from a standard, point to quite important differentiation in the relative positions of particular occupational groups in different countries. Consequently, our method, far from covering up or glossing over the differences between countries, can serve as a definite pointer for locating precisely what is distinctive in the situation of a particular group in a given country.

The data on job satisfaction illustrate well the appropriateness of the model of analysis sketched in the preceding section. Although all the countries are advanced, well-to-do representatives of the West European complex of industrial nations, the *average* level of satisfaction in each is markedly different. For example, in the United States the national average would clearly be over 80 per cent satisfied, whereas in Germany it would be closer to 40 per cent. Similarly, if only one particular occupational group, such as the semiskilled workers, were considered, one would be led to conclude that their shared status by no means produced a shared or standard effect, regardless of nationality. On the contrary, the proportion satisfied among the semiskilled ranges from 21 per cent in Germany to 76 per cent in the United States. Yet, as we have seen in Table 1, there *is* a definite, unmistakable, and obviously quite meaningful pattern in the experience of job satisfaction which is uniform from country to country. But that, to repeat, emerges only when the unit of analysis is the occupational hierarchy as a whole and when attention is on the pattern of response within it rather than on the data, country by country or group by group.

It may seem obvious that, in all the countries for which we have data, job satisfaction is structured, with those higher in the hierarchy of occupations more often satisfied. Of course, those who are not ready to take a close look at the obvious have little need for science. Certainly it is less pejorative to say the example is striking rather than obvious. In any event, it is not pre-

sented first as definitive proof of the theory but rather because it so clearly illustrates the mode of analysis to be used later in assessing reactions which are not so "obviously" derivable from the external conditions of the individual's situation at work.

A more serious criticism is that we unduly stress the regularity in the pattern across national lines while slighting the impressive differences in the absolute proportion satisfied in the several countries. Choice of emphasis is largely a consequence of one's purpose; the concern here is to discover regularity in human social behavior in response to standard stimulus conditions, something which seems rather more difficult to find than examples of diversity. This is not to say that for some purposes the location and analysis of differences is not more important. For example, if you wished to predict whether unskilled workers in Europe were more likely to vote communist, or for whatever was the legal party of the far left, it would be quite important to know that, compared to unskilled workers in the United States, they are seldom satisfied on the job. But, even here, it is only when you have the comparative data that you are alerted to take special notice of the German or Italian workers' response. Furthermore, the signal does not rest mainly on comparing German and American *workers*. The striking nature of the German response is evident only when we realize that German professionals and businessmen were satisfied about as often as were their American counterparts, whereas this is *not* true of workers. If Germans in all occupational groups characteristically reported job satisfaction less often than their opposite numbers in other countries, we would have to assume that some economic or cultural factor common to all Germans, or something peculiar or distinctive in the question put to them, accounted for the difference. Indeed, if we found such homogeneity *within* nations existing simultaneously with substantial differences among nations in the response to questions which, on theoretical grounds, we expected to show the predicted step pattern, that would constitute evidence refuting our hypothesis.

Finally, in assessing average or typical responses from country to country, we should keep in mind the possibility that these differences may be not so much a reflection of real differences in sentiments as an artifact of technique. We must take account of the marked effect produced by changes in question wording, differences in meaning introduced through translation, and variations in the conventions used for reporting answers to a question. In many of the comparisons made in this paper the questions used were only approximate equivalents. Thus, to assess job satisfaction, we might for one country have the question, "Do you like your job?"; for another, "Do you enjoy your work?"; and for a third, "Would you take the same job again if you started over?" Each may legitimately be taken as a measure of job satisfaction. Yet, if asked of a single population in one country, they would probably yield quite different proportions of "satisfied" workers. Nevertheless, the underlying structure of response would undoubtedly be similar for all three measures, with each showing the professional managerial groups most satisfied, the workers and farm laborers least so. This is not a purely hypothetical example. It can clearly be demonstrated on the basis of data available for the United States, the U.S.S.R., and other countries. Even in more systematic international polls the translation of the questions often gives them special meanings which influence the level of response in different countries. In addition, different conventions used in asking the questions and reporting the answers further influence the picture. In one case the alternatives offered may be only "I like my job" or "I don't like my job." But another study may include a third alternative, such as "I like it somewhat." These variations can obviously have a marked effect on the absolute proportion considered "satisfied" in one or another country.

If job satisfaction is a response to the "objective" factors which characterize the job as a whole, it should also respond to

variations in the individual factors which make up the job complex. One of the most obvious determinants of job satisfaction, therefore, should be the salary or wage it carries. Data for the United States and the Soviet Union suggest a very direct connection. The higher the job in the hierarchy of power and prestige, the more often will the incumbents be satisfied with their pay. This is in good part, though not exclusively, because the pay is generally greater for jobs high in the hierarchy. Yet pay alone is not sufficient to account for reported job satisfaction. If it were the step pattern shown in Table 1, it should be fairly uniform for all the countries. In fact, it is not.

In both the Soviet Union and Germany, as against the United States, there are sharp breaks or discontinuities. For example, the proportion satisfied falls off precipitously between the skilled and semiskilled. There is another sharp drop in going from semiskilled to the unskilled, and again in going from semiskilled to the peasants. An initial exploration suggests the cause is not a difference in the structure of the wage scales, which are relatively similar in these countries. It seems instead to have to do with the "absolute" meaning of the very low pay received by those at the bottom in Germany and the U.S.S.R. as against the standard of living possible to the unskilled American worker even when he *is* at the bottom. In addition, differences in the absolute levels of prestige and self-respect which those at the bottom can command also seem to play a role.

Values about jobs.—It may be obvious that position in the occupational hierarchy, because it determines income and psychic reward, should influence the sense of job satisfaction. But what about *values?* Should the things people want from jobs also be so determined? We might reasonably make any one of three assumptions. Since values are presumably what is "shared" in any culture, we might expect that in each country everyone would want pretty much the same qualities in a job, with more or less the same intensity. On the other hand, if we assume that what people want is determined by what their life situation induces them to desire, we will expect systematic variation in the values reflected in job evaluations made by those at different levels of the occupational hierarchy. A third possibility would be that what men will want in a job will be determined by the kinds of men they are, that is, by their personality or training.

These three theories are not necessarily totally independent of each other, and only a full-scale analysis with data of good quality could settle the issue by revealing the relative weight of the factors and their interrelations. The scattered data in hand suggest that there are definitely some common values about the occupational realm shared not only within particular countries but in all modern, large-scale, more or less industrial societies, without much differentiation within the population by occupational group. Inkeles and Rossi located and analyzed the relative standing of lists of occupations in six industrial countries.[6] To an extraordinary degree the occupations were ranked in the same order. More important for us, they found very little variation in the evaluation of these occupations from one subgroup of the population to another. In other words, whether a worker or a professor does the rating, both place the doctor, lawyer, and engineer very near the top of the list, the ordinary worker about two-thirds of the way down, and the shoe-shine boy or garbage man at the bottom. This seems to be true for all countries, although there are some interesting variations which cannot be gone into here.

In the light of these findings, are we not forced to restate the theory with which we started? The evaluation of occupations

[6] A. Inkeles and P. Rossi, "National Comparisons of Occupational Prestige," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXI (1956), 329–39. These values may also be shared in countries not so highly industrialized but already incorporated into or influenced by currents of modernization (see E. Tiryakian, "The Prestige Evaluation of Occupations in an Underdeveloped Country: The Philippines," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXIII [1958], 390–99).

seems not to be influenced by differential situational pressures. At least the rater's own position in the occupational structure seems to make no fundamental difference in how he evaluates the standing or prestige of occupations. It might be objected that, after all, a man's standing in the community is a a pretty "objective" thing. Anyone can see how much respect a doctor gets from everyone else. The fact that people agree on his standing is therefore "natural." But even so this requires that we reformulate our theory to say that a rater's own position or situation can be expected to influence only his *subjective* judgments—those statements in which he reports what *he* feels, or what he wants or likes. This is, however, a very confining assumption and more conservative than is strictly necessary. For we will see that certain estimates made by people about situations which are as "objective" and "external" as the standing of an occupation *are* influenced by the position of the observer, just as the experiments of Solomon Asch have shown that interpersonal situations can have a marked effect on the reported perception of such objective physical facts as the length of a line. But it may be that situationally determined perceptions of "objective" facts are not common and partake of a special nature. For the present, then, let us make the more conservative assumption that only intrinsically "subjective" reactions will be shaped by one's position in the social structure.

The qualities a man desires in his job certainly may be regarded as personal and subjective choices. Such desires may be assumed to reflect deeper values. Do those in different positions in the occupational hierarchy then wish for different qualities in a job? The relevant question has been asked in a number of countries, but I have located appropriate cross-tabulations for only two. The results suggest that there are some patterns which hold up across national lines. But there is also substantial variation, an absence of pattern, with regard to certain classes and dimensions, which obviously reflects very important differences in the general state of affairs within the two countries and in the relative position of certain special groups within each.

We may begin with the more regular patterns (Table 2). In both the United States and the Soviet refugee sample, those who hold jobs of higher status are much more likely to be concerned about having a job which is "interesting," stimulating, challenging, permits self-expression, and so on. The proportion of professionals desiring this quality, as against the proportion of unskilled workers citing it, produces a ratio of about 3:1 in both countries.

But the role of large income is quite different in the two countries. In the United States it is a factor in the "free choice" of a *job* for only 3 to 8 per cent, and there is no step pattern. In the Soviet Union, by contrast, the responses are highly patterned. Large earnings are the primary consideration for 57 per cent of the peasants and only 8 per cent of the intelligentsia. This may be striking evidence that in the United States, at least in 1948 and perhaps beyond, pay was no longer so desperately problematical an issue for the working class as it was in many other countries. Americans seem sure that if they have work their pay will be decently adequate. Additional evidence for this conclusion lies in the fact that, when Americans cited their reasons for being dissatisfied with a job, low pay accounted for only one-fifth of the complaints and was actually cited more often by white-collar than manual workers, whereas in the Soviet sample more than two-thirds of the dissatisfied workers and peasants cited low pay as the reason for their dissatisfaction and did so much more often than ordinary white-collar workers.

Our impression—that workers are generally concerned to increase their pay, while those more highly placed care more about interesting work[7]—must be tempered by the

[7] In the Netherlands (NIPO, Ballot 118, November, 1948) the question was asked: "Could you tell me for what purpose you work?" A break by socio-economic standing revealed little patterning. "For family and children" was the chief reason given by

consideration of security. As between still more pay or still more interesting work, it seems that those higher in the scale will vote for increased interest, the worker for more pay. But what about security, or certainty, *as against* more pay linked to uncertainty? A number of questions asked in different countries bear on this issue. They all suggest that workers, more often than the middle classes, will choose certainty of income, or security, over more money with less security. In that context, security meant mainly freedom from fear of the secret police. Even so, it is striking that the intelligentsia, which experienced by far the highest rate of political arrest, nevertheless cited freedom from fear as the quality "most desired" in a job only one-half as often as did the ordinary workers.

In Australia, people were asked to choose between a straight raise or an incentive award. Among employers, 76 per cent chose

TABLE 2

QUALITY MOST DESIRED IN A WORK SITUATION, IN PERCENTAGES BY COUNTRY AND OCCUPATION

	PREFERENCES OF SAMPLE OF SOVIET REFUGEES*				
OCCUPATION	Adequate Pay	Interesting Work	Free of Fear	All Others	*N*
Intelligentsia	8	62	6	24	95
White collar	23	31	13	33	62
Skilled workers	22	27	15	36	33
Ordinary workers	48	20	13	19	56
Peasants	57	9	17	17	35

	PREFERENCES OF SAMPLE IN UNITED STATES†				
OCCUPATION	*High Pay*	Interesting Work‡	Security	Independence	Other
Large business	6	52	2	7	33
Professional	3	50	3	12	32
Small business	6	41	5	22	26
White collar	7	42	12	17	22
Skilled manual	4	36	13	22	25
Semiskilled	6	20	26	24	24
Unskilled	8	19	29	15	29
Farm tenant and laborer	12	21	20	18	29

* *Based on coding of qualitative personal interviews from the Harvard Project* on the Soviet Social System.

† Based on R. Centers, "Motivational Aspects of Occupational Stratification," *Journal of Social Psychology*, XXVIII (November, 1948), 187–218, Table 11.

‡ Includes: "A very interesting job" and "A job where you could express your feelings, ideas, talent, or skill."

Thus in the Soviet-American comparison (Table 2) it is evident that security is much more a concern for the American workers than it is for professional-administrative people. Unskilled workers cited security as the basis for choosing a job in 29 per cent of the cases as against 2 per cent among those in more favored occupations. The Soviet data are not strictly comparable, since, in

the riskier incentive award, but only about 50 per cent of the workers did so.[8] The issue of security is only indirectly raised here.

all groups, and "money" next. The relative importance of money as against family and children was actually greatest among the well-to-do. Whether this is mainly a result of the difference in the question, or is evidence that there is no pattern here which can be expected cross-nationally, cannot be said on the basis of present evidence.

[8] Reported in *Doxa*, IV, No. 23–24 (December, 1950). The size of the plant in which the worker is employed seems to play a role here. In smaller plants (fifty or fewer employees) 56 per cent chose the incentive pay, but in larger plants only 45 per cent would take the risk. Size of plant seems an important factor in shaping the workers' perception and attitudes, and we should give it more systematic treatment in future studies. S. M. Lipset and Juan Linz, in their unpublished study, "The Social Bases of Political Diversity in Western Democracies," have noted several German studies which reveal that the larger the factory, the more radical will be the workers in it.

But in a number of cases the choice between more money and less security, or the reverse, has been put more directly, although the results are unfortunately not always reported with a class break.[9] In three out of four cases where this break is available, the choice of security over earnings is more often favored by workers than by those higher in the occupational or income hierarchy. The question has been asked in the United States a number of times in slightly different form. In 1940 the choice was between "a steady job earning just enough to get by on, with no prospect for advancement," as against "a job that pays a high wage, but with a 50/50 chance of getting promoted or fired." Forty-five per cent of factory labor as against a mere 8 per cent of executives chose the low-income–high-security alternative![10] On another form of the question, 64 per cent of professionals and executives were willing to risk all their savings on a promising venture, whereas only 40 per cent of unemployed workers inclined to this course as against sticking to "a good steady job."[11]

These results are congruent with those from the Soviet Union. Here the alternatives offered were: "A job that pays fairly well and is secure, but offers little opportunity for advancement," as against: "A job that pays less well and is not secure, but offers good opportunities for advancement." In the Soviet-refugee sample, among men under 40, the proportion preferring advancement over security falls from 50 per cent in the intelligentsia to about 23 per cent among workers and peasants. The ratio of preference for security over advancement is about 4:5 in the intelligentsia, but the preference for security increases to 3:1 among workers.

The evidence seems strong that, when offered the incentive of promotion or success at the risk of security, those in high-status occupations are willing to take risks which are shunned by the manual classes, who favor security above all else. But we are brought up short by the fact that in both Britain and Australia the same occupational differentiation is not noted in response to a seemingly similar question: "Which is more important in a job—as high wages as possible or security with lower wages?" In the British sample security was chosen over high wages by at least 2:1 *in all groups*. Indeed, the preference for security was strongest among salaried clerical and professional executive groups.[12] For Australia we do not have the exact percentage but are told "all occupational groups have similar ideas" in overwhelmingly preferring security to the better-paying but presumably insecure job.[13]

The conflict between these results and those reported for the U.S. and U.S.S.R. may be less glaring than appears at first glance. It should be observed that in both the American and Soviet studies there was an added element not present in the British and Australian question, namely, the prospect of promotion or "advancement." It may be that our initial formulation was either too sweeping or too imprecise. Perhaps we should have said that, where there is a prospect of advancement, a promise of special success, then those in the occupations of higher status will more readily take risks, but, where security is balanced against high earnings alone, they will act like most others in preferring security. Formulated thus, our expectation is more congruent with relevant psychological theory treating "need achievement" as a risk-taking propensity[14] and

[9] In Denmark, NIPO, Ballot of April 11, 1943, for example.

[10] Cantril (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 530.

[11] *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XIV (Spring, 1950), 182.

[12] Cantril (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 1016.

[13] AGP, Nos. 579–89 (March–April, 1949). This issue also reports that at that time Gallup asked the same question in a number of other countries, but the results are not reported with class breaks. The proportion of the total samples choosing the steady job is so high in Canada (85 per cent), Holland (79 per cent), and Sweden (71 per cent) that we must assume that in those countries as well the steady job was the overwhelming favorite in all groups.

[14] See J. W. Atkinson, "Motivational Determinants of Risk-taking Behavior," *Psychological Review*, LXIV (1957), 359–72.

with the evidence that it is much more common among those higher in the occupational hierarchy.[15]

This formulation is also more in line with our earlier finding that in judging the qualities of a job those in the positions of higher status were not particularly preoccupied with high earnings. Fortunately, we have a partial test of the soundness of our shift in emphasis, since an American sample was also asked a question similar to the one used in Britain and Australia.[16] Under this condition, *with no mention of advancement*, the response was markedly different from that reported above. Although there was still some structured occupational differentiation, it was very slight compared to that observed when the hope of advancement was one of the conditions. With the question in this form the overwhelming majority of Americans at all occupational levels chose the secure job, as had their opposite numbers in Britain and Australia.

That seemingly so slight a difference in wording a question can produce so marked a difference in the structure of response must give us real pause about this whole enterprise. It warns against interpreting all the scattered and limited findings we have and demonstrates the great importance of doing carefully designed, focused, informed, special studies of our own as soon as possible. But it should not discourage us. It does not cast serious doubt upon the basic theory. In the case just discussed, for example, we did not refute the general proposition that the higher status groups respond in a differ ent way than those of lower status whe confronted with certain alternative choice in the job realm. But we did see the necessit for refinement in delineating precisely wha has special appeal to these groups an wherein they share values in common. Th theory therefore becomes less global, les "omnipredictive," but, in the long run, mor interesting and more suggestive for futur work.

To sum up our findings in the realm c work: We see striking confirmation of th differential effect of the job situation on th perception of one's experience in it. Th evidence is powerful and unmistakable tha satisfaction with one's job is differentiall experienced by those in the several standar occupational positions. From country t country, we observe a clear positive corre lation between the over-all status of occupa tions and the experience of satisfaction i them. This seems to hold, as well, for th relation between satisfaction and the com ponents of the job, such as the pay, but th evidence is thinner here. We may expec that the relationship will hold for othe components, such as the prestige of th job and the autonomy or independence i affords. Job situation appears also to patter many values germane to the occupationa realm, such as the qualities most desired i a job and the image of a good or bad boss.[17]

At the same time, we note that there ar certain attitudes which position in the occu pational hierarchy does not seem to influ ence. For example, all occupational group agree on the relative ranking of the statu or desirability of different jobs. And the seem to agree in favoring job security at les pay over a better-paying but less secure job Yet in the latter realm we discover an inter esting fact. When we add the special in gredient of a promise of success, promotio or advancement, we trigger a special pro pensity to risk-taking in those in more es teemed occupations, whereas those in th

[15] This is suggested by a number of the studies in J. W. Atkinson (ed.), *Motives in Fantasy, Action, and Society* (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1958). Definitive evidence based on a national sample has been collected by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan in a study, directed by Gerald Gurin and Joseph Veroff, to be published soon.

[16] It was worded as follows: "Some people prefer a job which pays very well even though it may not be so secure (permanent). Other people prefer a steady job even though it may not pay so much. Which would you, yourself, prefer—the steady job or the better-paying one?" (*Public Opinion Quarterly*, XIII [Fall, 1949], 553).

[17] For lack of space the relevant evidence wit regard to images of the good and bad boss has no been presented.

manual classes remain unmoved and stick to security. This alerts us to the importance of precision and refinement in seeking the exact nature of the values and beliefs which differentiate the social groups on the basis of position in the occupational hierarchy, as against those which they share in common with all of their nationality or all who participate in modern society.

ON HAPPINESS

Granted that happiness is a very elusive thing, we may yet make so bold as to study it and to do so through so crude a device as a public-opinion poll. Of course we should not naïvely accept what a man says when we ask him, "Are you happy?" But neither is it reasonable to assume that whatever he says means the opposite. That would be all too regular and a sure key to the truth. Some men will be truly cheerful but suspect our purpose; fear of the "evil eye," or a trait of personality, may lead them to deny publicly their true feeling. If everyone answered the question in a random and, in that sense, meaningless way, we would expect by chance that 50 per cent in any population would say "Yes," 50 per cent "No," and that no control variable such as age, sex, or income would reveal anything but this 50/50 division.

Common sense tells us that some groups produce more people who feel they are happy than do others, and with reason. Those about to commit suicide tell their friends, doctors, or diaries that they are miserable; those who are about to get divorced are likely to report their marriage is unhappy. Admittedly, where there are pressures which make people disguise their true feelings, their more or less public report of how they feel will certainly reduce the clarity of the relationship between the objective situation and their true inner feeling. If, despite this built-in and essentially uncontrollable distortion, we still find strong and meaningful connections between a man's situation and what he says about his happiness, then we must assume that the "real" connection is, if anything, not weaker but stronger than the one which emerges in our data.

Both direct and indirect questions have been used in an effort to assess individual happiness. An identical direct question was put to people in the U.S., England, France, and Canada during 1946. By contrast to the Anglo-Saxon trio, the French emerge as dour indeed: in the other countries a third or more were "very happy," but in France only 8 per cent. Forty per cent of the French said they were "not very happy," as against a maximum of 10 per cent elsewhere.[18] Much the same question was asked in 1949 by at least six of the Gallup affiliates, with similar results. Only 11 per cent of the French were "very happy," as against a range of from 26 per cent in Norway to 52 per cent in Australia.[19] Unfortunately, we do not have cross-tabulations by stratification variables for either of these two studies, but comparable data from Italy and Britain leave little doubt that, when these are made, we will find in each society that such happiness as anyone cares to admit will be found oftenest among those in the more advantaged strata of society.

In the British study men were asked: "In the last twenty-four hours, have you had a hearty laugh?" Women were asked whether they had had a "good cry," an effort being made to disarm them by prefacing the question with the statement: "Many doctors say it is good to give vent to your feelings by crying once in a while." Although the questions do not deal directly with happiness, they very probably measure much the same thing. The proportion who had laughed in the last twenty-four hours decreased, and the proportion who had cried increased, as one descended the socio-economic scale (Table 3). The differentiation was sharp, however, only in the case of the very poor, who had laughed only half as often and had

[18] Cantril (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 281.

[19] AGP, Nos. 569–78 (February–March, 1949). The other countries were Holland (43 per cent), the United States (43 per cent), and the United Kingdom (39 per cent).

cried twice as often as did those in the middle and upper economic classes.

I have asked many people, including several large audiences, to predict the outcome of this poll. The great majority invariably expected the working class to laugh more often. They express surprise at the findings and generally question me closely as to the time and country involved.[20] On learning the study was done in England, they invariably offer an *ad hoc* explanation, based on assumptions about the character of English society, and regularly volunteer the opinion that certainly in Italy the results would be different. Unfortunately the same question

TABLE 3

LAUGHING AND CRYING IN ENGLAND BY CLASS AND SEX*

Economic Class	Percentage Who Laughed in Last 24 Hours (Men Only)	Percentage Who Cried in Last 24 Hours (Women Only)
Well-to-do	47	12
Average	50	11
Below average	41	16
Poor	26	27

* Reported in *Doxa Bolletino*, Vol. V, No 6 (April, 1956).

seems not to have been asked in sunny Italy. But its smiling workers and singing peasants have been asked two other questions which should serve our purpose. The first was simple and straightforward: "Just now do you feel happy or unhappy?" The second was more complex: "Could you summarize in a few words the state (or balance) of your life today?" The respondents were then offered a choice of six sentences suggesting various combinations and degrees of pain and joy ranging from "Life has given me only joys and satisfactions," to "Life has given me only pain and disillusionment."

[20] These audiences were generally composed of faculty and students, supplemented by people in the college or university community who attend lectures "open to the public"—safely characterized as solidly middle class. Despite their high average level of education, they seemed to harbor a stereotype of the working class which in important respects is strikingly analogous to that held by southern whites about the poor, irresponsible, but "happy" Negro.

The results are fairly unambiguous but, as is so often true of such data, by no means completely so. For example, on the first "test" the lowest proportion of happy people is found among one of the more favored groups—the managers (*dirigente*), a category which seems to include free professionals. On the other hand, this group is quite "normal" on the second test, reporting life to be full of pain and disillusionment less often than any other group. Leaving aside such complications, however, we may conclude that on the whole, in Italy no less than in Britain, happiness is much more commonly reported by the advantaged strata of society, while sadness and despair are more standard in the manual and depressed classes. Of course, the well-to-do have no monopoly on happiness, nor does a majority of the working class report itself miserable. In all classes the central tendency is toward some mixture of happiness and pain. But at the extremes the general pattern we have found elsewhere is manifested here as well. As we ascend the occupational ladder, the proportion who are "very" or "fairly" happy rises from 29 per cent among farm laborers and ordinary workers to 47 per cent among employers.[21] Similarly, at the other extreme, workers report themselves as unhappy two-and-a-half times as often as do the employers and managers. Among the manual classes the ratio of the happy to the unhappy is as low as 1:1, whereas in the more advantaged groups it is almost 5:1.

Much the same pattern is shown in the second test. The life of much pain and little joy is claimed by about 50 per cent of workers and farm laborers, by as few as 23 per cent of the managers and professionals, and by about one-third of employers and farm owners (Table 4).

To assess happiness in a number of countries simultaneously we must, unfortunately, use a question which can at best be taken as only a rough approximation of those dealing directly with happiness, namely, one

[21] There is, however, not much to choose between the lowest categories who are clustered around the 30 per cent level (cf. *Doxa*, No. 12 [April, 1948]).

inquiring about "satisfaction." What happiness is may be somewhat ambiguous, but we are generally clear that it deals with an *emotional* state. "Satisfaction" is a much more ambiguous term, and, when not further specified, it can mean satisfaction with one's financial situation, social or political advancement, family life, or any one of a number of things. Furthermore, "happiness" may be translated fairly well from one language to another, but "satisfaction" changes its meaning. In addition, in the available comparative study the question on satisfaction came immediately after one on security, and this probably led people more often to respond in terms of financial criteria rather than of general satisfaction in life. Consequently, to check the reasonableness of using the question on satisfaction in life as an index of happiness, I compared the results (for Italy) of two different polls, one asking directly about happiness (described above), the other using the question on satisfaction from the available cross-national study. The structure of the answers was very similar (Table 5). On both questions, business and farm owners and managers reported themselves either dissatisfied or unhappy only half as often as did manual and farm workers, with clerks and artisans falling in between. The correlation was not perfect, but there was quite close association.

Allowing, then, for many necessary reservations, let us look at the responses to the question, "How satisfied are you with the way you are getting on now?" which was asked simultaneously in nine countries. The results (Table 6) are certainly less sharp

TABLE 4

BALANCE OF JOY AND PAIN IN LIFE IN ITALY, IN PERCENTAGES BY OCCUPATION*

Occupation	More Pain than Joy†	More Joy than Pain‡	A Balance of Joy and Pain§	No Answer
Employer	32	20	45	3
Manager	23	23	56	..
Farm owner and operator	33	20	46	1
White collar	28	15	55	2
Artisan	36	12	51	1
Worker	48	11	41	.
Farm laborer	51	11	38	1

* *Doxa Bolletino*, No. 12 (April, 1948).

† Includes the response: "Life has given *only* pains and disillusion."

‡ Includes: "Life has given me *only* joys and satisfactions."

§ Includes: "Many pains but also many joys" and "Few pains and few joys." Among workers and farm laborers and employees the choice of "few joys" predominated markedly; among managers, the reverse; and by the remainder the two alternatives were equally chosen.

TABLE 5

COMPARISON OF ITALIAN RESULTS ON QUESTIONS OF "HAPPINESS" AND "SATISFACTION WITH SITUATION"

(PER CENT)

Occupation	"Dissatisfied" with Present Situation*	Occupation	"Unhappy" at This Moment†
Business owners	31	Employers	10
Salaried managers	35	Managers	10
Farm owners	32	Farm owners	10
Artisans	43	Artisans	16
Clerks	55	Employees	14
Manual workers	64	Workers	26
Farm workers	63	Farm laborers	20

* From William Buchanan and Hadley Cantril, *How Nations See Each Other* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1953), p. 176. The question was the same as that reported in Table 6 for nine countries including Italy.

† From *Doxa Bolletino*, No. 12 (April, 1948).

and clear-cut than those obtained for job satisfaction. There are numerous irregularities and ambiguities. For example, Germany produces not our familiar step pattern but a U-shaped curve, and Australia yields, if anything, an inverted U. These cases suggest what the table as a whole hints, namely, that the question is ambiguous and people respond to it in terms of different criteria. Nevertheless, there seems to be an underlying cross-national pattern. The higher nonmanual positions hold at least rank 1 (lowest proportion dissatisfied), 2, or 3 in seven of nine countries, whereas the workers held so high a rank in no country and the farm laborers in one. The occupations were originally listed in a rough approximation of their standing in the hierarchy of power and rewards. It is interesting, therefore, that when we sum the rank orders for each occupation we emerge with a regular progression which follows the original ordering. Except for the owners, whose score of 27 is strongly affected by their extremely deviant response in Britain, there is a steady increase from managers (20), through professionals (24), white collar (33), artisans and skilled workers (45), and workers (50), to farm labor (53). That a comparable cross-national pattern emerges when either socioeconomic status or education is used as the independent variable strengthens our conviction that the underlying structure is real. The fact that the relationship holds more firmly when occupation or economic status rather than education are the independent variables suggests that, as we anticipated, the answers more strongly reflect satisfaction with economic than with spiritual welfare.

Whatever their weakness as a guide to the cross-national pattern we seek, these data also point to the usefulness of our procedure for identifying groups with special problems or distinctive responses to more general problems. It is striking, for example, that in Britain the owners formed the group whose members were *most* often dissatisfied with the way they were "getting on." But this was 1948, when they were threatened by the highest level reached by the wave of nationalization sentiment in England, and so the result is not surprising.

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE DISSATISFIED WITH HOW THEY ARE "GETTING ON" BY COUNTRY AND OCCUPATION*

	Occupation						
Country	Owners	Managers	Professionals	White Collar	Artisans	Workers	Farm Labor
Australia	11	18	15	22	31	17	17
Britain	41	21	14	36	40	36	26
France	38	29	55	56	56	67	63
Germany	46	39	50	35	37	48	52
Italy	31	35	46	55	43	64	63
Mexico	58	57	50	55	67	65	75
Netherlands	26	15	22	23	37	43	41
Norway	7	4	2	11	12	11	22
United States	20	22	26	24	28	31	39

* Adapted from data in Appendix D of Buchanan and Cantril, *op. cit.*, pp. 125–216.

Some of the difficulty raised by the question on "satisfaction with getting on" could be avoided if the respondent were asked to disregard his financial condition. An international poll meeting this requirement is, unfortunately, not at hand. We should, however, examine an International Research Associate study in which the wording of the question and its location in the questionnaire may have somewhat reduced the role of economic referents. The question was: "Do you feel that you have gotten as far ahead as you should at this stage of your life, or are you dissatisfied with the progress you have made so far?" Here again, unfortunately, the question would probably be understood by many to mean mainly economic or material "getting ahead" or "prog-

ress." This assumption is greatly strengthened by the fact that the responses are more regular and the differences sharper when socioeconomic status rather than occupation is used (Table 7). Using socioeconomic status to classify the respondents, we find the step structure present in eight of eleven cases, markedly so in four. There is no instance in which the result is the complete reverse of our expectation, but in three countries the group classified as "middle" has the lowest proportion satisfied. Using occupation as the independent variable, we again have four strong cases and a fifth which is up to standard, but now six fail to qualify. In five of these instances the difficulty arises again from the fact that a higher proportion of the middle level of white-collar workers are dissatisfied than is the case among workers. If we compare the executive-professional and worker groups alone, the pattern is clear-cut in all eleven cases.[22]

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE SATISFIED WITH PROGRESS IN LIFE, BY COUNTRY AND STATUS*

Country	Occupation: Executive, Professional	Occupation: White Collar	Occupation: Wage Earner	Socioeconomic Group: Upper	Socioeconomic Group: Middle	Socioeconomic Group: Lower
Australia	70	64	66	73	70	65
Austria	61	60	47	64	59	60
Belgium	37	36	21	43	41	34
Brazil†	74	60	63	81	71	54
Britain	79	66	70	73	68	71
Denmark	77	78	68	81	75	64
Germany	73	71	68	73	72	65
Japan	52	42	33	50	40	13
Netherlands	61	57	59	67	58	66
Norway	89	79	70	87	71	60
Sweden	71	58	67	80	67	60

* Tabulations from a study conducted by International Research Associates.
† Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo only.

In sum, no very "pure" measure of feelings of happiness or of spiritual or psychic (as against material) well-being, applied cross-nationally and fully reported, is at hand. Taking the available evidence together, however, we cannot entertain any other hypothesis but that the feeling of happiness or of psychic well-being is unevenly distributed in most, perhaps all, countries. Those who are economically well off, those with more education or whose jobs require more training and skill, more often report themselves happy, joyous, laughing, free of sorrow, satisfied with life's progress. Even though the pattern is weak or ambiguous in some cases, there has not been a single case of a *reversal* of the pattern, that is, a case where measures of happiness are inversely related to measures of status, in studies involving fifteen different countries—at least six of which were studied on two different occasions, through the use of somewhat different questions. There is, then, good reason to challenge the image of the "carefree but happy poor." As one angry man wrote to me, after he had read a news report of a speech I had made reporting the relation of laughter to social status: "And what the hell do you think the poor have to laugh about, anyway?"

Plausible as this contention may be on the surface, it is obviously not the end but only the beginning of a study. If those who are better placed and more fortunate more often report they are happy, can we test the validity of this report by such other measures as their rates of suicide, homicide, and mental illness?[23] If the proportion satisfied rises

[22] A twelfth case, France, was a strong instance of the expected relationship. Since socioeconomic status classifications were not available for France, it was excluded from Table 7 to make both parts strictly comparable.

[23] Suicide rates rise with socioeconomic status, but their absolute frequency is quite low in all groups. Homicides, many times more common than

with income, will better-paid workers in any country be happier than those less well paid at the same occupational level? Will raising the incomes of all increase the happiness of all, or does it require an unequal gain to bring happiness to some? What of the man who is well educated but poorly paid, or rich but poorly educated? Some questions of this kind can be answered by further cross-tabulation of the original IBM cards, which it is hoped will be possible at a later date.[24] Some will require new cross-national studies clearly focused on these issues.

THE MASTERY-OPTIMISM COMPLEX

Those lower in the occupational hierarchy bring certain important personal characteristics or propensities to their typical "assignments" in life, which tendencies are reinforced by conditions of their characteristic setting. Their education is limited, they generally will not have benefited from travel, and they confront most of the challenges of the outside world with minimum training or skill. Their home environment, particularly the example of the father, will probably have taught blind obedience to authority, if not as a virtue, at least as necessity.[25] Even before he goes to work, the factory will have been described to the working-class boy: its great power, its vast size, the impersonality of its processes, and the mystery of the forces which move within it. On arriving at the plant, the young worker will find many of his images and expectations confirmed. Personnel clerks will treat him as something to be fitted into impersonal categories. If there is a doctor who passes on his fitness, the worker may well sense that he is treated as an object assessed, not as a person examined. The foreman will probably be a tough character who makes it clear who is boss, what is expected, what happens to those who step out of line. All the force and power that the lowly employee sees around him will appear to be under the control of people distant and not highly visible who are controlled by others more distant, more powerful, and still more invisible. The other workers, if not initially suspicious, perhaps will immediately begin a briefing on how to stay out of trouble, replete with accounts of unpleasant things which happened to people who could not stay out of trouble, and other tales which make evident the workers' helplessness. If he is too energetic, the new worker will soon be taught by the others, by force if necessary, to restrict his output, to "play it safe," and to be cautious.

These forces conspire to impress upon the worker a particular view of himself and his relation to the world of work and beyond. His image of the world is, as a result, likely to be that of a place of great complexity whose workings are not too easily comprehended by the common man. He has rights, but he needs friends who are more powerful or knowledgeable, who can explain things, tell him where to go, or help him by putting in a good word in the right place, like a key in a special lock which opens closed doors. For his own part, he feels he should stick to his job, not ask too many questions, and stay out of trouble. Part of staying out of trouble involves keeping one's workmates assured of one's sense of solidarity with them; group loyalty must be placed above personal ambition and self-aggrandizement. But the requirement to conform to orders from above and, at the same time, to pressures from one's equals encourages his impression of other people as

suicide, and psychopathic illness, which is incomparably more frequent, are both markedly commoner in the lower classes. Insofar as these rates, when combined, provide an index of misery, the pattern observed would be congruent with that already described.

[24] The Roper Center for Public Opinion Research at Williams College plans to collect the IBM cards from studies conducted since World War II in some twenty countries. If this objective is achieved, it will open exceptional opportunities for comparative research.

[25] But not necessarily respect. Indeed, the experience of the harsh and peremptory demands for obedience experienced by those at lower status levels more often breeds surface conformity and, beneath that, a smoldering hatred or disrespect for authority, except when so strong as to compel or win blind allegiance.

unreliable, untrustworthy, and out to do for themselves first. The one thing a man can really count on are his own sensations, and this fosters a certain hedonism: "Eat, drink, (fornicate) and be merry." These impluses, can, however, be gratified only sporadically because of one's dependency, insecurity, and liability to punishment by powers which do not favor too many riotous good times.

A comparable profile for someone at the other end of the occupational hierarchy would presumably be quite different, if not always polar. It is this relative polarization, and the steady gradations as we move from one extreme to the other, which cause the step pattern of experiences and reactions which we have observed and on the basis of which we could generate a host of specific propositions and predictions. For nine-tenths of the propositions there would be no data with which to test them. It will be more economical, therefore, to assemble all the seemingly relevant comparative materials available and to select the topics for investigation in accord with them. We have good comparative data on feelings of personal competence, on images of human nature and its malleability, and on several questions which may be taken as alternative measures of optimism.

Personal competence.—Lacking skills, education, and training, directed by people who have more power than he has and who exercise it effectively over him, the member of the lower classes may be expected less often than others to have self-confidence, that is, a favorable assessment of his competence and capacity. This feeling could presumably be tapped by a single general question. More specific questions, separately testing self-confidence about technical or managerial ability in, say, hospitals, courts, or schools, would presumably produce sharper differentiation. At the same time, there might be some areas where those of lower status typically felt more competent or at least less in conflict. For example, the staff at the University of Michigan Survey Research Center reports in an informal communication that their data suggest middle-class men are more often insecure in their performance as husbands than are lower-class men.

Asked point-blank: "Are you troubled with feelings that you can't do things as well as others can?"—most people in most countries said "No." But the proportion who said they were troubled by feelings of inadequacy rose as high as 59 per cent (in the lower class in Brazil); the question is clearly worth examining. The only break available is by socioeconomic status.[26] It provides some, but only modest, corroboration of our expectation. Of twelve countries reporting, the expected pattern is clear-cut and moderately strong only in Denmark and Brazil. In the latter the proportion who feel less competent rises from 43 per cent in the upper class, to 52 per cent in the middle class, and then to 59 per cent in the lower class. But these cases are offset by Australia, which clearly reverses the predicted direction. Even if we adopt the crude standard of qualifying all countries in which the lower class had the highest proportion troubled by feelings of inadequacy, only seven of the twelve countries qualify.

This is hardly impressive support for our theory. One reason for this outcome may be the ambiguity of the referent "others." The theory predicts mainly that those in the lower strata will feel less competent than "others" who are *above* them. But many answering the question undoubtedly took as their referent "others" on the same level. Insofar as this was the case, it would obviously reduce the differentation between classes. The results may also have been influenced by ambiguity as to the types of competence the questioner had in mind. There are, of course, some areas where lower-class people may generally feel quite competent, or at least not disposed to question their own competence. If they had such areas in mind, they would be less likely to say "Yes" to the question.

We may then say that there is some slight

[26] Table not shown. I am indebted to Dr. Elmo Wilson and the International Research Associates for the data.

evidence that groups of lower status tend in many countries to be the least often assured about their own general competence. Very rarely are they the group with the most pervasive feeling of adequacy. But the issue is not simple, and the response depends upon the area of life. Our main gain here, then, is perhaps increased awareness of the complexity or subtlety of the issue.

Child-rearing values.—Not only is the horizon restricted for the individual of lower status, himself; he also tends to insure his self-perpetuation by restricting the horizon of his children and others who share his disadvantaged status. Less well equipped with education and experience than those in more favored positions, he learns that a little bit of security is a good thing and that it is wiser to choose what is certain than to strive for the perhaps unattainable. Consequently, we may expect him to be much less likely than persons of middle or upper status to urge a young man to strive for an occupation with high status which may not be easily obtained, and much more likely to urge the young man to go after a well-paid, secure job at the working-class level. This is true not only in everyday practice but holds even under the stimulus of a white-collar interviewer who saves the interviewee further embarrassment by offering him conditions free of the objective restrictions he may know actually exist. In one International Research Associates poll in nine countries, the question was put: "If an *intelligent young man who seemed suited for almost any line of work* asked your advice, what occupation would you be most likely to recommend for him?" (Italics supplied.) Rather consistently from country to country, people of lower socioeconomic status choose the modest goal of "skilled labor" for such a boy much more often than do the more advantaged classes (Table 8). Very similar results were obtained with comparable questions in the United States, in Italy, and with Soviet refugees.

TABLE 8

OCCUPATIONS RECOMMENDED TO YOUNG MEN IN PERCENTAGES BY COUNTRY AND OCCUPATION*

Country and Occupation Recommended	Respondent's Occupation: Executive, Professional	White Collar	Wage Earner
Australia:			
Engineering, science	24	26	20
Skilled labor	10	11	28
Belgium:			
Engineering, science	43	52	28
Skilled labor	8	11	33
Britain:			
Engineering, science	54	50	48
Skilled labor	7	6	9
Denmark:			
Engineering, science	8	15	8
Skilled labor	7	7	17
France:			
Engineering, science	20	30	19
Skilled labor	8	5	11
Japan:			
Engineering, science	24	22	26
Skilled labor	1	..	2
Netherlands:			
Engineering, science	33	39	22
Skilled labor	7	5	13
Norway:			
Engineering, science	11	17	19
Skilled labor	15	18	16
Sweden:			
Engineering, science	12	19	15
Skilled labor	8	8	15

* Adapted from data made available by International Research Associates through the courtesy of Dr. Elmo Wilson.

We might again say that this is obvious. It is, furthermore, objective and realistic to advise the working-class boy to set his job sights low. But should we assume that a father's occupational position influences his values in child-rearing only in regard to the "objective" realm of job choices? The influence of the father's life situation may be expected to flow over into other areas; ambition itself may be affected. And not only ambition, but a number of other values which guide child-rearing may well fall into class-determined patterns.

An International Research Associates study inquired which value is the most important to teach to children and offered as choices: "To be ambitious and get ahead"; "To obey parents"; "To enjoy themselves"; "To place their trust in God"; and "To be decent and honest." Since in our Soviet-refugee study we had already investigated very similar values and had found patterns broadly congruent with the theory underly-

ing the thinking in this report,[27] I undertook to predict the outcome of the INRA inquiry. The main assumption, following from general theory and supported by the earlier study, was that traditional, restrictive, cautious, conventional values are much stronger among manual workers, whereas the belief in effort, striving, energetic mastery, and the sacrifice necessary to those ends is much stronger in the middle class. On the basis of this fundamental assumption, I predicted for the INRA study that ambition would be more stressed by the middle class, obedience to parents by the working class. A secondary prediction was that the values focused on personal qualities produced by careful training, such as decency and honesty, would be more stressed by the middle classes. Although predicting emphasis on religion was obviously complicated, I assumed that trust in God, taken as an *external* source of authority and power, would be stronger among manual workers. Finally, I anticipated that stress on enjoyment would be more evident in the working class, presumably as compensation for past and present frustrations and anticipated future deprivations.

These predictions are generally, but not consistently, borne out by the data (Table 9). The working class does have the lowest proportion stressing ambition in six of eleven countries and is tied in a seventh, a position held only twice each by the middle and upper socioeconomic groups. Only three countries show the usual step pattern, however, and there are two clear-cut reversals to offset them. The absence of pattern is largely a result of the tendency, perhaps not surprising, of the middle class to exceed the upper classes in stressing ambition in rearing children.

Our prediction with regard to emphasis on obedience is more firmly supported. The lower class has the highest proportion stressing it in eight of eleven cases, and it took no less than second place in the remaining three countries. In six the expected step pattern is clearly manifested, and there are no reversals.

Among the second-line predictions, the estimate with regard to decency and honesty was relatively correct. In seven of eleven countries, the higher the socioeconomic status, the greater the proportion emphasizing it. In an eighth case the lower class behaves as expected, but the middle class is out of line. In addition to one unpatterned case, however, there are two clear reversals. The prediction with regard to trust in God was not confirmed: the lower class did most often have the highest proportion, but it also was most often in last place; in general, there was almost a complete lack of pattern from country to country. We may note, finally, that not much can be said about the theme of enjoying one's self, since it was mentioned by only 1 or 2 per cent in most countries.

In general, the class patterning in which we are interested manifests itself again, but the patterns are not strong. In most cases only a few percentage points separated one class from the other. In values in child-rearing, cultural forces—particularly those deriving from ethnic and religious membership—play a powerful role and may, indeed, be the prime movers. Yet the fact that in this initial and unrefined procedure we can see a definite patterning of values that fit the expectations derived from our general theory is encouraging and recommends us to further and fuller exploration.

Changing human nature.—His conception of the nature of human nature reveals much of a man's overt ideology, but questions which delve deep are unfortunately not at hand. However, in nine countries national samples were asked whether they thought their compatriots' "national characteristics" were due to the way they were brought up or were born in them and, also, whether "human nature" can be changed.

Our theory leads us to predict that the more advantaged classes will more often hold upbringing rather than heredity to determine national characteristics and will

[27] Alex Inkeles, "Social Change and Social Character: The Role of Parental Mediation," *Journal of Social Issues,* XI, No. 2 (1955), 12–23.

more often express belief in the malleability of human nature. This outcome is not assumed to be merely a function of intelligence and knowledge. Indeed, when people are grouped by education rather than by socioeconomic level, the strength of the association between social position and the belief that national characteristics are a product of training becomes much smaller and the patterning more confused and ambiguous. Rather, it follows from differences in training and life situation; those in the professional and managerial classes will more often have grown up in an environment that stressed training and character development, and in their work they will have learned the importance of mastering and transforming things by disciplined will and effort. By contrast, those in the working and peasant classes will have grown up in an atmosphere

TABLE 9

VALUES IN CHILD-REARING, IN PERCENTAGES BY COUNTRY AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS*

Country and Child-rearing Values	Socioeconomic Status Upper	Middle	Lower
Australia:			
Ambition	5	3	8
Obedience to parents	13	17	23
Enjoyment	...	..	1
Trust in God	26	33	25
Decency; honesty	60	51	45
Don't know	5	4	3
No. of respondents	94	313	367
Austria:			
Ambition	17	14	11
Obedience to parents	21	21	27
Enjoyment	8	10	8
Trust in God	13	13	14
Decency; honesty	53	51	50
Don't know	2	2	1
No. of respondents	273	581	161
Brazil:†			
Ambition	9	9	6
Obedience to parents	13	21	23
Enjoyment	2	1	1
Trust in God	22	26	37
Decency; honesty	55	41	34
Don't know	2	2	1
No. of respondents	188	292	320
Britain:			
Ambition	7	14	7
Obedience to parents	8	10	17
Enjoyment	1	2	...
Trust in God	26	21	20
Decency; honesty	60	53	52
Don't know	3	1	4
No. of respondents	175	170	152
Denmark:			
Ambition	11	13	9
Obedience to parents	14	18	15
Enjoyment	2	1	3
Trust in God	16	9	10
Decency; honesty	54	56	61
Don't know	3	3	2
No. of respondents	167	390	129
Germany:			
Ambition	16	17	12
Obedience to parents	24	21	22
Enjoyment	...	1	2
Trust in God	17	10	11
Germany—*Continued*			
Decency; honesty	61	62	61
Don't know	2	2	2
No. of respondents	120	595	270
Italy:			
Ambition	22	13	17
Obedience to parents	22	21	31
Enjoyment	5	2	5
Trust in God	29	31	31
Decency; honesty	53	56	45
Don't know	2	2	2
No. of respondents	148	435	712
Japan:			
Ambition	20	24	22
Obedience to parents	6	9	19
Enjoyment	4	3	1
Trust in God	4	4	6
Decency; honesty	64	58	46
Don't know	2	2	6
No. of respondents	368	422	69
Netherlands:			
Ambition	8	4	3
Obedience to parents	4	9	12
Enjoyment	1	2	2
Trust in God	40	41	37
Decency; honesty	46	48	50
Don't know	4	2	2
No. of respondents	214	147	142
Norway:			
Ambition	23	13	11
Obedience to parents	8	15	11
Enjoyment	1	...	...
Trust in God	11	17	26
Decency; honesty	51	50	46
Don't know	6	5	6
No. of respondents	142	519	72
Sweden:			
Ambition	12	16	18
Obedience to parents	15	24	38
Enjoyment	3	3	12
Trust in God	12	9	26
Decency; honesty	76	72	59
Don't know	2	1	1
No. of respondents	156	307	91

* Data provided by International Research Associates, from a release of March 13, 1958

† Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo only.

of more conventional beliefs and will have been taught to see important events as largely independent of the individuals will or effort. The manual worker enjoys less opportunity to assess the evident variability of behavior in different situations, and his life at work will foster the impression of an unchanging life order. When it is changed "from above," he will be less able to assess the shifting pressures and forces at work and therefore is more likely to see change as a product of some powerful person's fixed character.

We must allow for certain forces which will, however, operate to push the results in the opposite direction. In the upper, and particularly the aristocratic upper, classes, obvious forces enforce the notion that character is inborn and immutable, the finest of these inborn character types of course being concentrated in the aristocratic classes. This sentiment, often quickly adopted by the *nouveaux riches*, might act sharply to decrease the proportion among the well-to-do, taken as a whole, who believe character to be mainly a product of training and hence subject to change.

Of nine national samples, seven fell into the step pattern in assessing the origins of national characteristics; the proportion who stated that these characteristics result from the way people are brought up rose with each step up the socioeconomic ladder. Three of the seven are, however, not clear-cut because the highest or "wealthy" group either does not show a higher proportion believing in training or even shows a much lower proportion than does the group average in socioeconomic status. This relates to the point about the aristocratic conception of upper-class status discussed above. In two countries there is no definite pattern, but there are no clear-cut reversals. The belief that human nature can be changed is similarly patterned by social class membership. Of nine countries, the step pattern is found in six; the proportion who believe human nature can be changed again rises as one ascends the socioeconomic scale (Table 10). But again the pattern is marred by the tendency of the wealthy to stress training less often than does the average income group. This was true in four of the seven cases of patterning. Italy, Norway, and the United States show no pattern. Again, there are no reversals.

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGE WHO BELIEVE IN THE POSSIBILITY OF CHANGE IN HUMAN NATURE, BY COUNTRY AND CLASS*

Socioeconomic Status†	Australia	Britain	France	Germany	Italy	Mexico	Netherlands	Norway	U.S.
Wealthy	54	55	70	50	31	59	42	57	54
Average	45	46	63	58	37	37	50	58	50
Below average	42	38	61	51	31	38	43	57	49
Very poor	39	30	50	40	35	26	38	51	50

* From data by country in Appendix D of Buchanan and Cantril, *op. cit.*, pp. 125 216.
† Judgment of interviewer.

This outcome definitely supports our hypothesis, even allowing for the fact that the supporting evidence is somewhat weak in the case of estimates of the origins of national characteristics. For example, in one of the clearest manifestations of the structured response, in Germany the proportion who stress training rises by only five per cent or so on each step up the socioeconomic ladder, with 21 per cent of the very poor at one extreme and 36 per cent of the wealthy at the other. Bigger ranges are present in opinions about changing human nature, the difference between the wealthy and the very poor being as many as 33 percentage points. On both questions the pattern is, furthermore, blurred by the tendency of the wealthy to entertain the belief in the immutability of human nature and the inborn character of national traits. We must particularly regret, therefore, that the

responses were not cross-tabulated by occupation.

Optimism and control of the atom.—Views about the possibility of changing human nature have been treated here as evidence of a belief in the importance of character training and in the possibility of man's control and mastery over himself. Belief in the possibility of changing human nature can also be interpreted as expressing a certain optimism about *social* man and his future progress and a faith in the meaningfulness of efforts to master one's physical and social environment. The superior intel-

TABLE 11

ESTIMATES OF LONG-RUN EFFECTS OF ATOMIC ENERGY, IN PERCENTAGES BY COUNTRY AND EDUCATION

Education	More Good than Harm	More Harm than Good	Can't Say or Don't Know
*United States**			
University....	69	20	11
Secondary....	55	30	15
Primary......	40	40	20
Australia†			
Higher.......	61	18	21
Middle.......	47	25	28
Lower...	31	23	46

* *Doxa Bolletino*, Vol. II, No. 22 (November, 1948).

† Australian Gallup Polls of Melbourne, *Bulletin*, Nos 645 61 (January-February, 1950).

lectual equipment which the more advantaged bring to situations, their advanced training and actual experience, encourage and support them in developing and maintaining optimism. To them the world is less a mysterious and threatening place. It presents obstacles, but those are assumed to be controllable by forces at man's disposal so long as he applies skill, motivation, and good will. Evidence for the more frequent occurrence of optimism in the advantaged classes is not ample, but a number of very suggestive items come to hand which support the assumption.

The sources of atomic energy present so great a potential threat to man that they often induce visions of the total destruction of civilization and even human existence. But atomic energy also holds the possibility of great benefits. Casual reading of newspapers led us to assume that fears abc the destructive misuse of atomic ener have a particularly strong hold on the b ter-educated segments of modern socie But our theory also leads us to believe tl the same people—because of their grea faith in man's ability to change, ado transform, and control natural and soc forces—should more often hold the bel that *ultimately* the beneficial effects atomic energy will predominate. For Au tralia and the United States there are cl data by education, on responses to the qu tion: "In the long run do you think aton energy will do more harm than good, more good than harm?"[28] In both countr the differentiation by education is extreme sharp, and in both cases the differences a in the expected direction, that is, there greater optimism as one ascends the educ tional ladder (Table 11).

These striking indications of the great frequency with which optimism, based mastery of natural and social forces, is fou among the better-educated are further su ported, although less dramatically, by t results of a question on war and peace. the UNESCO study the question was put follows: "Do you believe that it will possible for all countries to live together peace with each other?" Certainly tl strains optimism more than does the qu tion on atomic energy. Even so, in four nine countries the step pattern was clear manifested, and in no case was the propc tion giving the more optimistic answer le among those with university training th among those with only primary schooli (Table 12).

Economic Optimism.—It may be argu on common-sense grounds that optimism obviously more to be expected from t well-to-do—after all, they have more to optimistic about. In this view optimism just an alternative formulation for hap ness, to be explained on the same ground

[28] The question was apparently also asked 1950 in other countries with Gallup affiliates, l I do not have the results cross-tabulated by a stratification variable.

This might seem to be in accord with the theory that one's situation shapes one's perspective. But it is only superficially in accord with the more explicit formulation just developed, that those who are better educated and trained, and hold more responsible positions, will be more optimistic *specifically about those situations where the possibility of man's mastery of himself or his environment is involved.* This is not the same thing as saying they will be generally and indiscriminately more optimistic, even where definite or precise objective assessments are involved. A judgment about the possibility that man can develop the institutional prerequisites to peace is by no means the same thing as a judgment as to whether there will be a war in the next few years. Fundamental optimism about man's capacity to organize and solve his problems could well lead one to believe that *in the long run* man will develop the means for preserving peace, even while realism prompts the prediction that there may be a war in the next few years. When an estimate of the probability of war *within a fixed time period* was requested, the well-to-do were less optimistic or, to put it better for our purposes, more "realistic," in virtually all of the studies which reported class breaks.

Thus in Great Britain in October, 1946, the proportion who felt there would be a war in the next twenty-five years rose steadily from 30 per cent among the very poor to 44 per cent among those above the middle class. Numerous other studies in Britain in this period yielded similar findings, as did also a poll in Sweden in April, 1945, and in France on January 16, 1946.[29] It is interesting that Buchanan and Cantril also noted, but may have misunderstood, the apparent disagreement of the national totals which affirmed the possibility of peace in their study and the proportions which, in surveys made by others in the same countries and in the same year, were reported as expecting another big war in the next ten years. This disagreement led Buchanan and Cantril to feel that responses to these questions lack "validity." They may, but our analysis suggests that, if the responses are not highly correlated, it is because the questions often tap quite different dimensions of opinion, even though their wording is superficially comparable. Optimism about man's *ultimate* capacity to master his own nature and his social forms should not be confused with optimism about the immediate chances of war.

TABLE 12

BELIEF IN POSSIBILITY OF PEACE, IN PERCENTAGES BY COUNTRY AND EDUCATION*

	Educational Level		
Country	Primary	Secondary	University
Australia	41	40	53
Britain	45	50	52
France	47	48	54
Germany†	59	53	59
Italy	30	31	30
Mexico	16	19	33
Netherlands	41	52	45
Norway	54	57	62
United States	49	47	57

* Positive responses to the question: "Do you believe that it will be possible for all countries to live together at peace with each other?" Taken from data in Buchanan and Cantril, *op. cit.*, Appendix D.

† British Zone only.

Neither should optimism about man's potential for mastering himself and his environment be mistakenly assumed to be the simple equivalent of optimism about general economic development and personal economic prospects. We have a substantial number of studies reporting optimism about the national economy or about individual or personal economic prospects. There is no pattern from country to country, or at least no *consistent* pattern, in the responses to such questions as: "How soon do you expect a peace standard of living after the signing of a new peace treaty?" "Do you expect to be better off next year?" "Will there be a depression in the next two years?" Sometimes there is no structure of opinion at all; sometimes the higher classes are more

[29] See Cantril (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 785–88. Comparable questions were asked in Australia and the Netherlands, but class breaks were not reported (AGP, Nos. 579–89 [March-April, 1949]; Ballots 141, 145, 148 [April, May, July, 1949]). There are many technical problems raised by such questions, and the results remain ambiguous (see Buchanan and Cantril, *op. cit.*, p. 62).

optimistic, in other cases the lower classes. Often in one country a particular group is outstanding in its pessimism, but this is not true for the same group in other countries.[30] This has led us to conclude that specifically *economic* optimism is mainly determined by the unique economic conditions in a nation as a whole or by the distinctive prospects of certain groups in particular countries at different times. The economic optimism of particular groups is apparently not predictable either from their general position as wealthy or poor or by some common characteristic of their situation which prevails across national boundaries.

This is strikingly evident in the UNESCO study, in which the same question on economic expectations was asked in a number of countries in the same year: "When the war ended did you expect you would be getting along better, worse, or about the same, as you actually are getting along at the present time?" The question did not explicitly call for an assessment of economic prospects, but, from its context and the response pattern, it evidently was generally taken to apply to economic welfare. It also suffers from the defect of asking people how they had felt some years *earlier*, "when the war ended." This would be a rather indefinite time, not the same in all countries. These considerations must limit our confidence in the distinctive relevance of the answers to the issue discussed above. Such ambiguity in a question typically "washes out" patterns which might otherwise be observed. Allowing for it, there is virtually no steady association, country by country, between occupation and the percentage who at the end of the war (presumably 1945) expected to be getting along better than they actually were in 1948 (Table 13). For example, in France, the Netherlands, and the United States, business owners yielded more or less the lowest proportions, indicating that they had thought at the end of the war that things would turn out better than they seemed to have done by 1948. But in Britain, Germany, and Italy, the opposite was the case; business owners were outstanding in the proportion who reported that at the end of the war they had been too optimistic—in 1948 they were not getting on as well as they had earlier anticipated. A comparable lack of agreement is shown at other levels, and consequently there is no pattern in the responses by occupation from country to country.

This lack of pattern contrasts very sharply with the findings from a different question on economic prospects put to the same samples, namely, that on job security (Table 14). In this case, the structure of response, by occupation, was very similar from country to country and is particularly clear-cut in the four occupational groups at the bottom of the hierarchy. In seven of the nine countries farm laborers consistently had the lowest proportion, rank 8, reporting job security, and, in the remaining two countries, rank 7. By contrast, on the preceding question on expectations of economic outcome farm laborers held rank 8 only once, rank 7 once, and were actually in the first rank twice (see Table 13). The sum of differences between the average rank and the attained rank for each occupational group in all countries was two or three times larger for most occupational groups when economic welfare rather than job security was assessed.

We may then conclude that the degree of job security remains a fairly fixed quality or attribute of jobs *relative to each other* in the industrial hierarchy. Estimates of job security, therefore, yield a comparable structure of responses from country to country, rather than being variable in the manner of more general estimates of economic prospects. Even if economic security in a country decreases, it will probably drop for all or most groups, thus insuring that the cross-national pattern will be maintained. Within limits this will probably be true even when

[30] See AGP, Nos. 529–36 (July, 1948); NIPO, Ballot 129 (February, 1949), question 7B; and studies in the U.S., Great Britain, and Hungary reported in Cantril (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 63 (question 29), 66 (question 48 and 50), 141 (question 19), and 147 (question 6).

the decrease in security hits one stratum, such as workers, harder than others. To some degree the security pattern is built into the nature of large-scale industrial organization. It therefore produces a similar pattern from country to country.[31] The prospects for economic improvement for any group, especially relative to others, are by no means "structurally given" to anything like the same degree. Nothing in the nature of large-scale economic organization dictates what progress any stratum, relative to other strata, may or should make in the next year or the year after.

At first glance the fact that position on the socioeconomic ladder does not make possible prediction of the pattern of economic optimism from country to country may seem to impugn our original general theory. But the theory does not predict that the well-off will be uniformly optimistic about economic affairs. It states, rather, that the opinions and attitudes of men in all countries will be similarly shaped or patterned to the degree that they face similar objective conditions or situations, and are located in comparable positions in networks of power, influence, and interpersonal relations. Insofar as economic conditions held varying

[31] Perhaps an exception should be made for communist or socialist countries, but I think not. At least in the Soviet Union, if there is reorganization in industry the professional personnel are, I believe, actually more assured of continuing employment than are the ordinary workers. Of course, the communist countries have experienced chronic labor shortages while attempting rapid industrialization, and this has tended to eliminate insecurity about unemployment at all levels, except where political circumstances excluded a man from the right to work.

TABLE 13

EXPECTATIONS OF PERSONAL ECONOMIC BETTERMENT, IN PERCENTAGES BY COUNTRY AND OCCUPATION*

	Occupation							
Country	Business Owners	Farm Owners	Salaried Managers	Professionals	Clerical Workers	Artisans	Manual Workers	Farm Laborers
Australia	49	66	52	39	49	55	53	42
Britain	61	57	49	48	60	60	56	74
France	67	80	79	89	79	81	81	80
Germany†	49	37	45	47	44	39	50	42
Italy	38	37	29	21	37	37	52	54
Mexico	35	14	52	41	34	43	37	38
Netherlands	30	58	53	44	52	56	66	64
Norway	39	36	48	28	58	58	52	57
United States	29	30	38	37	45	49	36	22

* Persons who at the end of World War II *expected* to be getting along better than they now actually are. From data in Appendix D of Buchanan and Cantril, *op. cit.*, pp. 125–216.

† British Zone only

TABLE 14

JOB SECURITY COMPARED TO AVERAGE, IN PERCENTAGES BY COUNTRY AND OCCUPATION

	Occupation							
Country	Business Owners	Farm Owners	Salaried Managers	Professionals	Clerical Workers	Artisans	Manual Workers	Farm Laborers
Australia	60	53	70	79	57	50	48	33
Britain	47	43	52	56	31	30	32	29
France	24	27	43	28	20	16	10	11
Germany†	29	28	26	24	28	42	20	12
Italy	39	22	18	34	31	18	15	6
Mexico	59	100	74	80	62	50	46	38
Netherlands	48	20	51	51	36	19	11	7
Norway	4	18	48	24	21	14	29	9
United States	53	42	47	65	37	37	28	22

* From data by country in Appendix D of Buchanan and Cantril, *op. cit.*, pp. 125–216

† British Zone only.

promise of good or bad outcomes for particular economic strata in the individual nations, to that degree we would expect to find the local expressions of economic optimism more or less distinctive. Such lack of pattern is exactly what we do find. But the variation observed is probably not random. We would, however, take ourselves far afield if we endeavored to discover the rational or objective basis for each variation in response, group by group and country by country.

There are many other areas into which we might look—politics, religion, recreation, family life.[32] But the purpose of this study is to open a discussion, not to settle an issue. The following statements seem justified by our experience:

There is substantial evidence, over a wide attitudinal and experiential range, that perceptions, opinions, and values are systematically ordered in modern societies. The proportion of people who give a particular response increases or decreases fairly regularly as we move up or down the typical status ladders of occupation, income, education, and prestige. These patterns emerge not only in realms which are obviously closely related to status pressures but also in areas seemingly far removed. In every country the average or typical response may be distinctive, but the same order or structure is manifested within *each,* even though they vary widely in their economic and political development and have unique cultural histories. This similarity in the patterning of response seems best explained by assuming that, in significant degree, perceptions, attitudes and values are shaped by the networks of interpersonal relations in which individuals are enmeshed and particularly by rewards and punishments.

It follows that a careful study of the specific external situation of the major subgroups in any country would enable one to deduce the distinctive internal life—the perceptions, attitudes, and values—of those groups relative to each other. This makes the very large assumption, however, that one is equipped with a great battery of subtheories which specify the probable psychological outcome of a very wide range of diverse external situations, taken alone and in numerous combinations. With or without the requisite battery of subtheories, this is, in effect, what historians, anthropologists, and sociologists frequently attempt to do when they analyze life in some one nation or culture. However, the uniqueness of the external situation studied in each case, and the *ad hoc* nature of the theory used, make it difficult to test and refine theory and on this basis to accumulate firm empirical knowledge.

The cross-national or comparative approach permits concentration on a few widely present situational forces and facilitates the systematic testing and validation of theory. This paper's concentration on modern industrial society should not be understood, however, as suggesting it to be the only realm in which the theory sketched here is applicable. On the contrary, we expect that, whenever any set of nations places major social strata in a structure highly comparable from society to society, a cross-national attitudinal pattern similar to the one we observed will also be found. Theoretically, a parallel analysis could be made for the various strata of medieval European societies, of the traditional monarchies of the eighteenth century, or of the underdeveloped nations of the early twentieth century. In fact, any such effort would probably founder, either because we could not secure adequate information on the specific distribution of attitudes or because we could not satisfy the requirement that the situation of the subgroups, and the hierarchies in which they were organized, be strictly comparable from one society to the next.

The choice of industrial society as a field of investigation is therefore not based solely on grounds of methodological expediency or political interest. It is the only setting which relatively unambiguously satisfies the conditions to which the theory has

[32] The previously cited work in progress by S. M. Lipset and Juan Linz parallels this analysis in its application to political belief and action.

critical relevance. Modern society, most notably in the factory system, and secondarily in large-scale bureaucratic organizations in business, government, and other fields, is more or less unique in the extent to which it produces standardized contexts of experience. These are exportable, and are sought after to a degree which far exceeds the exportability of most other culture complexes. And to an extent far beyond what is true of other complexes, these resist being reformulated, changed, or adapted to suit the larger sociocultural environment into which they bluntly intrude or are invited or accepted.

The patterns of reaction we have observed are to be expected, however, only insofar as the hierarchies in the different countries are equivalent, not merely in the positions recognized, but also in the conditions of existence they provide for the incumbents of those statuses. Departures from the standard pattern (as distinguished from differences in the average response for any country) must in all cases be assumed to arise from empirically discoverable variations in the conditions of existence, by status. It follows, therefore, that, to the degree a nation's social structure approximates the model of a full-scale primary industrial society, to that degree will it more clearly show the differentiated structure of response we have delineated, and do so over a wider range of topics, problems, or areas of experience. There are, of course, many theoretical and methodological difficulties in developing a model of industrial society, which we cannot go into here. Suffice it to say that England before World War I, the United States between World Wars I and II, the Soviet Union and Western Germany after World War II all can be shown to have approximated the model in important respects. My anticipation is that all the currently developed nations and all those on the verge of developing will at some point approximate the model and will at that point show most clearly the patterns we have described.

This brings us to the often cited tendencies toward homogenization of experience in the most advanced industrial countries, notably the United States. If one general theory is valid, then to the extent that the conditions of life, the network of interpersonal relations in which people work, the patterns of reward and punishment, come to be more and more alike regardless of status and situs, to that degree should their perceptions, attitudes, and values become similar. In other words, the typical step pattern we observed would become less and less evident and might eventually disappear altogether. Furthermore, to the degree that similar conditions came to prevail in other countries, the same process of homogenization could be expected to manifest itself there as well. Indeed, although it seems far off and far-fetched, it could very well be that we will, in the future, come to have a fairly uniform world culture, in which not only nations but groups within nations will have lost their distinctive subcultures. In important respects—exclusive of such elements as language—most people might come to share a uniform, homogeneous culture as citizens of the world. This culture might make them, at least as group members, more or less indistinguishable in perceptual tendency, opinion, and belief not only from their fellow citizens in the same nation and their occupational peers in other nations but from all men everywhere.[38]

Such speculation of course goes far beyond what our data can at present support even remotely. The data are, furthermore, by no means unambiguous. The questions put in different countries, for one thing, are not comparable. But it is highly improbable that ambiguity in the stimulus would generate agreement in the response pattern. On the contrary, the likelihood is vastly greater that any consistent pattern really there would be muted or muffled by questions which put, in effect, a randomly varying stimulus to respondents in the different

[38] For a forceful—indeed extreme—argument of this position, including an exposition of the forces working to bring it about, see Roderick Seidenberg, *Post-historic Man: An Inquiry* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957).

countries. There is also the substantial problem that *within* any country a question in the same language may have quite different meaning for people with markedly dissimilar education. We obviously need to develop methods which insure that our questions, *as understood* by respondents of different countries and classes, are more strictly equivalent. We have methods which can satisfy this requirement in substantial degree. They are moderately costly, and require time, but the advantage of using them in scientific, as contrasted with the commercial, studies is great enough to warrant the cost.

Another difficulty arises with regard to the criteria to be used in determining when opinions are structured in any country and patterned across national boundaries. The usual statistical tests are not automatically applicable. In any event, for purposes of this exploratory study I have adopted a liberal and flexible definition. But in later, more systematic studies we must be prepared to specify our criteria more precisely and to apply them more rigorously.

A more imposing challenge to our findings is that in a great many items the variation in the average or typical response for different countries is so great as to dwarf into insignificance the similarity in pattern from nation to nation. The occupational or other hierarchy, in other words, often explains only a small part of the variance, at least as compared to dimensions like nationality, citizenship, or ethnicity. We should, perhaps, be pleased to have discovered *any* regularity in human behavior which persists across national boundaries, even if it is only "minor." It is also possible that often the seemingly great size of these differences among nations is more spurious than real and arises mainly from the fact that the questions used are not really comparable stimuli for the various respondents. The differences may, however, be very real indeed. If they are, then we will still have to choose between alternative explanations—the distinctive cultural tradition of a nation, on the one hand, and its level and style of economic and political development, on the other. Undoubtedly both factors exert major influence, and often they will be so intertwined as to make it impossible to assign separate weights to them. But careful selection of the countries to be studied—perhaps even matching countries with similar traditions but different economic or political development, and vice versa—would yield interesting results. It will be particularly important to seek to discover those realms of perception, opinion, and value which seems most influenced by the industrial social order, as against those which are relatively more tightly integrated in an autonomous pattern of traditional culture and hence more immune, or at least resistant, to change even in the presence of the standard industrial environment.

One last reservation is the claim that these data are subject to quite different explanations than those here offered. For example, the pattern can be explained as arising mainly from educational differences—not an alternative explanation, but really an integral part of my argument. The theory stresses that people are ordered in modern society in hierarchies of power, responsibility, prestige, income, and education. The amount of education a man receives is part of the structure of rewards. It also is a major element in determining his occupational status. As such it can be seen as merely an integral, although alternative, *index* of his *situation* rather than as an independent and alternative *explanation* of his *behavior.* But, quite apart from this, the theory holds that situational pressures exert an influence independent of the education of the incumbents of the position. To test this assumption and to discover how great is the independent influence of education, we would, of course, need to compare the responses of people with comparable education who occupied systematically different positions, and vice versa.

We obviously need more and better research on the important problem this initial exploration has barely opened up. It is to be

doubted, however, that merely by collecting more data of the type now in hand we can settle many of the issues. But through carefully designed studies, building on the experience of this exploration and sharply focused on some of the issues raised by it, we may expect to make substantial progress. We would hope to insure comparability in the meaning of the questions from country to country and from class to class. Instability and unreliability in the findings could further be greatly reduced by the use of scales to measure important universes of attitudes, in place of the single question which has been the standard in the past. Rather than gathering scattered bits and snippets of information from numerous different samples, we should aim to secure a rich set of responses from the *same* set of respondents in each country, thus providing the basis for studying patterns of interrelation among sets of perceptions, opinions and values. To aid in resolving some of the difficult problems of interpreting the findings we have so far accumulated, the countries studied should represent a wide range of stages and forms of economic development and cultural type. And the samples drawn from each should be not the bare minimum representative sample but, rather, carefully stratified and, where necessary, extensively overrepresented to provide subsamples large enough to permit complex internal comparisons. With sufficient resources we could reasonably hope to make substantial strides toward developing a respectable social psychology of industrial society.

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NOTES ON THE CONCEPT OF COMMITMENT[1]

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ABSTRACT

The concept of commitment is widely used but has received little formal analysis. It contains : implicit explanation of one mechanism producing consistent human behavior. Commitments come in being when a person, by making a side bet, links extraneous interests with a consistent line of activi Side bets are often a consequence of the person's participation in social organizations. To understa commitments fully, an analysis of the system of value within which side bets are made is necessary.

The term "commitment" enjoys an increasing vogue in sociological discussion. Sociologists use it in analyses of both individual and organizational behavior. They use it as a descriptive concept to mark out forms of action characteristic of particular kinds of people or groups. They use it as an independent variable to account for certain kinds of behavior of individuals and groups. They use it in analyses of a wide variety of phenomena: power, religion, occupational recruitment, bureaucratic behavior, political behavior, and so on.[2]

In spite of its widespread use, the appearance of the concept of commitment in sociological literature has a curious feature the reader with an eye for trivia will have noticed. In articles studded with citations to previous literature on such familiar concepts as power or social class, commitment emerges unscathed by so much as a single reference. This suggests what is in fact the case: there has been little formal analysis of the co cept of commitment and little attempt integrate it explicitly with current sociolog cal theory. Instead, it has been treated as primitive concept, introduced where tl need is felt without explanation or examin tion of its character or credentials. As often the case with unanalyzed concep used in an *ad hoc* fashion, the term has bee made to cover a wide range of common-sen meanings, with predictable ambiguities.

In what follows, I consider the uses which the concept of commitment has bee put and the possible reasons for its increa ing popularity, indicate the nature of one the social mechanisms to which the term in plicitly refers, and develop a rudimentar theory of the social processes and conditior involved in the operation of this mechanisn Because the term has been used to express varied assortment of ideas, it is fruitless speculate on its "real" meaning. I have in stead chosen one of the several image evoked by "commitment" and tried to mak its meaning clearer. In doing so, I will un avoidably short-change those for whom tl term evokes other of the associated image more strongly. The ultimate remedy for th injustice will be a classification and clarif cation of the whole family of images in volved in the idea of commitment.[3]

[1] An earlier version of this paper was presented at the meetings of the Midwest Sociological Society, April, 1959. I wish to thank Eliot Freidson, Blanche Geer, Sheldon Messinger, and the *Journal's* anonymous editorial consultants for their helpful comments.

[2] See the following examples: E. Abramson *et al.*, "Social Power and Commitment: A Theoretical Statement," *American Sociological Review,* XXIII (February, 1958), 15–22; Howard S. Becker and James Carper, "The Elements of Identification with an Occupation," *American Sociological Review,* XXI (June, 1956), 341–48; Bryan R. Wilson, "An Analysis of Sect Development," *American Sociological Review,* XXIV (January, 1959), 3–15; Philip Selznick, *TVA and the Grass Roots* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953); and Irving Howe and Lewis Coser, *The American Communist Party: A Critical History, 1919–57* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957).

[3] Such a classification and clarification are n attempted here. For a pioneer effort see Gregory Stone, "Clothing and Social Relations: A Study Appearance in the Context of Community Lif (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department Sociology, University of Chicago, 1959). I ha also confined myself to consideration of the co cept as it applies to individual behavior, though often appears in analyses of the behavior of organ zations.

I

Sociologists typically make use of the concept of commitment when they are trying to account for the fact that people engage in *consistent lines of activity*.[4] Howe and Coser, for instance, seek to explain the behavior of the follower of the Communist party line in this fashion: "The Stalinist did not commit himself to the use of Marxism; he committed himself to the claims of the Party that it 'possessed' Marxism."[5] By this they mean that the Stalinist did not undertake always to use Marxist styles of thought but that he did undertake always to honor the party's claim that it knew what the Marxist truth was. In short, they explain a man's persistent support of the shifting party line by referring to a commitment on his part to the belief that the party represented the source of correct Marxist knowledge.

The concept of commitment enjoys use in studies of occupational careers. We can explain the fact that men ordinarily settle down to a career in a limited field, and do not change jobs and careers with the alacrity of the proverbial economic man under changing market conditions, by referring to a process whereby they become committed to a particular occupation. James Carper and I found that graduate students in physiology originally wanted to become physicians but eventually developed commitments to the field of physiology such that they were no longer interested in the medical degree they had earlier desired so much.[6]

In these examples, and others that might be cited, commitment is used to explain what I have already called "consistent behavior." What are the characteristics of this kind of behavior, for which commitment seems so useful an explanatory variable?

To begin with, it persists over some period of time. The person continues to follow the party line; he remains in the same occupation. But the notion of a consistent line of activity implies more than this, for we often think of complexes of quite diverse kinds of activities as consistent. In fact, the examples just cited conceal a great diversity of activity. The Stalinist may engage in diametrically opposed lines of activity as the party line shifts. A person remaining in the same occupation may engage in many kinds of activity in the course of his career. The diverse activities have in common the fact that they are seen by the actor as activities which, whatever their external diversity, serve him in pursuit of the same goal. Finally, the notion of consistent lines of activity seems to imply a rejection by the actor of feasible alternatives. He sees several alternative courses open to him, each having something to commend it, but chooses one which best serves his purposes.

It is one of the central problems of social science, of course, to account for consistency, so defined, in human behavior. Many explanations have been forthcoming, but none has remained unscarred by critical attack. The volume of criticism suggests that sociologists are still looking for an unexceptionable explanation of consistent behavior. At the risk of doing violence, by reason of brevity, to some complex arguments, let me summarize these explanations and the criticisms that have been made of them.

Some of the most clearly sociological explanations (in the sense of being based most firmly in the process of social interaction) have been theories built around the related concepts of social sanction and social control. These theories propose that people act consistently because activity of some particular kind is regarded as right and proper in their society or social group and because deviations from this standard are punished. People act consistently, therefore, because it is morally wrong, practically inexpedient, or both, to do otherwise.

[4] Cf. Nelson N. Foote, "Concept and Method in the Study of Human Development," in *Emerging Problems in Social Psychology*, ed. Muzafer Sherif and M. O. Wilson (Norman, Okla.: Institute of Group Relations, 1957), pp. 29–53.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 521.

[6] Howard S. Becker and James Carper, "The Development of Identification with an Occupation," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXI (January, 1956), 289–98.

Such a theory, however, has still to explain consistently deviant behavior. Deviance is often explained by a circular process: a person who initially commits a minor infraction is increasingly alienated from normal society, therefore commits increasingly serious infractions, and so on.[7] Alternatively, it is explained as the result of a process of differential association:[8] the deviant has associated more with people who think his deviant act is proper than he has with those of the majority which thinks it is wrong. Again, deviance is explained by reference to a conflict between cultural goals which all members of the society value and a sharp restriction of institutionally legitimate means for achieving them;[9] this explanation, though, accounts only for the genesis of deviance and deals with the question of consistency only by assuming continuous presentation to the individual of the conflict. Serious objections have been raised as to the validity or area of applicability of all these theories; none constitutes a complete explanation of consistently deviant behavior.[10]

The second problem associated with theories based on the concept of social control, the fact that people obey social rules even when no sanctions would follow an infraction, has been dealt with by positing the internalization or a generalized other which constitutes the hidden audience that enforces the rules. This theory is quite generally accepted by sociologists but is just as generally criticized because it offers no reasonable explanation of how people choose one from among the many audiences they can mentally summon to observe any given act.

Other efforts to explain consistent lines of activity also meet criticism. Such activity is sometimes explained by the presumed existence of universally accepted cultural values which inform and constrain behavior. Thus a society is characterized by, let us say, a stress on the value of affective neutrality or the value of achievement; therefore, it is argued, people will consistently choose in any situation that alternative which allows expression of this value. Put another way, individuals will choose alternatives which are consistent with and logically deducible from such a basic value position. Such a theory has difficulty, first of all, in specifying what the basic values of a society are; those theorists who hold that modern society is characteristically ridden with value conflicts might claim such difficulty will be chronic. Second, such a theory does not explain the process by which values, so conceived, affect behavior. It is not likely, for instance, that people make logical deductions from value premises and act on them.

Explanations of consistent behavior are sometimes imported from psychology or psychoanalysis. They refer consistency of behavior to a stable structure of personal needs. They predicate that individuals have stable needs and consistently act so as to maximize the possibility of satisfying them. This kind of scheme is widely used in sociology, either alone or in eclectic combination. But the explanation of behavior by reference to needs not directly observable and, indeed, often inferred from the presence of the behavior they are supposed to explain often causes sociologists to feel queasy about employing it.

In short, many sociologists are dissatisfied with current explanations of consistent human behavior. In my view, use of the con-

[7] Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951), pp. 249–325.

[8] Albert K. Cohen, Alfred R. Lindesmith, and Karl F. Schuessler (eds.), *The Sutherland Papers* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1956), pp. 7–29.

[9] Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957), pp. 131–60.

[10] For some questions about the Parsons and Merton approaches see Albert K. Cohen, "The Study of Social Disorganiaztion and Deviant Behavior," in *Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects*, ed. Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. (New York: Basic Books, 1959), pp. 461–74. For Sutherland's own critique of the theory of differential association see Cohen, Lindesmith, and Schuessler (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 30–41. See also Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

cept of commitment in current sociology constitutes an attempt to solve the problem of explaining consistent human behavior in a sociological way without the flaws often attributed to the theories just reviewed. The concept hints at a theory which would do this, but it only hints; it does not deliver the theory full blown. Such a theory would contain a definition of the nature of acts or states of commitment. It would specify the conditions under which commitments come into being. It would indicate the consequences for behavior of acts or states of commitment. In the remainder of this paper I consider some of these points, not attempting to construct such a theory entire, but giving a first approximation of answers to these questions.

In writing of these questions, I have deliberately narrowed the referent of "commitment" to one specific social-psychological mechanism, one of the mechanisms hinted at in the term. It should be clear that this mechanism is not offered as the only possible explanation of consistent human behavior. The present analysis simply undertakes to clarify the nature of one of a family of related mechanisms operating to produce this result.

II

What kind of explanation of consistent human behavior lies implicit in the concept of commitment? Clearly, the person is envisioned as having acted in such a way ("made a commitment") or being in such a state ("being committed") that he will now follow a consistent course. But, as the term is ordinarily used, the nature of this act or state of commitment is not specified; it appears to be regarded as either self-explanatory or intuitively understandable. If we use the concept in this way, the proposition that commitment produces consistent lines of activity is tautological, for commitment, whatever our intuitions about its independent existence, is in fact synonymous with the committed behavior it is supposed to explain. It is a hypothesized event or condition whose occurrence is inferred from the fact that people act as though they were committed. Used in this way, the concept has the same flaws as those psychological theories which explain behavior by referring to some unobserved state of the actor's psyche, this state deduced from the occurrence of the event it is supposed to explain.

To avoid this tautological sin, we must specify the characteristics of "being committed" independent of the behavior commitment will serve to explain. Schelling, in his analysis of the process of bargaining,[11] furnishes a hypothetical example whose analysis may help us arrive at a characterization of the elements of one of the mechanisms that might be called "commitment." Suppose that you are bargaining to buy a house; you offer sixteen thousand dollars, but the seller insists on twenty thousand. Now suppose that you offer your antagonist in the bargaining certified proof that you have bet a third party five thousand dollars that you will not pay more than sixteen thousand dollars for the house. Your opponent must admit defeat because you would lose money by raising your bid; you have committed yourself to pay no more than you originally offered.

This commitment has been achieved by making a *side bet*. The committed person has acted in such a way as to involve other interests of his, originally extraneous to the action he is engaged in, directly in that action. By his own actions prior to the final bargaining session he has staked something of value to him, something originally unrelated to his present line of action, on being consistent in his present behavior. The consequences of inconsistency will be so expensive that inconsistency in his bargaining stance is no longer a feasible alternative.

The major elements of commitment present themselves in this example. First, the individual is in a position in which his decision with regard to some particular line of action has consequences for other interests

[11] Thomas C. Schelling, "An Essay on Bargaining," *American Economic Review*, XLVI (June, 1956), 281–306.

and activities not necessarily related to it.[12] Second, he has placed himself in that position by his own prior actions. A third element is present, though so obvious as not to be apparent: the committed person must be aware that he has made the side bet and must recognize that his decision in this case will have ramifications beyond it. The element of recognition of the interest created by one's prior action is a necessary component of commitment because, even though one has such an interest, he will not act to implement it (will not act so as to win his side bet) unless he realizes it is necessary.

Note that in this example commitment can be specified independent of the consistent activity which is its consequence. The side bet not to pay more and the additional interest this creates in sticking to the original offered price occur independent of the fact of refusing to pay more. Were we to interview this clever bargainer before the final bargaining session, he presumably would tell us that he understood his interests could now be served only by paying no more.

Thus, whenever we propose commitment as an explanation of consistency in behavior, we must have independent observations of the major components in such a proposition: (1) prior actions of the person staking some originally extraneous interest on his following a consistent line of activity; (2) a recognition by him of the involvement of this originally extraneous interest in his present activity; and (3) the resulting consistent line of activity.

We cannot, of course, often expect social life to be of the classic simplicity of this economic example. Rather, interests, side bets and acts of commitment, and consequent behavior will seem confounded and irremediably mixed, and it will require considerable ingenuity to devise appropriate indexes with which to sort them out. But the economic example shows us the skeleton we can look for beneath the flesh of more complicated social processes.

III

If we confined our use of commitment to those cases where individuals have deliberately made side bets, we would seldom bring it into our analyses of social phenomena. What interests us is the possibility of using it to explain situations where a person finds that his involvement in social organization has, in effect, made side bets for him and thus constrained his future activity. This occurs in several ways.

A person sometimes finds that he has made side bets constraining his present activity because the existence of *generalized cultural expectations* provides penalties for those who violate them. One such expectation operates in the area of work. People feel that a man ought not to change his job too often and that one who does is erratic and untrustworthy. Two months after taking a job a man is offered a job he regards as much superior but finds that he has, on the side, bet his reputation for trustworthiness on not moving again for a period of a year and regretfully turns the job down. His decision about the new job is constrained by his having moved two months prior and his knowledge that, however attractive the new job, the penalty in the form of a reputation for being erratic and unstable will be severe if he takes it. The existence of generalized cultural expectations about the behavior of responsible adult males has combined with his recent move to stake his personal reputation, nominally extraneous to the decision about the new job, on that decision.

A person often finds that side bets have been made for him by the operation of *impersonal bureaucratic arrangements*. To take a simple instance, a man who wishes to leave his current job may find that, because of the rules governing the firm's pension fund, he is unable to leave without losing a considerable sum of money he has in that fund. Any decision about the new job in-

[12] So far, the definition of commitment proposed here parallels that of Abramson *et al.* (*op. cit.*, p. 16): "*Committed* lines are those lines of action the actor feels obligated to pursue by force of penalty . . . . Committed lines . . . are sequences of action with penalities and costs so arranged as to guarantheir selection."

volves a financial side bet the pension fund has placed for him by its rules.

The situation of the Chicago schoolteacher presents a somewhat more complicated system of side bets made by the operation of bureaucratic arrangements. Teachers prefer to teach middle-class children. To do so, they must be assigned to a school containing such children. Teachers can request assignment to as many as ten different schools; assignments are made, as openings occur, to the teacher whose request for a given school is of longest standing. New teachers are assigned to schools for which there are no requests, the lower-class schools teachers like least. The desirable schools have the longest list of requests outstanding, while less desirable schools have correspondingly shorter lists. The teacher in the lower-class school who desires to transfer must, in picking out the ten schools she will request, take into account the side bets the operation of the bureaucratic transfer system has made for her. The most important such bet has to do with time. If she selects one of the most desirable schools, she finds that she has lost a bet about the time it will take her to get out of her present position, for it takes a long time to reach the top of the list for one of these schools. She can instead choose a less desirable school (but better than her present situation) into which she can move more quickly, thus winning the side bet on time. This system of bets constraining her transfer requests has been made in advance by the bureaucratic rules governing requests for transfer.[13]

One might ask in what sense the person's prior actions have made a side bet in these two instances. How has he, by his own act, placed himself in a position where his decision on a new job or request for transfer involves these other considerations? Is it not rather the case that he has had no part in it, being constrained by forces entirely outside himself? We can without sophistry, I think, locate the crucial action which has created the commitment in the person's acquiescence to the system, in his agreeing to work under the bureaucratic rules in force. By doing this, he has placed all the bets which are given in the structure of that system, even though he does not become aware of it until faced with an important decision.

Side bets constraining behavior also come into existence through the process of *individual adjustment to social positions*. A person may so alter his patterns of activity in the process of conforming to the requirements for one social position that he unfits himself for other positions he might have access to. In so doing, he has staked the ease of performance in the position on remaining where he is. To return to our earlier example, some Chicago schoolteachers chose to remain in a lower-class school for the lengthy period necessary to reach the top of the list for a very desirable middle-class school. When the opportunity to make the move came, they found that they no longer desired to move because they had so adjusted their style of teaching to the problems of dealing with lower-class children that they could not contemplate the radical changes necessary to teach middle-class children. They had, for instance, learned to discipline children in ways objectionable to middle-class parents and become accustomed to teaching standards too low for a middle-class school.[14] They had, in short, bet the ease of performance of their job on remaining where they were and in this sense were committed to stay.

Goffman's analysis of *face-to-face interaction*[15] suggests another way side bets are made through the operation of social processes. He notes that persons present to their fellows in any sequence of interaction an image of themselves they may or may not be able to live up to. Having once claimed to be a certain kind of person, they find it necessary to act, so far as possible, in an

[13] For a fuller account of the operation of this system see Howard S. Becker, "The Career of the Chicago Public Schoolteacher," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVII (March, 1952), 470–77.

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 473–75.

[15] Erving Goffman, "On Face-Work," *Psychiatry*, XVIII (August. 1955), 213–31.

appropriate way. If one claims implicitly, in presenting himself to others, to be truthful, he cannot allow himself to be caught in a lie and is in this way committed to truth-telling. Goffman points out that the rules governing face-to-face interaction are such that others will ordinarily help one preserve the front he has put forward ("save face"). Nevertheless, a person will often find his activity constrained by the kind of front he has earlier presented in interaction; he finds he has bet his appearance as a responsible participant in interaction on continuing a line of activity congruent with that front.

This review of the social mechanisms through which persons make side bets extraneous to a particular line of activity that nevertheless later constrain that activity is not exhaustive. It serves only to point the direction for empirical study of side-bet mechanisms, in the course of which a more definitive classification might be made.

IV

As some of our examples indicate, commitments are not necessarily made conciously and deliberately. Some commitments do result from conscious decisions, but others arise crescively; the person becomes aware that he is committed only at some point of change and seems to have made the commitment without realizing it. By examining cases of both kinds, we may get some hints toward a theory of the genesis of commitments.

Such a theory might start with the observation that the commitment made without realization that it is being made—what might be termed the "commitment by default"—arises through a series of acts no one of which is crucial but which, taken together, constitute for the actor a series of side bets of such magnitude that he finds himself unwilling to lose them. Each of the trivial acts in such a series is, so to speak, a small brick in a wall which eventually grows to such a height the person can no longer climb it. The ordinary routines of living—the daily recurring events of every-day life—stake increasingly more valuable things on continuing a consistent line of behavior, although the person hardly realizes this is happening. It is only when some event changes the situation so as to endanger those side bets that the person understands what he will lose if he changes his line of activity. The person who contributes a small amount of each paycheck to a non-transferable pension fund which eventually becomes sizable provides an apposite illustration of this process; he might willingly lose any single contribution but not the total accumulated over a period of years.

If this is the case with commitment by default, we might conjecture that it is also true of commitments resulting from conscious decisions. Decisions do not of themselves result in consistent lines of action, for they are frequently changed. But some decisions do produce consistent behavior. We can perhaps account for this variety of outcomes of decisions by the proposition that only those decisions bolstered by the making of sizable side bets will produce consistent behavior. Decisions not supported by such side bets will lack staying power, crumpling in the face of opposition or fading away to be replaced by other essentially meaningless decisions until a commitment based on side bets stabilizes behavior.[16]

We might also note that a consistent line of activity will often be based on more than one kind of side bet; several kinds of things valuable to the person may be staked on a particular line of activity. For instance, the man who hesitates to take a new job may be deterred by a complex of side bets: the financial loss connected with a pension fund he would lose if he moved; the loss of seniority and "connections" in his present firm which promise quick advance if he stays; the loss of ease in doing his work because of his success in adjusting to the

[16] The preceding paragraphs are adapted from Howard S. Becker, "The Implications of Research on Occupational Careers for a Model of Household Decision Making," in *Consumer Behavior*, Vol. IV: *Models of Household Decision Making*, ed. Nelson Foote (forthcoming).

particular conditions of his present job; the loss of ease in domestic living consequent on having to move his household; and so on.

V

For a complete understanding of a person's commitments we need one more element: an analysis of the system of values or, perhaps better, valuables with which bets can be made in the world he lives in. What kinds of things are conventionally wanted, what losses feared? What are the good things of life whose continued enjoyment can be staked on continuing to follow a consistent line of action?

Some systems of value permeate an entire society. To recur to Schelling's example of the canny house-buyer, economic commitments are possible only within the confines of a system of property, money, and exchange. A side bet of five thousand dollars has meaning only where money is conventionally valued.

However, it is important to recognize that many sets of valuable things have value only within subcultural groups in a society and that many side bets producing commitment are made within systems of value of limited provenience. Regional, ethnic, and social class subcultures all provide raw material for side bets peculiar to those sharing in the culture, as do the variants of these related to differing age and sex statuses. A middle-class girl can find herself committed to a consistently chaste line of behavior by the sizable side bet of her reputation that middle-class culture attaches to virginity for females. A girl who is a member of a social class where virginity is less valued could not be committed in this way; and, except for a few puritanical enclaves in our society, boys cannot acquire commitments of this kind at all, for male virginity has little value, and no side bet of any magnitude could be made with it.[17]

More limited subcultures, such as those associated with occupational groups or political parties, also provide sets of valuables with which side bets can be made. These esoteric systems of value must be discovered if the commitments of group members are to be understood. For instance, the professional dance musician achieves job security by becoming known as a dependable man to a large group of employing bandleaders and to an even larger group of musicians who are not leaders but will recommend him for jobs they hear about. The dependable man is, among other things, a man who will take any job offered him unless he is already engaged; by doing this, he shows that he will not let a leader who needs a vital man down. His reputation for not letting leaders down has economic value to him, for leaders who believe in that reputation will keep him working. When he is offered a job that he does not, for whatever reason, want, he finds himself committed to taking it anyway; by failing to do so, he would lose the reputation for dependability and the consequent steady supply of jobs the value system of the music business has bet for him on his consistency in always taking whatever job is offered.[18]

In short, to understand commitments fully, we must discover the systems of value within which the mechanisms and processes described earlier operate. By so doing, we understand not only how side bets are made but the kind of counters with which they can be made; in fact, it is likely that we cannot fully penetrate the former without understanding the latter.

VI

The conception of commitment I have been proposing has certain disadvantages for empirical and theoretical work. In the first place, many of the difficulties faced in using other theories remain unresolved. People often have conflicting commitments,

[17] I hasten to say that this illustration is hypothetical; I do not know the facts of the differential distribution of evaluations of chastity.

[18] An earlier and somewhat different account of dance musicians' job security can be found in Howard S. Becker, "Some Contingencies of the Professional Dance Musician's Career," *Human Organization*, XII (Spring, 1953), 22-26.

and the theory proposed here offers no answer to the question of how people choose between the commitments they have acquired when such conflicts are activated. Problems like this do not magically disappear on the introduction of a new concept.

Furthermore, the limited conception of commitment I have suggested covers a limited area. Many kinds of consistent behavior will probably prove unexplainable in its terms. This is as it should be, for analytic precision comes through the breaking-down of global categories into more limited and homogenous classificatory types. However, the concept of commitment has been made to cover such a wide range of phenomena in ordinary discourse that confusion may arise from trying to limit its use. This difficulty should be met by clarifying analytically the several mechanisms that have been subsumed under commitment, the conditions under which they operate, and the ways they may be distinguished from one another.[10] It seems convenient to retain "commitment" to refer to the specific mechanism of constraint of behavior through previously placed side bets and use such terms as "involvement," "attachment," "vocation," "obligation," and so on, to refer to related but distinguishable phenomena. Unfortunately, we cannot make our concepts precise and at the same time keep the full range of evocative meaning they have acquired in ordinary discourse.

These disadvantages, serious as they are, must be weighed against the advantages that use of the concept confers. First, the idea of the side bet allows us to specify the elements of commitment independently of the consistent line of behavior they are used to account for and thus avoid tautology. Though it may not always be easy to find empirical indicators of the side bets constraining people's activity, side bets and consistent activity are in principle distinguishable, and we are thus able to avoid a common difficulty in the use of the concepts.

Beyond this, the conception of commitment I have sketched gives us the theoretical tools for assimilating the common-sense notion that people often follow lines of activity for reasons quite extraneous to the activity itself. While we are all aware of this fact, we have no conceptual language which allows us to put this insight to work in our research and theory. The concept of commitment furnishes the requisite terms. In addition, it outlines the mechanisms by which past actions link extraneous interests to a line of activity.

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[10] See Stone, *op. cit.*, and Erving Goffman, "Role Distance" (unpublished paper).

UNCERTAINTY IN MEDICAL PROGNOSIS

CLINICAL AND FUNCTIONAL[1]

FRED DAVIS

ABSTRACT

What passes for diagnostic and prognostic uncertainty in communication between doctor and patient is not always or wholly a function of medicine's level of scientific and clinical knowledge. This became evident in a study of what parents of children with poliomyelitis were and were not told by the hospital's treatment staff concerning the amount of residual handicapping to be expected. While the staff became increasingly certain in their prognosis, the families were allowed to remain optimistically uncertain for a long time. In medical practice the communication of uncertainty or certainty can take many guises, and these, it is suggested, will vary, depending in large part on the organizational context of the doctor-patient relationship.

Medical sociology is indebted to Talcott Parsons for having called attention to the important influence of uncertainty on the relationship between doctor and patient in the treatment of illness and disease.[2] This is described as a primary source of strain in the physician's role, not only because clinically it so often obscures and vitiates definitive diagnoses and prognoses, but also because in an optimistic and solution-demanding culture such as ours it poses serious and delicate problems in the communicating of the unknown and the problematic to the patient and his family. In line with this view, Renée Fox has recently made an insightful analysis of the curriculum of a medical school, showing how, both from a formal and an informal standpoint, one of its functions is to socialize the student to cope more successfully with uncertainty.[3]

Granting the self-evident plausibility of the hypothesis, sociological studies of medical practice thus far have neglected to assess empirically its scope and significance in the actual treatment of specific illnesses or diseases.[4] As a ready-made explanation of a disturbing element in the relationship between doctor and patient, the concept—uncertainty—stands in danger of being applied in a catch-all fashion whenever, for example, the sociologist notes that communication from doctor to patient is characterized by duplicity, evasion, or other forms of strain. That other factors, having relatively little to do with uncertainty, can also systematically generate strain in the relationship may unfortunately be ignored because of the disposition to subsume phenomena under pre-existent categories.

The present paper examines the scope and significance of uncertainty as evidenced in the treatment of a particular disease. Specifically, it seeks to distinguish between "real" uncertainty as a clinical and scientific phenomenon and the uses to which uncertainty—real or pretended, "functional" uncertainty—lends itself in the management of patients and their families by

[1] Revised version of a paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, Chicago, September, 1959. I wish to thank Anselm Strauss, Julius A. Roth, and Stephen A. Richardson for their valuable criticisms. Acknowledgment is also due my former colleagues, Harvey A. Robinson, Joseph S. Bierman, Toba Tahl, Arthur Silverstein, and Martin Gorten, of the Polio Project, Psychiatric Institute, University of Maryland Medical School, with whom I collaborated in research. The project was aided by a grant from the National Foundation.

[2] Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951), pp. 466–69.

[3] Renée Fox, "Training for Uncertainty," in R. K. Merton, G. Reader, and P. L. Kendall (eds.), *The Student Physician* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957), pp. 207–41.

[4] Partial exception must be made for the as yet largely unpublished works of Julius A. Roth (Community Studies, Inc., Kansas City, Missouri) on treatment procedures in the tuberculosis hospital. Several of the points to be discussed here are treated from a somewhat different vantage point by Roth under such headings as "Control of Information" and "Negotiation and Bargaining between Staff and Patients."

hospital physicians and other treatment personnel. By extrapolation this distinction suggests a fourfold typology of patterns of communication from doctor to patient analysis of which highlights important sources of strain other than uncertainty.

The disease in question is paralytic poliomyelitis, and the subjects are fourteen Baltimore families, in each of which a young child had contracted the disease. These were studied longitudinally over a two-year period by an interdisciplinary team of social scientists and research physicians whose broad interest was in assessing the total impact of the experience on child and family. Except for one family that dropped out midway in the study, in each case the child with polio and his parents were interviewed at intervals from the time of the child's admission to a pediatrics ward in the acute stage of the disease to approximately a year and a half following his discharge from a convalescent hospital.

From the very first interview with the parents, held within a week or so following the child's admission to the hospital, to the fourteenth and final interview with them some two years later, the research was aimed at determining at every stage what the parents knew and understood about polio in general and their child's condition in particular and through whom and how they came to acquire such knowledge and understanding as they had on these matters. In addition to being interviewed in home and office, the parents were also observed from time to time in the hospital on visiting days—this being their only regular opportunity to discuss their child's condition with the physician-in-charge as he made his round of the ward. It might be noted here that, with few exceptions, the parents soon came to regard these encounters as especially frustrating and of little value in getting information on questions which were troubling them. Although the situation on visiting day did not permit the observers to come away with word-for-word records of what went on, their perfunctory character was sufficiently evident to substantiate the descriptions later given by the parents in interview. As one mother remarked:

> Well, they [the doctors] don't tell you anything, hardly. They don't seem to want to. I mean, you start asking questions and they say, "Well, I only have about three minutes to talk to you." And the things that you ask, they don't seem to want to answer you. So I don't ask them anything any more.

Finally, to round out coverage of the network of communication involving the parents, interviews were held with the hospital physicians, physiotherapists, and other ancillary personnel responsible for the child's treatment and care. Here a major goal was to learn what their diagnosis and prognosis were of the child's condition and on what medical considerations these were based.

By bringing together the interview and observational data gathered from these several sources, it was possible to compare and contrast, at successive stages of the disease and its treatment, what the parents knew and understood of the child's condition with what the doctors knew and understood. One must assume that the doctor's knowledge of the disease and its physical effects is more accurate, comprehensive, and profound than that of the parents. The problem, then, could be stated: How much information was communicated to the parents? How was it communicated? And what consequences did this communication have on the parents' expectations of the child's illness and prospects for recovery?[5] And, since in paralytic poliomyelitis (as in many other diseases and illnesses) uncertainty does affect the making of diagnoses and prognoses, an attempt was made to assess the scope, significance, and duration of uncertainty for the doctor. This then provided some basis for inferring the extent to which the parents' knowledge and expectations, or lack thereof, could also be attributed ultimately to uncertainty.

For purposes of simplicity, the discussion that follows is restricted to uncertainty only

[5] See Fred Davis, "Definitions of Time and Recovery in Paralytic Polio Convalescence," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXI (May, 1956), 582–87.

as it impinges on the prognosis of residual disability expected as a result of the poliomyelitic attack. This subsumes questions of such relatively great moment to child and parent as: Would he be permanently handicapped? Would he require the aid of braces and other supportive appliances? Would his handicap be so severe as to prevent him from engaging in a wide range of normal motor activities or be barely detectable?

Now the pathological course of paralytic poliomyelitis is such that, during the first weeks following onset, it is difficult in most cases for even the most skilled diagnostician to make anything like a definite prognosis of probable residual impairment and functional disability. During the acute phase of the disease and for a period thereafter, the examining physician has no practical way of directly measuring or indirectly inferring the amount of permanent damage or destruction sustained by the horn cells of the spinal cord as a result of the viral attack. (It is basically the condition of these cells, and not that of the muscles neurologically activated by them, that accounts for the paralysis.) Roughly, a one- to three-month period for spontaneous recovery of the damaged spinal cells—a highly unpredictable matter in itself—must first be allowed for before the effects of the disease are sufficiently stabilized to permit a clinically well-founded prognosis.

During this initial period of the child's hospitalization, therefore, the physician is hardly ever able to tell the parents anything definite about the child's prospects of regaining lost muscular function. In view of the very real uncertainty, to attempt to do so would indeed be hazardous. To the parents' insistent questions, "How will he come out of it?" "Will he have to wear a brace?" "Will his walk be normal?" and so on, the invariable response of treatment personnel was that they did not know and that only time would tell. Thus during these first weeks the parents came to adopt a longer time perspective and more qualified outlook than they had to begin with.[6]

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 583–85.

By about the sixth week to the third month following onset of the disease, however, the orthopedist and physiotherapist are in position to make reasonably sound prognoses of the amount and type of residual handicap. This is done on the basis of periodic muscle examinations from which the amount and rate of return of affected muscular capacity is plotted. The guiding contingencies for prognosis are:

Muscles that have shown early and rapidly developing return of strength will probably make a full recovery. Those which have but moderate or little strength at the end of this period will probably never make complete recovery. Muscles which are completely paralyzed at the end of this period will probably always remain so. In other words, at the end of this period the spinal motor cells have or have not recovered their physiologic activity and no further change in them may be expected.[7]

By this time, therefore, the element of clinical uncertainty regarding outcome, so conspicuously present when the child is first stricken, is greatly reduced for the physician, if not altogether eliminated.[8] Was there then a commensurate gain in the parents' understanding of the child's condition after this six-week to three-month period had passed? Did they then, as did the doctors, come to view certain outcomes as highly probable and others as improbable?

On the basis of intensive and repeated interviewing of the parents over a two-year period, the answer to these questions is that, except for one case in which the muscle

[7] The American Orthopaedic Association, "Infantile Paralysis, or Acute Poliomyelitis: A Brief Primer of the Disease and Its Treatment," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, CXXXI (August 24, 1946), 1414.

[8] As in nearly all applied fields of endeavor, medicine necessarily deals in probabilities rather than absolutes. Hence some measure of uncertainty is always present, the crucial question being the matter of degree and not the mere presence. Admittedly, no hard-and-fast lines can be drawn at the point at which uncertainty acquires therapeutic significance; but, if the concept is to have any analytical value at all, it cannot be applied to all instances of illness in which it is possible to concede the existence of some degree of uncertainty, however slight. If this were done, there would not be an instance to which it did not apply.

check pointed clearly to full recovery, the parents were neither told nor explicitly prepared by the treatment personnel to expect an outcome significantly different from that which they understandably hoped for, namely, a complete and natural recovery for the child. This does not imply that the doctors issued falsely optimistic prognoses or that, through indirection and other subtleties, they sought to encourage the parents to expect more by way of recovery than was possible. Rather, what typically transpired was that the parents were kept in the dark. The doctors' answers to their questions were couched for the most part in such hedging, evasive, or unintelligibly technical terms[9] as to cause them, from many such contacts, to expect a more favorable recovery than could be justified by the facts then known. As one treatment-staff member put it, "We try not to tell them too much. It's better if they find out for themselves in a natural sort of way."

Indeed, it was disheartening to note how, for many of the parents, "the natural way" consisted of a painfully slow and prolonged dwindling of expectations for a complete and natural recovery. This is ironical when one considers that as early as two to three *months following onset the doctors and* physiotherapists were able to tell members of the research team with considerable confidence that one child would require bracing for an indefinite period; that another would never walk with a normal gait; that a third would require a bone-fusion operation before he would be able to hold himself erect; and so on. By contrast, the parents of these children came to know these prognoses much later, if at all. And even then their understanding of them was in most instances partial and subject to considerable distortion.

But what is of special interest here is the way in which uncertainty, a *real* factor in the early diagnosis and treatment of the paralyzed child, came more and more to serve the purely managerial ends of the treatment personnel in their interaction with parents. Long after the doctor himself was no longer in doubt about the outcome, the perpetuation of uncertainty in doctor-to-family communication, although perhaps neither premeditated nor intended, can nonetheless best be understood in terms of its functions in the treatment system. These are several, and closely connected.

Foremost is the way in which the pretense of uncertainty as to outcome serves to reduce materially the expenditure of additional time, effort, and involvement which a frank and straightforward prognosis to the family might entail. The doctor implicitly recognizes that, were he to tell the family that the child would remain crippled or otherwise impaired to some significant extent, he would easily become embroiled in much more than a simple, factual medical prognosis. Presenting so unwelcome a prospect is bound to meet with a strong—and, according to many of the treatment personnel, "unmanageable"—emotional reaction from parents; among other things, it so threatens basic life-values which they cherish for the child, such as physical attractiveness, vocational achievement, a good marriage, and, perhaps most of all, his being *perceived and responded to in society as* "normal, like everyone else." Moreover, to the extent to which the doctor feels some professional compunction to so inform the parents, the bustling, time-conscious work milieu of the hospital supports him in the convenient rationalization that, even were he to take the trouble, the family could not or would not understand what he had to tell them anyway.[10] Therefore, in hedging, being evasive, equivocating, and cutting short his contact with the parents, the doctor was able to avoid "scenes" with them and having to explain to and comfort them,

[9] Cf. Bernard Kutner, "Surgeons and Their Patients," in E. Gartly Jaco (ed.), *Patients, Physicians and Illness* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958), p. 390.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 391. Particularly with working-class families, of which there were ten out of fourteen in the study, the propensity of doctors (and other professionals, for that matter) to resort to this particular rationalization is accentuated accordingly. However, the barriers toward giving any parent this kind of information appeared so pervasive that the four lower-middle-class and middle-class families fared hardly any better.

tasks, at least in the hospital, often viewed as onerous and time-consuming.

Second, since the parents had been told repeatedly during the first weeks of the child's illness that the outcome was subject to great uncertainty, it was not difficult for them, once having accepted the idea, to maintain and even to exaggerate it, particularly in those cases in which the child's progress fell short of full recovery. For, equivocally, uncertainty can be grounds for hope as well as despair; and when, for example, after six months of convalescence the child returned home crippled, the parents could and characteristically did interpret uncertainty to mean that he still stood a good chance of making a full and natural recovery in the indefinite future. The belief in a recuperative moratorium was held long after there was any real possibility of the child's making a full recovery, and with a number of families it had the unfortunate effect of diverting them from taking full advantage of available rehabilitation procedures and therapies. In fact, with few exceptions the parents typically mistook rehabilitation for cure, and, because little was done to correct this misapprehension, they often passively consented to a regimen prescribed for the child which they might have rejected had they known that it had nothing to do with effecting a cure.[11]

Last, it must be noted that in the art (as opposed to the science and technique) of medicine, a sociologically inescapable facet of treatment—often irrespective of how much is clinically known or unknown—is frequently that of somehow getting the patient and his family to accept, "put up with," or "make the best of" the socially and physically disadvantageous consequences of illness. Both patient and family are understandably reluctant to do this at first, if for no other reason than that it usually entails a dramatic revaluation in identity and self-conception. Not only in paralytic poliomyelitis but in numerous other chronic and long-term illnesses, such as cardiac disease, cancer, tuberculosis, mental illness, and diabetes, such is usually the case. Depending on a number of variables, not the least of which are those of personality, the cultural background of the family, and the treatment setting, a number of stratagems besides that of rendering a full and frank diagnosis and prognosis (even when clinically known) are open to the physician who must carry the family through this difficult period.[12] Whereas the evasiveness and equivocality of hospital treatment staff described here may not have been as skilled or effective a means for accomplishing this as others which come to mind, it must in fairness be recognized that there is still little agreement within medical circles on what practice should be in these circumstances. (The perennial debate on whether a patient and his family should be told that he is dying of cancer, and when and how much they should be told, is an extreme though highly relevant case in point.) And perhaps the easiest recourse of the hospital practitioner—who, organizationally, is better barricaded and further removed from the family than, for example, the neighborhood physician—is to avoid it altogether.

Clearly, then, clinical uncertainty is not responsible for all that is not communicated to the patient and his family. Other factors, interests, and circumstances intrude in the rendering of medical prognoses, with the result that what the patient is told is uncertain and problematic may often not be so at all. And, conversely, what he is made to feel is quite certain may actually be highly uncertain. As the rough fourfold schema of Figure 1 suggests, there are at least two modes of communication (2 and 3) that reveal a discrepancy between what the doctor knows and what he tells the patient. Before turning to these, however, we shall consider the two "pure," non-discrepant modes (1 and 4).

[11] See W. E. Moore and M. N. Tumin, "Some Social Functions of Ignorance," *American Sociological Review*. XIV (December. 1949). 787–95.

[12] Doctors are by no means the only ones who are routinely called upon to shepherd others through difficult status transitions (see Erving Goffman, "On Cooling the Mark Out." *Psychiatry*, XV [November. 1952]. 451–63).

The first of these, "Communication" (1), refers to the common occurrence in which the physician can, in accordance with the state of medical knowledge and his own skill, make a reasonably definite prognosis of the condition requiring treatment and communicate it to the patient in terms sufficiently comprehensible to him. Though not always as uncomplicated as it sounds, this is perhaps the main kind of exchange of information between doctors and patients, particularly as regards the simple and minor ailments brought daily to the average practitioner's attention. It is also, of course, the ideal mode of communication toward which the relationship of doctor and patient universally aspires.

	CERTAINTY	UNCERTAINTY
PROGNOSIS GIVEN PATIENT	(1) Communication	(2) Dissimulation
PROGNOSIS NOT GIVEN PATIENT	(3) Evasion	(4) Admission of Uncertainty

FIG. 1

On the other hand, an "Admission of Uncertainty" (4), where no other prognosis is clinically justifiable, is by its nature a more difficult and unstable mode of communication, the manifestations of which will vary considerably, depending on the personal and institutional contexts of practice. Such instability derives mainly from certain mutually reinforcing interests of the two parties: the doctor, who as a matter of professional obligation seeks to narrow the range of uncertainty as far as possible, and the patient, who wishes simply and often naïvely to know what is wrong and how he can be made to feel better. These and other pressures that would prevent an open admission of uncertainty can more easily be resisted in the bureaucratized hospital setting—as, indeed, they initially were in the case of the families of the children with polio—than, for example, in neighborhood private practice. For, given the widespread intolerance of uncertainty in our culture, the hospital-anchored physician is better insulated from the prejudices, sensitivities, and economic sanctions of those he treats than is his neighborhood counterpart.[13] The latter, particularly if his practice comes mainly from word-of-mouth referrals by an established clientele, runs the potentially costly risk of driving patients elsewhere, that is, to a more "accomodating" competitor, if he states his uncertainty in too bald and unrelieved a manner. Differential economic and reputational risks of this kind in medical practice may be, incidentally, not wholly unrelated to the increasing contemporary tendency to assign the untreatable, chronic, or highly problematic condition to the relatively impersonal hospital setting, where whatever may occur redounds less decisively to the disadvantage (or credit) of any single responsible individual unless it be of the patient.

Owing in large part to a currently inadequate scientific grounding, certain fields of medical practice, as psychiatry, permit little more than admissions of uncertainty in a very large number of cases. Yet, even here, it is to be questioned whether the office psychiatrist can as a matter of course adopt the same unyielding, non-commital, antiprognostic stance with his private, fee-paying patients as does the state-hospital psychiatrist with the severely mentally ill and their families—this despite the fact that nowadays, as with pneumonia and the common cold, the psychopathology treated in the mental hospital affords better grounds for prognosis than do the psychoneuroses and character disorders seen in the consulting room. Nonetheless, in the case of the latter, there is usually held out—after all due qualification and reservation—a vague, implied possibility that somehow "a better adjustment," "a more satisfactory utiliza-

[13] Cf. Eliot Freidson, "Client Control and Medical Practice," *American Joural of Sociology,* LXV (January, 1960), 374–82.

tion of personality resources," etc., may be induced.

As these remarks imply, "Dissimulation" (2)—the rendering of a prognosis which the physician knows to be unsubstantiated clinically—is the more likely if the doctor's reputation and livelihood are derived for the most part from the favorable opinions and referrals of an independent lay clientele. Sheer professional vanity may, of course, also enter in. The subtleties, ruses, and deceptions that betoken dissimulation, from the innocuous sugar-pill placebo to unwarranted major surgery, are too many and too imaginatively varied to consider here. But it is essentially this guise of medical practice that has historically been the butt of much lively ridicule and satire, as, for example, in the fumbling presumptions of Sterne's Dr. Slop and the excruciating ministrations of Romains' Dr. Knock. More venial forms of the art are sometimes resorted to in order to delay until the physician has had a chance to observe how a condition develops or until protracted laboratory investigations are completed. Since so many of the undiagnosable illnesses and ailments that are brought to doctors would "take care of themselves" in any case, the judicious employment of dissimulation is perhaps not so hazardous from the therapeutic standpoint as one might at first conclude. That it often affords the patient a significant measure of psychological relief from anxiety is, in fact, cited by some in its defense, albeit with the qualification that it should not be used in cases where anything serious might be expected.

"Evasion" (3)—the failure to communicate a clinically substantiated prognosis—has already been considered at some length. As noted, this was the primary mode of communication employed by the hospital treatment staff when confronted with the queries and concerns of the parents. Little need be added here except to emphasize that the informal institutionalization of this mode is closely related to the practitioner's ability to remove himself from the many "technically secondary" (i.e., non-organic) problems and issues that often follow in the wake of serious illness in the family. The large hospital, with its complex proliferation of specialized services and personnel, is particularly conducive to it, especially if the attending physician is not the patient's own but someone assigned to him.[14]

The discussion carries no implication that physicians will, in accordance with the setting of their practice and the kinds of illnesses they treat, invariably, or even primarily, address themselves to questions of prognostic certainty and uncertainty in the manner outlined. Nor is it suggested that important shifts from one mode of communication to another do not occur at different stages of treatment of particular patients. Our aim has been rather to temper to some extent the predominantly cognitive emphasis that the issue of uncertainty has received in medical sociology, as if all that passed for uncertainty or certainty in the communication between doctor and patient were wholly a function of the current state of scientific and clinical knowledge. In demonstrating that other values and interests also influence the doctor-patient transaction, we have done little more than exemplify a familiar sociological axiom, namely, that this, too, is anchored in society, and we must perforce take account of its numerous non-rational and irrational elements.

Association for the Aid of
Crippled Children

[14] See T. Burling, E. M. Lentz, and R. N. Wilson, *The Give and Take in Hospitals* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1956), pp. 317–33. The treatment of polio is highly specialized, and in none of the fourteen cases was the hospitalized child treated by a family physician. Moreover, the very considerable costs of treatment, far beyond the means of all but the wealthy, were borne in whole or very large part by the National Foundation and not by the families themselves. This served to reduce further the claims the parents felt they could make on the doctor's time and attention.

SOME MOTIVES FOR ENTERING DENTISTRY

D. M. MORE AND NATHAN KOHN, JR.

ABSTRACT

The importance of five aspects of dentistry in motivating choice of career is assayed with data from 3,578 entering dental students. The relative attractions in dentistry, as compared with other professions, of prestige, money, service, autonomy, and the opportunity to use manual skills are considered. Interviews with a third of the polled group support the conclusions that a patterned balance of these motives, and probably of others not studied, is needed to produce optimum interest in dentistry as a career and that the need for autonomy is central.

The reasons for choosing a vocation probably are fairly complex. A thorough explanation would require an intensive analysis of each individual's life-history to find not only the positive forces behind his choices but also why each potential alternative was not selected. In our study of survey data from a large sample of entrants to a vocation such detailed analyses were not possible; necessarily, then, our findings are incomplete and not applicable to every case.

Our alternative approach was to outline some apparent features of the occupation and then ascertain to what degree they attract persons entering it. The data on these points were gathered in a lengthy questionnaire completed by over thirty-five hundred students entering dental training in the fall of 1958.[1] On the basis of past dental-school experience, roughly 95 per cent of this group can be expected to complete training and enter dental practice in the next four or five years.

Dentistry as a profession has some general features which are important in answering the needs of young people attracted to it. There undoubtedly are other vital features, but we limit attention in this report to the following list:

1. *Prestige.* The occupation carries the title "Doctor," and in the community at large it has high status.[2]

2. *Financial earnings.* The dentist in private practice generally enjoys a good income, well above average and only slightly less than that of the most highly rewarded professional man—the physician.[3]

3. *Human service.* Dentistry directs its efforts in large part to the relief of suffering and dysfunction.

4. *Autonomy.* As a profession, dentistry permits great independence to members in their own activities. As with most other professions, the dentist's conduct as such is, within the limits of legal licensing, subject only to the jurisdiction of his professional peers. To a very considerable extent, the dentist can establish his own fees and the hours and conditions of his work.

5. *Manual skill.* Dentistry, since it requires a high level of manual skill and dexterity, offers satisfaction to those who have such talents.

Together, these five features of dentistry provide an initial basis for analyzing some attitudes of entering dental students toward their chosen profession. Within this scheme we will also observe how they rank dentistry compared with some other professions.

In the questionnaire a check list of eleven items (with a twelfth write-in space) inquired of respondents "factors influencing your selection of dentistry as a career (check

[1] This work has been supported by a grant from the American College of Dentistry. The background of the study, the nature of the sample, and the data in the schedule are described in D. M. More, "Social Origins of Future Dentists," *Midwest Sociologist*, XXI, No. 2 (July, 1959), 69–76.

[2] Cf. C. C. North and P. K. Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," *Opinion News*, September, 1947, pp. 3–13.

[3] Median income for dentists seems to be in third rank behind physicians and lawyers (Bureau of the Census, *1950 United States Census of Population*, Bull. P-C1 [Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1953], Table 129, "Detailed Characteristics," pp. 1–279).

as many as apply)" (Table 1). Five of the check-list items are relevant to our analysis, and the remaining items are grouped under "outside" and "internal" influences as footnoted. We need to take special note here of the phrasing of the first item in the table, because as it stands it does not necessarily imply "human service" and could as easily apply to sales, waiting on table, or any other work involving a great deal of interaction with people. Likewise we must recognize that the desire to be one's own boss is only one aspect of autonomy.[4]

telligence are both more often given first place.

The influence of prestige was checked as important in determining choice of the dental profession by nearly 80 per cent of our sample (Table 1). For the material reported in Table 3, respondents were asked to rank the six given professions as to "how you feel people in the community value [them]." The exact phrasing here is important because the underlying reasons why a student thinks of others as "valuing" a particular profession may or may not include the idea of the

TABLE 1

SOME FACTORS INFLUENCING CHOICE OF DENTISTRY AS A CAREER

Reason Indicated in Check List	Checked N*	Checked Per Cent	Not Checked N*	Not Checked Per Cent
Desire to work for and with people	3,201	89.5	377	10.5
Desire to be my own boss	2,998	83.8	580	16.2
Prestige of the profession	2,843	79.5	735	20.5
Desire to work with my hands	2,651	74.1	927	25.9
Monetary advantages of the profession	2,647	74.0	931	26.0
Other "outside" influences†	2,192	61.3	1,386	38.7
Other "internal" influences‡	3,146	87.9	432	12.1

* Total N = 3,578 in each row.

† Includes respondents to any of three items: (1) discussions of dentistry at a high school career day; (2) aptitude testing and counseling in college; and (3) the booklet, *Careers in Dentistry*, or similar publications

‡ Includes respondents to any of four items: (1) interest in content of the profession, (2) "because my own teeth were poor"; (3) "better chance of getting into dental school than into school of my first choice"; and (4) other (write in).

In Table 2 are summarized responses to an open-ended question about what the students would stress in advising a younger person, the assumption being that the respondent actually is revealing his own motives. The idea of satisfying one's own desires is most often mentioned. To a certain extent this is related to being autonomous, a point specifically covered in the sixth category. It is notable, however, that the students seldom give first place to autonomy (2.45 per cent), prestige (2.23 per cent), money (1.89 per cent), or service (1.31 per cent). Having the necessary skills (which, in their thinking, may include manual skills) and possessing the necessary in-

TABLE 2

RESPONSES TO ITEM ON COUNSELING*

Category of Response	N	Per Cent
Following one's personal interests, motives, likes, and desires	1,757	48.95
Aptitudes for the work; having the particular abilities it requires	395	11.01
The intelligence needed	321	8.94
Courses and grades needed	263	7.33
The need to begin early in life	127	3.54
Independence (autonomy) to do as one wishes in his work	88	2.45
Prestige; status the work confers on one	80	2.23
Financial rewards of the job	68	1.89
Serving others; wanting to work with people	47	1.31
Security (job tenure)	31	0.86
All other responses	269	7.49
Left blank	143	3.98
Total	3,589	99.98

* "If I were counseling a high school senior about choosing the right vocation, I would stress these factors." Space for four comments was provided; only the first response is tabulated here.

[4] For the definition of autonomy implicit in this study see R. F. Winch and D. M. More, "Does TAT Add Information to Interviews?" *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, XII, No. 4 (1956), 316–21.

TABLE 3

RANKING OF PROFESSIONS BY ENTERING DENTAL STUDENTS

Rank Assigned	Physician N	Physician Per Cent*	Dentist N	Dentist Per Cent	Lawyer N	Lawyer Per Cent	Engineer N	Engineer Per Cent	Teacher N	Teacher Per Cent	Social Worker N	Social Worker Per Cent
1	2,684	91.8	180	6.2	27	0.9	13	0.5	69	2.5	13	0.5
2	193	6.6	2,079	71.2	437	15.2	99	3.5	121	4.3	19	0.7
3	31	1.1	533	18.3	1,472	51.1	459	16.3	399	14.1	45	1.6
4	4	0.1	107	3.7	549	19.1	1,361	48.5	604	21.4	178	6.4
5	3	0.1	16	0.5	231	8.0	617	22.0	1,436	50.9	466	16.7
6	9	0.3	5	0.1	163	5.7	259	9.2	193	6.8	2,072	74.2
Subtotal†	2,924	81.7	2,920	81.6	2,879	80.5	2,808	78.5	2,822	78.9	2,793	78.1
Missing†	654	18.3	658	18.4	699	19.5	770	21.5	756	21.1	785	21.9
Total	3,578	100.0	3,578	100.0	3,578	100.0	3,578	100.0	3,578	100.0	3,578	100.0
Mean rank	1.1		2.2		3.4		4.2		4.3		5.6	

* Percentages for ranks (1–6) are calculated from subtotals. † Percentages for "Subtotal" and "Missing" are calculated from totals.

status or prestige of the occupation. He might see it as being "valued" because of the income it provides, its relative service to mankind, its power to control others, or a variety of other reasons. The assumption is, therefore, only partly justified that the relative rankings given in Table 3 are indicative of perceived relative occupational prestige. On this assumption we would say that the entering dental students see the dentist as having lower status than the physician and higher status than the lawyer. The prestige scores obtained by the National Opinion Research Center study by North and Hatt indicate much the same ordering, except that they found that dentistry and law were equal in prestige in the eyes of the general public.[5]

When the students were asked, "What other professions have you considered?" 38 per cent named medicine; 10 per cent, teaching; 9 per cent, engineering; 4 per cent, law; and less than 0.5 per cent, any field of social science. Similar results were obtained from the question, "If you could choose any career you wanted except dentistry, what would you choose?" Most often mentioned was medicine (39 per cent), second was teaching (7.5 per cent), and farther down the list were engineering (4.6 per cent) and the law (3.2 per cent), but social service was not mentioned. In effect, prestige is important, but the predominant choice is between medicine and dentistry. The other professions mentioned are seen as acceptable alternatives in such small percentages that they probably have not been accorded really serious consideration by the majority sampled.

Table 4 reports on the students' conceptions of other goals. They were confronted with three statements:

1. "Dentistry provides opportunity for greater human service."
2. "Dentistry makes it possible to make money more easily."
3. "Dentistry as a profession offers the most independence."

Reading down appropriate columns in Table 4, it is clear that they regard the physician

[5] *Op. cit.*

as contributing more and the lawyer and the engineer less to human service than their own profession. As to human service, opinion seems to be split uniformly when the students compare dentistry with teaching and social work. Strictly, they would see themselves in third place and behind teachers by a plurality among the six professions.

As to making money, the subjects clearly regard the physician and the lawyer as being ahead of them and the engineer, social worker, and teacher below them. The exact phrasing of our question leaves some doubt here, for we did not ask about the relative *amount* of money earned but rather about the relative *ease* of making it. The allied questions of hours worked and effort expended per dollar of potential return may have influenced some respondents.

In relative opportunity to control one's own destiny in his career, the students definitely place dentistry first. Even the physician, who is seen as having higher prestige, making more money, and being of greater service to man, is regarded by nearly half the sample as having less personal autonomy than the dentist. In the interviews supplementing the questionnaire frequent mention was made of the physician's duty to make night calls, to serve in emergencies of all sorts, and to accept responsibilities not placed on the dentist. Many of those interviewed said that their final choice between medicine and dentistry was influenced by the desire to avoid such responsibility. Our data in the questionnaire do not permit us to distinguish the importance of autonomy as compared with avoidance of responsibility.

To the question, "Has previous success in using your hands in hobbies or mechanical work helped you to decide to apply for ad-

TABLE 4

ENTERING DENTAL STUDENTS' COMPARISON OF DENTISTRY WITH FIVE OTHER PROFESSIONS

		Relative Opportunity for:					
		Human Service		Making Money		Autonomy	
Profession Compared	Dentistry Provides:	*N*	Per Cent	*N*	Per Cent	*N*	Per Cent
Law	More	2,468	71.9	1,086	31.0	1,986	58.1
	Less	310	9.0	1,861	53.0	658	19.2
	Same	657	19.1	563	16.0	777	22.7
	Subtotal	3,435	100.0	3,510	100.0	3,421	100.0
Teaching	More	995	29.1	2,929	85.5	2,922	83.5
	Less	1,239	36.2	421	12.3	388	11.1
	Same	1,188	34.7	76	2.2	188	5.4
	Subtotal	3,422	100.0	3,426	100.0	3,498	100.0
Social work	More	1,316	38.5	2,913	85.1	2,852	83.3
	Less	1,016	29.7	437	12.8	443	12.9
	Same	1,085	31.8	71	2.1	129	3.8
	Subtotal	3,417	100.0	3,421	100.0	3,424	100.0
Engineering	More	2,684	78.1	1,558	46.0	2,634	76.9
	Less	290	8.4	1,204	35.5	504	14.7
	Same	463	13.5	626	18.5	286	8.4
	Subtotal	3,437	100.0	3,388	100.0	3,424	100.0
Medicine	More	141	4.1	426	12.5	1,689	49.4
	Less	1,507	43.9	2,011	59.0	549	16.1
	Same	1,783	52.0	970	28.5	1,178	34.5
	Subtotal	3,431	100.0	3,407	100.0	3,416	100.0

mission to dental school?" 63 per cent of the 3,459 who answered this item checked "Yes." To another item only 6 per cent indicate among their "fears about studying dentistry" that they really lack sufficient mechanical aptitude. Less than 3 per cent list a lack of the necessary manual skills as a reason why they think that people do not apply to enter dentistry.

The five motives here discussed clearly are not unique to dentistry; moreover, we have not delved into other, perhaps vitally important, aspects of the work. We have not, for example, looked here into compulsiveness—dentistry's demands for exactness in detail, care, orderliness, and cleanliness. Likewise, the intellectual demands in the study of dentistry surely may have attracted many students to it. If we were to parcel out the total "attraction" of dentistry among its many components, the five elements would in all likelihood account for an appreciable share, but there would remain without question a considerable "unexplained" variation.

It is something of a leap to assert that some overt feature of work motivates a person to choose a given occupation. This may not be the case for any individual in our study sample. A detailed study of the material summarized in Table 1 is being undertaken to determine what, if any, predominant patterns of features appear in the items checked. These in turn are being checked against students' essays on reasons for entering dentistry. From the evidence reported here a predominating pattern can be deduced.

Although "desire to work for and with people" is a frequently selected item, its intensity as a possible desire for altruistic service is weakened by the extent to which conflicting motives are selected. However the apologists of business may argue, the motive of pure service is at least slightly incompatible with the acquisitive drive, with striving for prestige and status, and with insistence on being to a large extent independent of many of the usual constraints of occupations. To this degree, then, we may posit a built-in conflict among the patterned forces inherent in the requirements of the work. Part of training for dentistry is the student's resolution of such conflicts, at least partially. One common solution, though a debated one within the profession, has been to maintain a flexible fee-service system. For example, charging some patients modest to very high fees is justified, they believe, if the dentist gives time to low-cost clinics or accepts some partly charitable or "research" cases.

In Table 2 by far the largest group stressed "following one's own desires." This notion may include any of the other more sharply specified motives, but in a broad sense it implies a need to be autonomous and to become self-directing and self-gratifying in one's own actions.

The dental students' expressed unwillingness to follow directions imposed by authority figures, as would typically be required of company employees, may indicate some degree of inner-directedness. They do present some features in common with the small, independent entrepreneur. Mixed with this is a pronounced conformity in religion, politics, and memberships but some atypicality in marital pattern. Also the students and practicing dentists interviewed reveal a striking unwillingness to participate in aesthetic community activities or social betterment to the same extent as physicians and lawyers. As one respondent put it, "Sure, I want this status, but I'm not going to give up my free time to all these organizations that come around." They want to hunt, fish, and do workshop projects. In this sense they conform, but they do not conform to the role of public benefactor which is often ascribed to those enjoying the title "Doctor."

We can readily argue that prestige and financial independence are handmaidens to the more basic drive for autonomy: behavior alleged to satisfy one need may, in fact, be satisfying another. Ordinarily, the covert need will be less acceptable socially than the overt one masking it. In the present instance we see the service motive as the most obviously acceptable one for a person in a dedi-

cated health profession. However, for the motives of status-striving, independence, and material acquisition, if kept within bounds, we also have strong positive sanctions: in our culture it is "right" to strive to get ahead,[6] to want material possessions,[7] and to seek maturity in outgrowing emotional dependence on others.

What draws the young man into dentistry must be seen as a complex pattern of motives, each of which may be related to a well-defined characteristic of the occupation. (We are not considering here some rather obvious influences, such as parental pressure or vocational counseling in high school and college.) Our main assertion is that, of the five motives considered here, the need for autonomy is the most decisive. None of the other four motives is unnecessary, but without autonomy they seem insufficient. Our interviews provided repeated evidence that entering dental students would accept a career with less prestige, less money, and less opportunity to serve than the physician's, because dentistry would afford them greater independence.

Any campaign to enlist more applicants to dentistry could ill afford to ignore symbolic or even direct appeals to the possible candidates' desires for social status and occupational prestige, for financial return with concomitant material security, for the opportunity to give genuinely needed service to mankind, and for the chance to make creative use of manual talent. Above all, it seems necessary to point clearly to the potential of dentistry to provide practitioners with great independence in determining their own life-styles.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

[6] See, e.g., W. Lloyd Warner *et al., Democracy in Jonesville* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949), esp. chaps. i and xvi.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 294–95.

EXPRESSIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL GROUPS: TOWARD A THEORY OF GROUP STRUCTURE[1]

PHILIP M. MARCUS

ABSTRACT

Research conducted in natural settings shows that the environment will influence the internal dynamics of group life. Hypotheses based upon data gathered from four work groups interrelate the empirical findings. A group perceiving its environment as bland or friendly develops a pyramidal structure with a task leader at the vertex; a group, interpreting its environment as threatening, clusters about a social-emotional leader who is the hub of a wheel-like structure. Distinctive norms and distinctive patterns of interaction develop in the two groups.

Within the past decade George Homans' *The Human Group* has become a classic of small-group theory. Ingeniously, Homans has abstracted from empirical studies some of the common elements of group behavior and developed his own theory of group structure built around the concepts of sentiment, interaction, and activity. One of his assumptions is that of environmental stability: that groups will form a structure similar to other groups, irrespective of their surroundings. The hypotheses suggest a pyramidal form, and a group is depicted as functioning with leaders and lieutenants.[2] Homans makes no attempt to explore other possible configurations, nor does he consider that a different environment might also bring about dissimilar internal structure. In short, it is quite possible that, although all groups may contain the basic elements of interaction, sentiment, and activity, which Homans so successfully elaborates, the elements may be differently ordered and weighted to produce a structure quite unlike the pyramid. If this were so, then we would expect to find not hierarchically arranged groups alone but structures of egalitarian and oligarchical natures as well. The purpose of this paper is to suggest other group structures arising from various definitions of social situations and environments.[3]

There are a few clues in the existing literature that such differences are found in reality. Stouffer and his colleagues report in *The American Soldier* that army units in combat are less critical of their officers than men stationed behind the lines.[4] To exonerate the authors from any such speculative interpretation, it might be suggested that a group going into combat will begin to establish characteristic patterns of interaction, resulting in new patterns, or structure, because the situations are radically altered and because the units must modify their structures in order to survive. Informal leadership among soldiers in an army camp may not be the most helpful when under fire. The leader in battle may be given a wider span of control over his men, and they may be more willing to follow him, to question his decisions less frequently, and to ascribe to him broader competence. The hero of the canteen is not necessarily the leader in an attack on a machine-gun nest.

In *Union Democracy,* Lipset, Trow, and Coleman report that night workers are more deeply involved in the printers' community than day workers.[5] They demonstrate that,

[1] I am greatly indebted to Peter M. Blau and Elihu Katz, of the University of Chicago; Robert K. Bain, of Purdue University; and James S. Coleman, of Johns Hopkins University, for critically reading earlier versions of this paper.

[2] George C. Homans, *The Human Group* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1950), esp. pp. 103–6, 184–86.

[3] I have overstated Homans' position merely because of his awareness, and then dismissal, of the environmental influence (*ibid.*, pp. 86–90).

[4] Samuel A. Stouffer *et al., The American Soldier: Adjustment during Army Life* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1949), I, 365.

[5] Seymour Martin Lipset, Martin A. Trow, and James S. Coleman, *Union Democracy* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956), pp. 135–40.

the greater the proportion of a printer's career spent on night work, the higher he scored on a "social relations index." Day workers were subject to pulls from mass entertainment, neighborhood organizations, and their non-printer friends, but for these things the night workers were thrown upon the printers' community. When the day workers went home, they conformed to the time schedule of their families and fell in with plans for evening activities. It would be inconvenient to see other printers after work; it would mean missing a meal or leaving again after supper. Night workers finished work after their wives and children were asleep, and their schedules were so completely unlike their families' that they were not even expected to conform. Compared with the day shift, the pace of the night work is more relaxed, and supervision is less strict.

In his study of a gypsum plant, Gouldner found that miners, as contrasted with surface men, enjoyed greater social cohesion and more extensive social relationships. To the men on the surface the conveyer dictated the pace and position of the workers. Miners, however, worked in larger groups and in much closer association with one another; they frequently used nicknames to distinguish a man by his personal characteristics and designate his relationship to the group. Myths grew up which reinforced the solidarity of the groups. To the prop men were attributed feats of strength, the effect of which was to allay fear of cave-ins and death. Gouldner observed no instances of workers helping one another on the surface, but, if a miner were injured, others would come to his aid and take up collections for him, even from miners on other shifts. Unprompted group action, such as workers walking off their jobs if a miner were hurt by falling rock, was not uncommon. Gouldner concludes: "In the main, two factors were closely connected with the greater cohesion among miners: (1) The peculiar work and spatial arrangements in the mine and factory. (2) The more hazardous working conditions of the mine."[6]

Both studies—of the printers and of the gypsum plant—tend to support the general argument that environment becomes a crucial determinant of group life when the members define it in some way other than normal.[7]

In studying office workers, Kahn and Katz found that "employee-centered" supervisors' groups produce more than those under "production-centered" supervisors.[8] Whether or not a supervisor exerted pressure to produce made the difference, but, unfortunately, Kahn and Katz fail to inform the reader of group processes operating under different types of supervision. Morale was related to high productivity, but there was no report of the relationship between morale and supervision.

Bales and Slater found that in groups with a low level of consensus the "best idea man" tends to offer most solutions and push the group toward accepting his methods of handling problems; the "best-liked man" builds cohesiveness through joking and supportive statements whenever a member's feelings have been trampled upon. Supportive statements are usually necessary because the "best idea man" strives to put his own ideas across, often disregarding the feelings of others.[9]

Inferences can be drawn from the Kahn and Katz and the Bales and Slater studies that a division of labor might occur in a group when it faces different types of problems; social-emotional and task aspects of

[6] Alvin W. Gouldner, *Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954), pp. 105–54, 131.

[7] The influence of environment upon supervisory practice was first suggested to me in conversation with Elihu Katz.

[8] Robert L. Kahn and Daniel Katz, "Leadership Practice in Relation to Productivity and Morale," *Group Dynamics*, ed. Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson & Co., 1953), pp. 612–28.

[9] Robert F. Bales and Philip E. Slater, "Role Differentiation in Small Decision-making Groups," in Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955), pp. 259–306.

group behavior are found together. If the supervisor supplies the social-emotional qualities (Kahn and Katz's "employee-centered" supervisor), then the group will respond with higher production or orientation toward the task; the group member who best approximates this goal will become the leader.[10] He might be designated a "task leader"; he would correspond to Bales and Slater's "best idea man."

The complement of the task leader would be a "social-emotional leader" who supplies supportive statements to fulfil the group's emotional needs when the supervisor puts pressure on them to produce. The "production-centered" supervisor exerts a strain upon the workers to produce more and work harder, but this does not offer the compensation of pride in their work or permit them to exercise discretion or personal judgment. With their emotional needs (e.g., pride in work) unsatisfied, they must turn to other members for gratification. As they turn toward each other, friendship or social-emotional support begins to dominate in the group, and the member who best supplies it will become the leader. Hence a social-emotional leader will arise in a group with a "production-centered" supervisor.

Thus, if two groups define their environments differently, distinctive structures should appear. The groups may be differentiated by their kind of interaction and their style of informal leadership. In this paper groups with social-emotional leaders and predominantly friendly, non-task-oriented interaction will be called "expressive"; groups with task leaders and predominantly task-oriented interaction will be designated "instrumental."[11]

A study, not explicitly designed to examine the theory of group structure which I am proposing, throws some light on many of these hypotheses. Under the general direction of Peter M. Blau, of the University of Chicago, research was conducted on the formal structure of authority in a bureaucracy. Observers spent two months building rapport with a group of social workers in a large public welfare agency. During this time a chart was made to record all interaction among the four units of workers and their supervisors. After the initial period of observation, sixty workers and ten supervisors were interviewed; this paper will deal with twenty-two of the workers and their four supervisors.

The interaction chart was kept for approximately twenty-four hours of work. The room was small enough to record all the interaction which took place and to classify all interaction as business or private. A residual category was used for all unidentifiable interaction. The "business" classification contained all interaction between workers who discussed the job or any work procedure; "private" was any communication, oral or by gesture, which suggested a socializing or social-emotional quality. Under the latter classification went all exchanges about weather, television, sports, salutations, and solicitudes. However, a question about the weather might end up in a long discussion about some client who lived far away from the agency and whom the social worker did not wish to visit because of the threat of rain; thereafter the conversation might turn to a general discussion of a problem the worker was having with this client. It was therefore decided early in the investigation to classify interaction by the initiator's manifest intent only, lest charting in the office become impossible.

Two of the four supervisors were classified as procedure-oriented and two as group-oriented on the basis of the responses made by their own workers in the interview. Of two statements describing supervisory behavior, the worker was to pick the one which best suited his superior: "He sticks closely to procedure" or "He is less worried about procedure and more willing to make reasonable exceptions than many supervisors." A majority of responses in one category determined the classification of the supervisor. The assumption was made that

[10] Homans, *op. cit.*, pp. 180–81.

[11] The terms "expressive" and "instrumental" are taken from Parsons and Bales, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

the procedure-oriented supervisor is like the production-centered supervisor of the Kahn and Katz study in that both are viewed by their subordinates as hostile and somewhat threatening. Procedure-oriented supervisors tend to be rigid and demanding without allowing the workers to pursue their own lines of inquiry or problem-solving techniques. The group-oriented supervisors resemble Kahn and Katz's employee-centered supervisor in being more flexible and in catering to the emotional needs of their subordinates. To college-trained people who are professional social workers, a rigid, rule-following, non-supportive supervisor is difficult to endure.

Following this reasoning, it was hypothesized that subordinates of procedure-oriented supervisors would form expressive groups, and subordinates of group-oriented supervisors would form instrumental groups. There was no way of testing this directly from the data; however, it would be strong evidence supporting the hypothesis if on the interaction chart expressive groups showed a higher rate of private interaction than the instrumental groups. Conversely, from the hypothesis, a higher rate of business interaction would be found in instrumental than in expressive groups. These predictions are based on the assumption that the expressive groups would engage in more social-emotional activity than the instrumental groups.

Our data do not support both predictions. The groups under procedure-oriented supervisors engage in more private social exchanges than those under group-oriented supervisors; but the former were also found to have more business interactions than the latter. The total amount of interaction was higher in the expressive groups. One explanation might be the very nature of social intercourse: it is quite possible that, irrespective of manifest content, it is of a social-emotional nature. Conversations about television or sports are patent, but even discussions about business may have this supportive quality. If one seeks information and receives a response, that might indicate to him that his relationship with others is supporting him against a demanding environment. The response, irrespective of content, is rewarding in itself. A worker who knows that he will be received by another will be prompted to return again and engage him in further interaction. Perhaps only after exploration, when one is more confident of a response, will a greater and more profound relationship develop. To be rejected by another worker when one wishes to discuss sports or fashions may be a greater threat than to be rejected or perfunctorily dismissed with a merely factual answer.

Another way of inferring the types of groups operating under different styles of supervision is to determine the kinds of leaders each group selects. The index of leadership used was the sociometric question on the interview, "Who are your five best friends in the office?" The worker in each unit who received the most choices by his fellow workers was designated as the leader. This, however, does not differentiate the two types of leaders. It was predicted that in instrumental groups the most popular member would be the one who best supplied answers to questions and who knew more than any other worker; conversely, the most popular person in the expressive group would not be the best worker. The best worker in the expressive group would be a deviant, working for higher production than the group desired.

To test this prediction, workers were asked to rank the unit in terms of competence, and the worker who received most choices on this question was designated the best worker. In both expressive groups the best worker and the most popular worker were not the same man. In both instrumental groups the best worker and the most popular worker were the same. Thus the prediction was supported.

The leader of the instrumental group was called a "task leader" because he was the most competent; his status in the group was determined by his superior knowledge and his ability to answer questions which arose on the job. Given his answers, the fol-

lowers were better able to perform their jobs and to advance their own career objectives. The more questions the followers raised, the higher the status accorded to the task leader. Their questions also served the purpose of stimulating the task leader and making him think about his job. Because his status depended on continued performance at a high level, he would be motivated to improve and to seek further solutions when he did not know the answers. By continuing to better his performance, he maintained not only his high status but also his own chances for advancement.

The social-emotional leader of the expressive group did not require greater proficiency on the job than did any other worker in his group: his status depended on his personality and his willingness to respond to his followers more than on any particular skill or knowledge. The social-emotional leader was the "nice guy" who took time from his work to sit and chat. If a worker came back emotionally bruised after an encounter with the procedure-oriented supervisor, the social-emotional leader would be there to comfort him. He might also offer advice on how to get work "through" the supervisor in order to avoid more trouble. Willingness to "socialize" with his followers would require time, so the social-emotional leader could not devote all his energies to the job; he would spend a good deal of the working day with others, and in this way he would retain his status. Thus the social-emotional leader's own performance at work would suffer. The values of the group would not include better performance because they did not like their supervisor and did not identify themselves with the goals set by the office as mitigated and represented by the supervisor.

From the social interaction chart it becomes clear that the social-emotional leader (SEL) engages in more interaction with his followers than the task leader (TL)—consistent with speculations above. If all interaction gives emotional support, it is not surprising that workers will turn to the SEL for information, even though he is not the best worker. Quite possibly, it is his manner of answering, rather than any particular ability of skill, which they value. The SEL will retain his high status in the group only as long as he continues to respond in a sympathetic manner. Should he reject them or grow brusque or impatient, he will endanger his position. Therefore, we would expect the SEL to cloak his unsympathetic sentiments even to the point of neglecting his work.

The TL has built his status upon ability and performance. He may answer questions which are brought to him in almost any manner he sees fit because it is the mere information which will be valued by the asker. One who wants social-emotional support will go to another worker and not to the TL. In order to preserve his high status, the TL is under pressure to continue acquiring new skills and information to exchange, and he uses his time not for social interaction but more profitably on work. Thus he may be disparaging or curt, and the workers will turn elsewhere for information or agreeable conversation. If a worker has a difficult question, he will feel more comfortable in going to the TL, because it is now worthy of his attention. If he first learns from the *second*-best worker that the problem is difficult, he will be confident in addressing the TL. The asker, indeed, will be rewarded by the TL for bringing it to his attention. Praise from the TL will raise the status of the worker.[12]

The function of a lieutenant of the TL is to save the latter from having to spend time answering simple questions: the lieutenant acts as a sieve. In providing answers to the most difficult questions—and they have now been officially stamped as most difficult because the lieutenant could not answer them—the TL will enhance his own status. The lieutenant will also profit, because he learns how to deal with followers and to act as an efficient go-between; it might indeed be that the lieutenant is being trained to take over in time the role of the TL.

[12] Homans, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

All this suggests a hierarchical structure in the instrumental group and a more egalitarian situation in the expressive group. The SEL will have no lieutenants and will be sought with more inquiries from followers than any other member. The expressive group will be like a wheel, with the SEL at the hub.

The interaction chart shows that the SEL was the object of more exchanges than any other member, whereas the TL was closer to the median. Moreover, the TL interacted most with one particular member, to whom the greatest number of acts were directed in the instrumental group. This is, no doubt, the lieutenant who operates under the TL; easier questions, which arose frequently, were directed to him and stopped there, and only the most difficult problems went on to the TL. The chart shows no such pattern for the two groups classified as expressive. The greatest number of actions were directed toward the SEL, and the followers with whom he dealt most were not those to whom the next number of actions were addressed. Thus there was no hierarchy in the expressive groups.

If there is indeed a hierarchy in the instrumental group, then we might expect to find the TL at the peak. From this it would follow that he engages most in interaction with members of groups outside his own. But we would not expect to find this pattern among the SEL's if they really are at the hub. If the SEL has a problem, he may turn to other workers of his group because a sufficient number of them have more knowledge than he. The TL, however, is virtually forced to seek solutions to his problems from outsiders: he knows more than anyone else in his own group, and, if he cannot answer the question, probably none of the others can. Moreover, the TL will lose status if he often goes to his followers for information: the only information which he might risk asking would be of the simplest kind, for example, what is the form number to use? More difficult problems would have to be solved with the help of outsiders.

As the interaction chart shows, the TL did interact more with outsiders than did any other member, whereas the SEL approached the median.[13] Perhaps even more interesting is the fact that two-thirds of the SEL's interaction with outsiders were directed to him. Not being the initiator, the SEL does not risk giving the impression of split loyalties. The confidence of the followers is reinforced by seeing outsiders come to the SEL because he receives recognition from others, but he does not appear interested in any but his own group: they do not see him moving toward others at an equal rate. Although the TL is the object of as much interaction as he initiates with outsiders, this does not affect his status in the instrumental group: skill and knowledge are the crucial values, not loyalty.

The TL originated over three-quarters of his exchanges with his own supervisor; the latter is considered friendly and helpful. The TL, moreover, also seeks to improve his performance. The SEL had approximately the same rate of interaction with his own supervisor as the TL had with his, but the SEL was the object of interaction at the same rate as he initiated it; he does not go to the supervisor except when necessary, and the supervisor is forced to call him when business has to be transacted. The SEL works under a procedure-oriented supervisor who is disliked and avoided. If the SEL does not appear to go to his superior with any great frequency, then he adheres to the norms of the group and does not appear disloyal. When the TL goes to his group-oriented supervisor, he is but fulfilling his duties, as expected. The status of both leaders is thus enhanced by the pattern of interaction with their supervisors.

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[13] Thus the data for the TL partially support Homans, but the SEL's pattern of interaction with outsiders contradicts the hypothesis (*ibid.*, pp. 185–86).

THE RURAL-URBAN CONTINUUM: REAL BUT RELATIVELY UNIMPORTANT

RICHARD DEWEY

ABSTRACT

The use of the terms "rural" and "urban" in current publications reveals a gross lack of agreement concerning their referents. This is interpreted as resulting from the failure to distinguish the influences upon man's actions of density and size of population, on the one hand, from the influences of culture, on the other. Although these two categories of influences cannot be severed in actuality, they must be distinguished if the nature of communities is to be perceived clearly.

A study of current uses of the rural-urban concepts has provided evidence which justifies discussion of what may appear at first blush to be so well understood, so apparent, and so widely agreed upon that nothing of value can possibly be added. This paper is designed for those many social scientists for whom rural and urban phenomena are of peripheral interest and importance.

Table 1 shows the heterogeneous items which the authors of books and articles dealing with rural and urban matters believe to be the bases for distinguishing ruralism from urbanism. Even if the items were not qualitatively so very different, their large number would warrant suspicion of the definitiveness of the concepts "rural" and "urban"; forty items of reference for a conceptual continuum are surely excessive. Furthermore, the lack of consensus is remarkable—only "heterogeneity" being listed by a majority of the authors. Sixteen items are mentioned by a single writer only, nine by only two, and ten by only three.

Nor is this divergence confined to writers for whom interest in rural-urban matters is more or less central. In nineteen introductory textbooks in sociology, including all the best sellers, the referents of the terms are no less heterogeneous. It is clear that the terms "rural" and "urban," as now used and apparently understood, fall short of the standards to which they must conform if they are to be of value in teaching and research. If objective referents for the terms cannot be discovered, then it is reasonable to urge that they be abandoned.

The only thing that seems to be agreed upon generally by writers on rural or urban topics is that in some vague way the terms in question are related to city and country, to community variations in size and density of population. Certainly, this is the way in which most laymen employ the term. One pair of authors believes that

> a growing number of sociologists appear to share the point of view that the formal criteria of a scientific definition of urban phenomena is [*sic*] satisfactorily met by defining communities solely in terms of their demographic uniqueness—the variables of population and area. . . . Most of the so-called urban variables then are considered causal consequences of variation in size and density of settlement.[1]

Certainly, this is the basis for a definition which is most frequently quoted by both the introductory textbook writers and those dealing more specifically with matters rural and urban: it is, of course, the well-known "Urbanism as a Way of Life," by the late Louis Wirth. Parts of this lengthy definition are incorporated in many of the currently used definitions of urbanism and, by implication, of ruralism. Wirth postulated that "on the basis of the three variables, number, density of settlement, and degree of heterogeneity, of the urban population, it appears possible to explain the characteristics of urban life and to account for the differences between cities of various sizes and types."[2]

[1] Paul Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr. (eds.), *Cities and Society* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957), p. 20.

[2] Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (July, 1938), 18.

In his remarkably suggestive article Wirth perceived a large number of characteristics of personality and social organization as being products of population density, number, and heterogeneity. He held that the urban personality, a consequence of the three variables of urbanism, is featured by reserve, blasé outlook, indifference; sophistication and cosmopolitanism; rationality; relativistic perspectives; tolerant, competitive, self-aggrandizing, and exploitative attitudes; feelings of friction, irritation, and nervous tension bred by frustration; acceptance of instability and insecurity; tolerance of eccentricity and novelty and approval of efficiency and inventions; and marked degrees of personal disorganization. From the same three population variables are derived the following qualities in the social organization: greater importance

TABLE 1

ELEMENTS IN DEFINITIONS OF URBANISM

	Anderson	Bergel	Carpenter	Cole	Erickson	Gist and Halbert	Greer and Kube	Hallenbeck	Lee	Queen and Carpenter	Quinn	Redfield	Riemer	Shevky *et al.*	Simmel	Stewart	Wirth	Woolston
Heterogeneity				X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X
Impersonal relations			X	X	X					X	X						X	X
Division of labor				X					X		X				X		X	
Anonymity	X		X					X	X								X	X
Mobility			X						X		X						X	
Segmental roles											X		X				X	
Class differences								X		X							X	
Predatory relations								X					X				X	
Emphasis on time									X						X		X	X
New family role			X				X										X	
Employment patterns			X				X									X		
More female employment			X				X							X				
Multiple dwelling units			X				X							X				
Secularism						X												
Non-agricultural life		X							X							X		
Cosmopolitanism						X							X				X	
Tenancy					X												X	
Complexity																		X
Tolerance	X																X	X
Superficiality	X																X	
Low fertility							X							X				
Sophistication	X																X	X
Commercialization	X						X											
Liberalism							X											X
Automation													X					
Literacy												X						
Creativity													X					
Blasé attitude															X		X	
Stereotyping																	X	X
Critical attitude												X						
Utilitarianism																	X	
Formal controls																	X	
Interdependency							X										X	
Subjective outlook																X		
Intense occupational space																X		
Social participation							X											
Transiency	X																	
Individualism	X																	
Objectivity																		X
Practicality																		X

of secondary, rather than primary, contacts; greater interdependence of specialists; less dependence upon particular individuals; impersonal, transitory, superficial, segmental, and utilitarian social contacts; less integrated social organization; pecuniary nexus; exaggerated importance of time; predatoriness; formal controls; anonymity; flexible caste structure but sharpened and ramified differentiation by income and social status; heightened mobility; involuntary segregation of racial, linguistic, income, and class groups; more tenancy, rapid turnover of membership of groups and wide divergence of it; membership in groups tangential to each other; greater importance of symbols and stereotypes; standardization of products and processes; gearing of facilities and institutions to the average user; subordination of individuality; weakened bonds of kinship; decline of the social significance of the family; loss of traditional bases of solidarity; disappearance of neighborhood; high rate of gainful employment of adults; and replacement of territorially based social units with interest groups.

The spelling-out of these items, which for Wirth constituted urbanism, serves only to emphasize the amorphous nature of currently used definitions or urbanism. Their looseness has prompted some writers to question the reasonableness of population as the definition's base. Reiss, for one, suggests that, "empirically, at least, 'urban' can be independent of size and density. If this is true, then large size and high density of settlement are not always conditions for an urban way of life in any given community."[3]

O. D. Duncan pursues the same argument, employing an analysis of quantitative data to show that such characteristics as relative size of income and age groups, mobility of population, extent of formal schooling, size of family, and proportions of nonwhite, foreign-born, white-collar workers and women workers do not even correlate closely with variation in size of population.[4] An anthropologist, Oscar Lewis, also doubts that there are any criteria for universally distinguishing rural from urban environments. "What we need to know is what kind of an urban society, under what conditions of contact, and a host of other specific historical data."[5] Charles T. Stewart ends his recent criticism of the demographic basis for rural-urban definition by stating that the distinction is ultimately subjective and that "demographic concepts of urban and rural fail because they apply the same rules of numbers to advanced and backward countries, to farmers and peasants, to villagers and townsmen."[6] At the other logical extreme, Horace Miner adheres to the more conventional view that the same rules must be applied to all cultures: "If we want to develop a social science with general principles applicable to all societies, despite their cultural differences, we are forced to abstract categories of phenomena which are applicable to all cultures."[7] This older position must be subscribed to if we are to avoid a purely subjective, culture-bound conceptual system in sociology. Moreover, the situation is not so hopeless as one might infer from the materials thus far presented.

The task which Wirth assumed is still, with slight modification, what must be assumed by anyone seeking to clarify the denotations of the terms "rural" and "urban." In Wirth's words: "The central problem of the sociologist of the city is to discover the forms of social action and organization that typically emerge in relatively permanent, compact settlements of large numbers of

[3] Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "An Analysis of Urban Phenomena," in Robert M. Fisher (ed.), *The Metropolis in Modern Life* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1955), p. 43.

[4] Otis Dudley Duncan, "Community Size and the Rural-Urban Continuum," in Hatt and Reiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–45.

[5] *Life in a Mexican Village* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1951), p. 434.

[6] Charles T. Stewart, Jr., "The Urban-Rural Dichotomy: Concepts and Uses," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXIV (September, 1958), 158.

[7] "The Folk-Urban Continuum," *American Sociological Review*, XVII (October, 1952), 533.

heterogeneous individuals."[8] It seems probable that, if Wirth were studying and writing today, he would not be satisfied with the definition of urbanism as he formulated it over twenty years ago but would push on in the direction in which he had begun.

With the development of modern sociological theory there came into being a series of paired terms, some suggesting a dichotomy, or, more often, a continuum, but all involving directly or indirectly some relationships imputed to variations in size of community, even if the originators did not imply it, these several paired terms have been so used. Because of the accessibility of temporal correlations of cultural characteristics with size of community, it has become common to equate the general terms "rural-urban" with such classifications as "sacred-secular," "*Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft*," "folk-urban," "static-dynamic," "agricultural–non-agricultural," "preliterate-literate," "primitive-civilized," etc. It is this equation that explains the current confusion. The mixing of the influences of the population factors per se with contemporary cultural influences which are independent of population variations has led to the present amorphous condition of the concepts. In what is practically the sole instance of explicit recognition, Howard Becker has stated emphatically that, whatever the referents of "sacred-secular" and similar (but not identical) terms are, they surely are not the same as those denoted by the words "rural" and "urban." This is the point which has escaped so many writers and teachers as well as planners.

This "temperocentrism" is evident in Wirth's article (e.g., "The foreign-born and their children constitute nearly two-thirds of all the inhabitants of cities of one million and over"); Wirth would have made it explicit or would have changed it, it is reasonable to assume, could he rewrite the article today. He defined life in urban America of 1938 and not "urbanism as a way of life" generally. Despite this fact, he inevitably included not only the specific cultural ideas, values, and actions of his time and place but also items which are universal for communities of comparable size and density.

It is relatively easy to glance through the items listed in Table 1 or through Wirth's long lists and, on the basis of historical and ethnological data, to identify what is clearly cultural in nature and what is not intrinsic to city life or urbanism. If one contrasts the clearly rural but wealthy and industrialized farm communities of Illinois or Iowa, on the one hand, and the present and past cities which are preindustrial and in some degree preliterate, on the other, it becomes clear that many alleged urban items are common in midwestern American rural farming areas and scarce or absent in numerous cities.

Evidence abounds to show that many of the things which are uncritically taken as part and parcel of urbanism do not depend upon cities for their existence. History reveals that creativity in the form of invention and discovery is not limited to cities, that literacy is not tied to urbanization, and that sacred ties are stronger in some cities than in many small towns and farming areas —Becker's category of "prescribed sacred" is a useful insight.[9] Cultural variety in language and religion may be greater in some rural areas than in certain large cities. Complex technology is common in certain farming regions and scarce in some urban communities. In brief, "it is too frequently assumed that the correlation between a variable and urbanness represents a causal connection between the two."[10]

However, it is not logical to hold that the rural-urban continuum has no universal or general referents, merely because of the mistaken assignment to urbanism of a welter of cultural items which can be, and are, independent of city environments. In the first place, it is probably futile to argue for the

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

[9] Howard Becker, *Through Values to Social Interpretation* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1950), p. 249. This is the most complete and extensive treatment of the paired terms (sacred-secular, etc.) in print.

[10] Hatt and Reiss, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

abandonment of the terms "rural" and "urban" as indicators of size and density of population. There is little, if any, evidence that the established usage of these words is in process of change: their abandonment would require the invention of a new pair of terms to denote the large, densely associated communities, distinguished from the small and sparsely settled groups of the world.

In Figure 1, instead of paralleling the cultural continua, the rural-urban continuum is perceived as intersecting them. This orientation sharply distinguishes things rural and urban per se from sociocultural relations based upon knowledge, beliefs, and feelings. Although there is no novelty in basing the conception of the rural-urban continuum upon numbers and density, most, if not all, definitions of urbanism include cultural components. The inclusion of both population and cultural bases in the term "urbanism" renders it useless except for labeling time-bound phenomena. Assuredly, people and culture cannot be separated, but the influences upon human attitudes and actions of the two can, and logically must, be distinguished. Man appears to be no exception to the general rule that significant variation in numbers and density of objects brings about equally significant changes in the nature of the objects' relationships. In Wirth's article there are, mingled with items which are clearly cultural, characteristics which plausibly at least, are to be discovered in accentuated form at the urban extreme and in minimal degree or not at all at the rural end

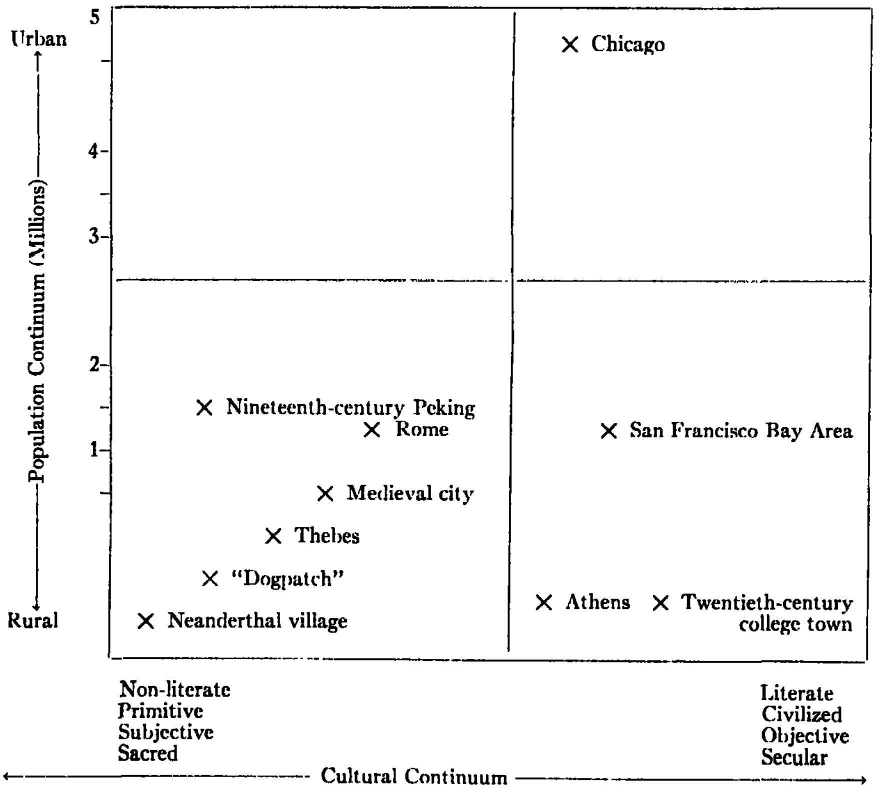


FIG. 1.—Relationship between cultural and population influences on cities

of the continuum. Evidence seems to support Wirth's observations that variations in size and density of population induce concomitant variations in five qualities:

←RURAL——	1. Anonymity 2. Division of labor 3. Heterogeneity, induced and maintained by (1) and (2) 4. Impersonal and formally prescribed relationships 5. Symbols of status which are independent of personal acquaintance	——URBAN→

The logic of custom and of the English language supports the retention of "rural" and "urban" to designate the extremes of the continuum defined by the five items.

If this reorientation (Fig. 1) is valid, then it is a misrepresentation of facts to speak of the export or spread of urban culture to rural areas. Some have agreed among themselves that acculturation is reducing,and will in time obliterate, the differences between rural and urban communities, thus eliminating the usefulness of the concepts. This hardly appears realistic. Culture can, and obviously does, move bilaterally between open country and city, but this does not mean that ruralism and urbanism are exportable commodities. There is no such thing as urban culture or rural culture but only various culture contents somewhere on the rural-urban continuum. The movement of zoot suits, jazz, and antibiotics from city to country is no more a spread of urbanism than is the transfer or diffusion of blue jeans, square dancing, and tomatoes to the cities a movement of ruralism to urban centers. As Figure 1 shows, there can be, and most assuredly are, small rural communities which are secular, civilized, dynamic, and highly literate as well as large, sacred, essentially primitive, illiterate, and relativey static urban communities.

That each of the five items listed above as definitive of the rural-urban continuum can be culturally influenced in quite remarkable degree is not deniable, but this in no way reduces their validity as delineators of ruralism or urbanism. Designs in housing, techniques of communication, and segregation can, and indeed do, increase anonymity, but anonymity is inevitable for the vast majority of a city's population and impossible at the rural extreme, save for the hermit. That industrialization has multiplied occupational specialties is obvious, but it should be quite equally obvious that, whereas a small rural community can present an undifferentiated occupational pattern, a city of a million most certainly cannot. Great complexity in the division of labor *can* exist in an industrial culture's city, but a certain minimum *must* exist in increasing degree as the size and density of the community increases. That there is a minimum of heterogeneity in large cities, regardless of the culture (George Orwell and *1984* to the contrary notwithstanding), is clearly perceivable. The very clear, and seemingly contradictory, fact that American cities are more homogeneous today in the folkways involving food, clothing, language, national allegiance, and the like does not in any way negate the argument that minimal heterogeneity is inescapable in large cities and that it will increase as the city increases in size. The reduction of cultural heterogeneity in American cities is a product of neither urbanism nor ruralism. Likewise, the increase in their occupational heterogeneity is basically cultural.

The situation is similar with respect to the items of instituted rules and symbols of status. Culture can enlarge upon them, but it cannot eliminate them from the city. When people interact socially, they must, except on rare occasions, know the status of their associates, and the pervasive anonymity of the large city demands some means of identifying the functionaries essential to

daily living there. The waitress, the clerk, the policeman, the priest, and others must be identified. Even the less uniform symbols of "good standing" are important in the city. A salesman whose clothes were soiled and ill pressed and whose face and hair were unkempt would stand little chance of gaining an audience with a prospective customer in the city. This is not to say, of course, that the less functional items of "conspicuous consumption" are part and parcel of life in a large city; rather, they are products of a special kind of culture, *plus* urban settings, and not urban features as such. Life in a large metropolis without some formally and explicitly instituted rules (which, to be sure, may in time become customary) is unthinkable and certainly does not exist. Good intentions and informality will not suffice to induce even the minimal order requisite for life in a metropolis, regardless of time or place.

It may occur to one that, if this be all that there is to the rural-urban continuum, it is of minor importance for sociology. He would be quite correct. The importance rests in the recognition that the five elements are inevitable accompaniments of urbanization and must be taken into consideration in understanding it. Some city planners, unaware of this, have been enticed into ill-advised attempts to eliminate some of these intrinsic qualities. The controversy over the principle of the neighborhood as a unit is a case in point.[11] Conversely, planners at times seem to have taken as inevitable certain features which are mere cultural correlates of urbanization at a particular time and place.

The failure of sociologists to reach consensus concerning the rural-urban continuum is attributable in part to the reductionism which has been popular in American sociology in recent decades and which has led to various attempts to discover, through analysis, some easily manipulable part of the larger society. Thus some students of the city, misperceiving the city as sufficiently detached from society and culture to warrant study as a separate object, have unintentionally inflated the rural-urban concepts with extraneous cultural elements, reducing the concepts' real, if minor, significance for research. If they had not been enticed into taking their eyes off their principal datum, society in the large, the rural-urban continuum might not have been overemphasized. No evidence suggests that these concepts can acquire more than incidental importance in the understanding of the complexities of human relations in cities or hamlets. There is evidence of a growing recognition of this fact in the emphasis upon cultural settings as distinguished from urbanism by such writers as Axelrod, Beers, Greer and Kube, Haer, and Sjøberg.[12]

However, to argue, as has been done here, for reduced importance of the rural-urban continuum is not to seek its elimination from sociology. The influences of rural and urban environments upon social organization and individual behavior will remain important facts, to be considered with the more important cultural facts, form and content, which are the sociologist's stock in trade.

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[11] See the discussions of this controversial subject by Reginald Isaacs, "Are Urban Neighborhoods Possible?" and "The 'Neighborhood Unit' Is an Instrument for Segregation," in *Journal of Housing*, V (July and August, 1948), 178–80, 215–19; Peter H. Mann, "The Concept of Neighborliness," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX (September, 1954), 163–68; Richard Dewey, "The Neighborhood, Urban Ecology, and City Planners," *American Sociological Review*, XV (August, 1950), 502–7.

[12] See the articles by these writers in Hatt and Reiss, *op. cit.*, and in M. B. Sussman (ed.), *Community Structure and Analysis* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1959).

HIGHER DEGREES IN SOCIOLOGY, 1959

According to reports received by the *Journal* from 66 departments of sociology in the United States and Canada offering graduate instruction, 140 doctoral degrees and 276 Master's degrees in sociology were conferred in the calendar year 1959.

DOCTOR'S DEGREES

Abdel Aziz Allouni, M.A. American (Lebanon), 1942; M.S. Cornell, 1946. "Social Factors Underlying Economic Development in Syria." *New School.*

Sister M. Ann Amen, B.A. Quincy College, 1940; M.A. Catholic, 1951. "Informal Groups and Institutional Adjustment in a Catholic Home for the Aging." *Catholic.*

William D. Amis, A.B. Swarthmore, 1949; M.A. North Carolina, 1953. "Social Structure and Personality: Contributions of Erich Fromm to Sociological Theory." *North Carolina.*

Antonio Manuel Arce, Education Escuela Normal de Costa Rica, 1934; M.A. Michigan State, 1952. "Rational Introduction of Technology on a Costa Rican Coffee Hacienda: Sociological Implications." *Michigan State.*

Donald Auster, A.B. Hofstra College, 1949; A.M. Columbia, 1951. "The Role of Business- and Labor-sponsored Films in Education: A Study of Mass Persuasion." *Indiana.*

Robert William Avery, A.B., A.M. Oberlin, 1948, 1952. "Orientations toward Careers in Business: A Study in Occupational Sociology." *Harvard.*

Robert Ketcham Bain, A.B., A.M. Chicago, 1947, 1949. "The Process of Professionalization: Life Insurance Selling." *Chicago.*

Gilbert D. Bartell, B.A., M.A. Ohio State, 1956, 1959. "The Sculpture of the Yoruba and the Peoples of Benin: An Anthropological Study of Culture Change as Reflected through the Art." *Ohio State.*

William Mary Bates, A.B. Gonzaga, 1943; M.A. College of the Pacific, 1952. "The Ecology of Juvenile Delinquency in St. Louis." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Bernard Helmut Baum, A.M. Chicago, 1953. "Decentralization of Authority in a Bureaucracy." *Chicago.*

Norman Wallis Bell, A.B., A.M. Toronto, 1950, 1953. "The Impact of Psychotherapy on Family Relationships." *Harvard.*

Paul McCoy Berry, A.B. Pasadena College, 1931; A.M. College of the Pacific, 1932. "Consensus of Role Perceptions in a Welfare Planning Council." *Southern California.*

Charles Dewey Bolton, A.B. Denver, 1947; A.M. Stanford, 1948. "The Development Process in Love Relationships." *Chicago.*

Frank Bonilla, B.B.A. City College of New York, 1949; A.M. New York, 1954. "Students in Politics: Three Generations of Political Action in a Latin-American University." *Harvard.*

Claude Birkhead Boren, A.B. Texas Technical College, 1948; M.A. Washington State College, 1949. "Operational Patterns in Public School Administrative Organization: A Functional Analysis." *Texas.*

Clark H. Bouwman, B.S. West Michigan College, 1945; M.A. New School, 1953. "Industrial Development and Social Change in a Southern Plantation Town." *New School.*

Hugh Earl Brooks, B.A. Merrimack College, 1951; M.A. Catholic, 1955. "An Empirical Study of the Relationship of Occupational Mobility and Fertility." *Catholic.*

Severyn Ten Haut Bruyn, B.S., A.M. Illinois 1950, 1951. "A Comparative Study of Community Action Programs." *Illinois.*

Reba Muriel Bucklew, B.A., M.A. Texas State College for Women, 1944, 1946. "Occupational Ideologies and Professionalization in Social Work." *Louisiana State.*

Jerome E. Carlin, A.B. Harvard, 1949; A.M. Chicago, 1951, LL.B. Yale, 1954. "The Lawyer as Individual Practitioner." *Chicago.*

Wilmoth A. Carter, A.B. Shaw, 1937; A.M. Atlanta, 1943. "The Negro Main Street of a Contemporary Urban Community." *Chicago.*

Sally Whelan Cassidy, S.B. Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart, 1944; A.M. Fordham, 1946. "A Study of Lay Leadership." *Chicago.*

Changboh Chee, A.B. North Central College (Naperville, Ill.), 1955; A.M. Duke, 1956. "Development of Sociology in Japan: A Study of the Adaptation of Western Sociological Orientations into the Japanese Social Structure." *Duke.*

Richard Coller, B.A. Minnesota, 1948; M.A. Hawaii, 1952. "Geographic Mobility of Selected Rural Minnesota Male High School Graduates." *Minnesota.*

Carolyn Clement Comings, B.A. Smith College, 1942; M.A. Connecticut, 1944. "Satisfaction of Wife with Husband's Job." *Ohio State.*

Jack R. Delora, B.S. Bowling Green State, 1947; M.A. Western Reserve, 1948; "Structures and Orientations of Retail Business: A Typological Analysis." *Michigan State.*

Irwin Deutscher, A.B., M.A. Missouri, 1949, 1953. "Husband-Wife Relations in Middle Age." *Missouri.*

Margaret E. Donnelly, B.A. Russell Sage College, 1947; M.A. Fordham, 1949. "Industrial Relocation: A Breach in the Pattern of Industry-Community Relationships." *Fordham.*

Rev. Gerald J. Dullard, B.A. Villanova, 1954. "A Catholic Appraisal of the White Australia Immigration Policy." *Catholic.*

Donald S. Dushkind, B.S.S. City College of New York, 1945; M.A. State University of Iowa, 1946. "Relation of Status to Attitudes and Perception of Attitudes toward Probation: A Social-psychological Study of Attitudes, Perceptions, and Perceptual Accuracy of Judges, Probation Officers, and Probationers." *New York.*

Howard J. Ehrlich, B.A., M.A. Ohio State, 1953, 1955. "The Analysis of Role Conflicts in a Complex Organization: The Police." *Michigan State.*

Joanne B. Eicher, B.A., M.A. Michigan State, 1952, 1956. "Social Factors and Social Psychological Explanations of Non-migration." *Michigan.*

Joseph Walter Elder, A.B., A.M. Oberlin, 1951, 1954. "Industrialism in Hindu Society: A Case Study in Social Change." *Harvard.*

Bertram Leighton Ellenbogen, B.S., M.A. Wisconsin, 1948, 1951. "A Study of the Social Organization of a Plantation Community in the Coffee-producing Region of Southwestern Venezuela." *Wisconsin.*

Idris William Evans, A.B. East Texas State College, 1951; M.A. Texas, 1952. "The Structure of Authority in Regional Planning: A Study in the Sociology of Legitimation." *Texas.*

Thomas Grant Eynon, M.A. Ohio State, 1955. "Factors Related to Onset of Delinquency." *Ohio State.*

Frank J. Fahey, B.A., M.A. Notre Dame, 1949, 1951. "The Sociological Analysis of a Negro Catholic Parish." *Notre Dame.*

Alfred Ferron, A.B. Morgan State College, 1949; A.M. State University of Iowa, 1950. "Background and Trends in the Development of a Residential Treatment Center: A Structural-functional Analysis." *Chicago.*

Robert E. Forman, B.A., M.A. Minnesota, 1948, 1949. "The Ideology of Mobility: Some Attitudinal Aspects of Migration." *Minnesota.*

John Forster, B.A. Kent State, 1952; M.A. Hawaii, 1954. "Acculturation of Hawaiians on the Island of Maui, Hawaii." *California (Los Angeles).*

William Gamson, A.B. Antioch College, 1955; A.M. Michigan, 1956. "A Theory of Coalition Formation." *Michigan.*

Peter George Garabedian, A.B. Redlands, 1952; M.A. Washington, 1956. "Western Penitentiary: A Study in Social Organization." *Washington (Seattle).*

Robert Vance Gardner, A.B. Northwestern State College, 1942; M.A. State University of Iowa, 1946. "An Investigation of the Role Convergence of the City Planner and City Manager." *Illinois.*

Joel E. Gerstal, B.A., M.A. Columbia, 1954, 1955. "Career Commitment and Style of Life in Three Middle-Class Occupations." *Minnesota.*

Delbert L. Gibson, A.B. Baylor, 1940; Th.M. Southwestern Seminary, 1944; M.A. Texas, 1955. "Protestantism in Latin-American Acculturation." *Texas.*

David Carter Glass, A.B., A.M. New York, 1952, 1954. "Parent Decision-Making Under Assumed Conditions of Risk: The Applicability of Decision Theory Models." *New York.*

Irwin Goffman, A.B. and A.M. Michigan, 1952. "Self-Other Differentiation and Role Performance." *Michigan.*

Bernice Goldstein, B.A. Hunter College, 1952; M.A. Stanford, 1956. "The Changing Protestant Ethic: Rural Patterns in Health, Work, and Leisure." *Purdue.*

Charles Goode Gomillion, A.B. Paine College, 1928. "Civic Democracy in the South." *Ohio State.*

Clyde A. Goodrum, M.S. New Hampshire, 1941; M.A. New School, 1951. "Minority Group Membership and Hostility." *New School.*

Joan P. Gordon, A.B. Rockford College, 1942. "A Sociological Analysis of an Upper Class Family." *Columbia.*

Harold Alton Gould, A.B. Rhode Island, 1951; M.A. Ohio State, 1954. "Family and Kinship in a North Indian Village." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Helen Beem Gouldner, B.A. College of Puget Sound, 1945; M.Ed. Washington, 1950. "The Organization Woman: Patterns of Friendship and Organizational Commitment." *California (Los Angeles).*

Edward Green, A.B., A.M. Pennsylvania, 1949, 1950. "An Analysis of the Sentencing Practices of Criminal Court Judges in Philadelphia." *Pennsylvania.*

Allen Day Grimshaw, A.B., A.M. Missouri, 1950, 1952. "A Study in Social Violence: Urban Race Riots in the United States." *Pennsylvania.*

Donald Pearce Hayes, A.B. Pomona College, 1952; M.A. Washington, 1956. "The Effects of Six Conditions on Consensus Achievement." *Washington (Seattle).*

George C. Helling, B.A. Hamline, 1948; M.A. Minnesota, 1951. "A Study of Turkish Values by Means of Nationality Stereotypes." *Minnesota.*

Franklin James Henry, Ph.B. Marquette, 1951; M.A. Catholic, 1954. "An Empirical Study of the Relationship of Catholic Practice and Fertility." *Catholic.*

Robert Dunton Herman, B.A. Pomona College, 1951; M.S. Wisconsin, 1954. "Segmentation of Bureaucratic and Familial Roles among Business Executives." *Wisconsin.*

Sung Chick Hong, A.B., M.A. Washington, 1955,

1957. "Majority Perception of Minority Behavior and Its Relationship to Hostility toward Ethnic Minorities: A Test of George A. Lundberg's Hypotheses." *Washington (Seattle).*

Terence K. Hopkins, A.B. Washington Sq. College, 1952. "Influence in Small Groups." *Columbia.*

Rev. Gordon J. Irving, B.A. St. Patrick's College (Canada), 1952; M A. Notre Dame, 1957. "Some Factors and Characteristics of Catholic-Marriage Separations in Five Midwest Dioceses." *Notre Dame.*

David Chester Johnson, B.A. Gustavus Adolphus College, 1954; M.A. Iowa, 1956. "Some Sociological Factors in the Lutheran Merger Movement." *State University of Iowa.*

Eric Josephson, A.B. New York, 1947; M.A. Columbia, 1949. "A Comparative Study of Political Youth Movements." *Columbia.*

Harold Neeley Kerr, A.B. Liberty State Teachers College; M.Litt. Pittsburgh, 1936. "Infant Training Practices, Family Social Climates, and Personality Adjustment." *Ohio State.*

John Willard Kinch, A.B., M.A. Washington, 1955, 1957. "Certain Social-psychological Aspects of Types of Juvenile Delinquents." *Washington (Seattle).*

Bernard Lazerwitz, A.B. Washington, 1950; A.M. Chicago, 1952. "Some Characteristics of Residential Belts in the Metropolitan Community—1950–56." *Michigan.*

Hope Jensen Leichter, A.B. Oberlin, 1950. "Alternatives and Constraints in the Role of the Chinese Exile." *Radcliffe College.*

Louis Lister, B.S. City College of New York, 1938; M.A. Columbia, 1939. "Europe's Coal and Steel Community: An Experiment in Economic Union." *Columbia.*

Edwin Lowe Lively. "A Study of Teen-age Socialization and Delinquency Insulation by Grade Levels." *Ohio State.*

B. H. Luebke, B.S. Oregon State College, 1925; M.S. Chicago, 1931. "Delineation of Rural Communities in the State of Oaxaca, Mexico." *Florida.*

Edward L. McDill, A.B., M.A. Alabama, 1952, 1956. "Social and Psychological Correlates of Attitude Intensity." *Vanderbilt.*

Albert McQueen, A.B. Oberlin, 1952; A.M. Michigan, 1953. "A Study of Anomie among Lower Class Negro Migrants." *Michigan.*

Richard S. Maisel, B.A. Buffalo, 1949. "A Study of Small Groups in Basic Training." *Columbia.*

Gary M. Maranell, B.A., M.A. State University of Iowa, 1955, 1957. "Role-taking: Empathy and Transparency." *State University of Iowa.*

John W. Martin, A.B. Knoxville College, 1948; A.M. Atlanta, 1949. "Adolescent Social Distance toward Occupational Status." *Indiana.*

David Mechanic, A.B. City College of New York, 1956; M.A. Stanford, 1957. "Socially Induced Stress and Illness: A Study in Medical Sociology." *Stanford.*

Surinder Kumar Mehta, B.S., A.M. Oregon, 1952, 1955. "The Labor Force of Urban Burma and Rangoon, 1953: A Comparative Study." *Chicago.*

Herbert Menzel, B.A. Wisconsin, 1947; M.A. Indiana, 1950. "Social Determinants of Physicians' Reactions to Innovations in Medical Practice." *Wisconsin.*

Jerry L. L. Miller, B.A., M.A. Oklahoma, 1953, 1954. "Occupational Choice: The Construction and Testing of a Paradigm of Occupational Choice for the College Graduate." *Florida State.*

Joan Willard Moore, Ph.B., M.A. Chicago, 1948, 1953. "Stability and Instability in the Metropolitan Upper Class." *Chicago.*

Henry Brain Megget Murphy, M.B.Ch.B. Edinburgh, 1938; D.P.H. London, 1952. "Ethnic Variation in Juvenile Delinquency: A Study from a Southeast Asian City." *New School.*

P. S. K. Murty, B.C. Delhi (India) 1946; M.A. Duke, 1958. "A Sociological Study of Workers' Participation in the Joint Consultation Scheme of Indian Industries." *Duke.*

Myron Krikor Nalbandian, A.B., M.A. Brown, 1952, 1955. "Methods of Population Estimation for Small Areas, with Specific Application to Rhode Island." *Brown.*

Charles Benjamin Nam, A.B. New York, 1950; M.A. North Carolina, 1957. "A Study of the Socioeconomic Status and Mobility of Selected European Nationality Groups in America." *North Carolina.*

William Nardini, B.A. Cornell College, 1951; M.A. Iowa, 1957. "Criminal Self-conceptions in the Penal Community: An Empirical Study." *State University of Iowa.*

Gertrud Neuwirth, Dr. rer. pol. Graz (Austria), 1953. "Friendship Patterns and Organizational Participation: A Study in Ambience." *Minnesota.*

Peter King-Ming New, A.B. Dartmouth, 1948; M.A. Missouri, 1953. "Perception of Osteopathy by Osteopathic Students." *Missouri.*

Eleanor N. Nishiura, B.A. Illinois College, 1956; M.S. Purdue, 1958. "Internal Migration in Indiana." *Purdue.*

Harold Wayne Osborne, B.A. Ouachita Baptist College, 1952; M.A. Louisiana State, 1956. "The Impact of a Village Factory on a Selected Area of Rural Louisiana." *Louisiana State.*

Erdman B. Palmore, B.A. Duke, 1952; M.A. Chicago, 1954. "Some Functions of the Active Therapist Role." *Columbia.*

Sidney Morris Peck, B.A. Minnesota, 1949; M.A. Wisconsin, 1951. "The Rank-and-File Leader: A Study of the Social and Political Ideology of the Industrial Union Steward." *Wisconsin.*

Evan Peterson, B.S., M.S. Brigham Young, 1952, 1953. "The Impact of Maternal Employment on

the Mother-Daughter Relationship and the Daughter Role Orientation." *Michigan.*

Enrico L. Quarantelli, A.M. Chicago, 1953. "The Dental Student." *Chicago.*

Calvin Waldo Redekop, A.B. Goshen College, 1949. "The Sectarian Black and White World." *Chicago.*

John D. Rimberg, A.B. Harvard, 1950; M.A. Columbia, 1952. "The Soviet Motion-Picture Industry, 1918–52: A Sociological Analysis." *Columbia.*

Richard H. Robbins, B.A. Brooklyn College, 1946; M.A. Washington State College, 1948. "The Immigration Act of 1952: A Case Study in Political Sociology." *Illinois.*

Chang Shub Roh, B.A. Dong A University, 1952; M.S.W. Louisiana State, 1957. "A Comparative Study of Korean and Japanese Family Life." *Louisiana State.*

Peter Isaac Rose, A.B. Syracuse, 1954; M.A. Cornell, 1957. "Strangers in their Midst: A Sociological Study of the SmallTown Jew and His Neighbors." *Cornell.*

Daniel Rosenblatt, A.B. Wayne, 1946; A.M. Columbia, 1947. "Formal Voluntary Organization among Patients in a Psychiatric Hospital." *Harvard.*

Abraham L. Rosenblum, A.B., M.A. Indiana State Teachers College, 1943, 1944. "Social Class Membership and Ethnic Prejudice in Cedar City." *Southern California.*

Albert Jules Rosenstein, A.B. Los Angeles State College, 1951; A.M. Southern California, 1952. "A Comparative Study of the Role Conflict, Marital Adjustment, and Personality Configuration of Private Adoptive and Agency Adoptive Parents." *Southern California.*

Hugh Laurence Ross, A.B. Swarthmore, 1955; A.M. Harvard, 1957. "The Local Community in the Metropolis." *Harvard.*

Alexander P. Runciman, A.B., M.A. Southern California, 1949, 1951. "Selected Social-psychological Factors Related to Viewers of Television Programs." *Southern California.*

Ruben D. Santos-Cuyugan, B.Ph. Philippines, 1949; A.M. Harvard, 1956. "Decision-makers in a New England Community: A Study of Social Influence and Power." *Harvard.*

James A. Schellenberg, A.B. Baker (Baldwin, Kansas), 1954; M.A. Kansas, 1955. "Personality Patterns in Mate Selection: A Study of Complementary Needs and Homogamy." *Kansas.*

Woodrow Wilson Scott, B.S. Utah State, 1941; M.S. Wisconsin, 1953. "Interpersonal Relations in Ethnically Mixed Small Work Groups." *Southern California.*

Selosoemardjan. "Social Changes in Jogijakarta." *Cornell.*

David Sirota, B.A. City College of New York, 1954; M.A. Michigan, 1956. "Some Functions of the Nationalist Ideologies of Minority Ethnic Groups." *Michigan.*

Charles Alfred Sletten, A.B. Virginia, 1950; A.M. Harvard, 1954. "The Social Structure and Ideology of Organized Pharmacy, with Special Reference to Price Competition." *Harvard.*

Alexander Smith, B.S. City College of New York, 1930; LL.B. Brooklyn Law School, 1930; A.M. New York, 1953. "Analysis of Interaction Process and Sociometric Relations Developed during Group Therapy with Offenders on Probation." *New York.*

John Wallace Smith, A.B., A.M. Pennsylvania, 1948, 1951. "The Socioeconomic Bases of the Poujade Movement." *Pennsylvania.*

Austin John Staley, A.B. St. Vincent College, 1950; M.A. Catholic, 1950. "Interracial Marriage in Brazil." *Pittsburgh.*

Stephen S. Stanford, B.S., M.S. Brigham Young, 1950, 1951. "Changing Ideologies of the American Home." *Colorado.*

Albert Fontheim Stern, B.A. Haverford College, 1954; M.A. Sarah Lawrence, 1957. "An Introduction to the Interpersonal Theory." *New School.*

Gregory Prentice Stone, A.B. Chicago, 1952. "Clothing and Social Relations: A Study of Appearance in the Context of Community Life." *Chicago.*

Donald A. Summers, B.S. in Ed. Nebraska, 1953. "Theories of the Self: An Analytical Study of Some Perspectives." *Nebraska.*

Gordon Sutton, A.B., A.M. Wayne State, 1952, 1955. "Travel Patterns in an Urban Community: Socioeconomic and Family Life-Cycle Differentials in Dependence Relations among Central Areas and Residence in Detroit, Michigan, 1954." *Michigan.*

Mary Margaret Thomes, B.S. College of St. Benedict, 1944; M.S. Southern California, 1950. "Parents of Schizophrenic and Normal Children: A Comparison of Parental Attitudes, Marital Adjustment, Role Behavior, and Interaction." *Southern California.*

Geoffrey Tootell, A.B. Harvard, 1951; M.A. Columbia, 1953. "The Measurement of Value." *Columbia.*

Herman Turk, B.A. Newark College of Engineering, 1947; M.A. Columbia, 1952. "The Internalization of Values by Work Groups and Popularity of Nominated Leaders." *American.*

Damon Asa Turner, A.B. Miami, 1934; M.A. Ohio State, 1936. "An Analysis of Conflict and Accommodation between Vested Interests in Eight Case Examples of Consciously Planned Social Change." *Pittsburgh.*

Paul S. Ullman, B.A., M.A. Southern California 1951, 1953. "Parental Participation in Childrearing as Evaluated by Male Social Deviates." *Oregon.*

Ivan Archie Vallier, A.B. Utah, 1953; A.M. Harvard, 1959. "Production Imperatives in Communal Systems: A Comparative Study with Special Reference to the Kibbutz Crisis." *Harvard.*

Leonard Wesley Wager, A.B., A.M. Washington, 1949, 1952. "Career Patterns: A Study of Airline Pilots in a Major Airline Company." *Chicago.*

Seymour Warkov, A.B. New School, 1953; A.M. Columbia, 1955. "Irregular Discharge from Veterans Administration Tuberculosis Hospitals: A Problem of Organizational Effectiveness." *Yale.*

Leon H. Warshay, B.A. Brooklyn College, 1949; M.A. Chicago, 1951. "Breadth of Perspective, Culture Contact, and Self." *Minnesota.*

Walter Bingham Watson, B.A. Southern Methodist, 1953; M.S. Wisconsin, 1954. "Metropolitan Migration in the United States, 1949–50." *Wisconsin.*

Murray Wax, A.M. Pennsylvania, 1947. "Time, Magic, and Asceticism: A Comparative Study of Time Perspectives." *Chicago.*

Nancy Ellen Waxler, A.B. Illinois, 1953. "Defense Mechanisms in Interpersonal Behavior." *Radcliffe College.*

Mildred Wishnatt Weil, A.B. Newark, 1945; A.M. New York, 1950. "A Study of the Factors Affecting the Role and Role Expectations of Women Participating or Planning To Participate in the Labor Force." *New York.*

Lester Weinberger, B.S. in S.S. City College of New York, 1938; M.A. New School, 1951. "The Teachers' Union of New York City." *New School.*

Wayne Wheeler, A.B. Doane College, 1944; M.A. Nebraska, 1948. "Social Change: The Case of Lindsborg, Kansas." *Missouri.*

Ernest Works, B.A. Agricultural, Mining, and Normal College (Arkansas), 1951; A.M. Illinois, 1955. "The Prejudice-Interaction Hypothesis from the Point of View of the Negro Minority Group." *Illinois.*

Josephine A. Wtulich, B.A. Vassar College, 1946; M.S. in S.S. Fordham, 1949. "Occupational Experiences of Selected High-School Graduates: A Study in Expectations and Fulfilment." *Fordham.*

James N. Young, B.S. Clemson College, 1948; B.S. in Agr. Kentucky, 1951. "The Influence of Neighborhood Norms on the Diffusion of Recommended Farm Practices." *Kentucky.*

Sheila Ziph, A.B., A.M. Michigan, 1954, 1956. "An Experimental Study of Resistance." *Michigan.*

MASTER'S DEGREES

Darrow Lewis Aiona, B.A. Hawaii, 1957. "The Hawaiian Church of the Living God: An Episode in the Hawaiian's Quest for Social Identity." *Hawaii.*

J. Oscar Alers, A.B. City College of New York, 1955. No thesis. *Harvard.*

Emily Arnow Alman, B.A. Hunter College, 1946. "The Western: A Sociological Interpretation of a Popular Fiction Form." *New School.*

Aligarsh Muslim, 1953. "Kaivarta Caste of Sibsagar, Assam, India." *Wayne State.*

Albert F. Anderson, B.S. Iowa State, 1956. "Factors Related to Changes in the Population of Incorporated Places." *Iowa State.*

C. LeRoy Anderson, B.S. Brigham Young, 1958. "Factors Associated with Attendance in Church Related Activities of L.D.S. Male Household Heads in Selected Utah Rural Areas." *Brigham Young.*

Vera K. Andreasen, B.A. Johns Hopkins, 1958. "The Sacred and the Secular Value Systems as Reflected in the French-Canadian and English-Canadian Elementary-School Readers, Town of Beaconsfield, Quebec, 1952–1959." *Maryland.*

Raamah Ashkenazi, Hebrew University, 1953–56; Groningen, 1955. "The Conflict between Democracy and Theocracy in Israel." *New School.*

Myra K. Ashton, B.A. State College of Washington, 1936. "An Exploratory Investigation of the Student Role in the Self-conception of University Freshmen." *North Dakota.*

Gilbert L. Atkinson, Jr., B.S. West Virginia, 1952. "Personal Influences Affecting the Occupational Choice of High-School Senior Boys." *Ohio State.*

Harsja Wardhana Bachtiar, B.A. Cornell, 1958. "Twelve Sumatran Villages: An Exercise in the Study of Political Institutions." *Cornell.*

Walter R. Banks, B.A. Rutgers, 1947. "The Spatial Distribution of Urban Retail and Service Facilities." *Michigan State.*

Bringier H. Barker, B.S. Tuskegee Institute, 1952. "Negroes of Franklinton, Louisiana: A Study of Organizational and Group Characteristics." *Louisiana State.*

Charles M. Barresi, B.A. Buffalo, 1953. "Residential Invasion and Succession: A Case Study." *Buffalo.*

Nancy Jo Barton, B.A. Denison, 1955. "A Critique of Kroeber's Theory of Cultural Change in Aboriginal North America: A Study in Primitive Warfare." *Indiana.*

Rev. Jorge E. Betancur, Ph.L. Universidad Javeriana, 1944; S.T.L. West Baden, 1952. No thesis. *Fordham.*

Sushil Bhatia, A.B. Calcutta, 1947. "Mate Selection in India and America: A Comparative Study." *Kansas.*

Lilly Birnbaum, Berlin, 1921–23. "The Group of Two: A Conceptual Analysis." *New School.*

Walter Boland, A.B. Michigan, 1957. No thesis. *Michigan.*

Jacqueline Miles Boles, A.B. Emory, 1956. "The Primary Association and Group (Production) Size in a Retail Store." *Emory.*

Ruth K. Bommer, Jerusalem Institut de Psychologie, Sorbonne, 1953–55. "The Background and Later Development of a Group of Jewish Children Who Lost Their Parents during the Hitler

Alan Bomser, A.B. Los Angeles State College, 1955. No thesis. *Los Angeles State College.*

Rev. Raymond Bosse, B.A. Assumption College, 1952. No thesis. *Fordham.*

Rev. Jerome F. Bowman, B.S. Loyola (Chicago). "A Study of Selected Social and Economic Factors in the Formation of a Religious Vocation." *Loyola (Chicago).*

Ralph Branson, A.B. Pasadena College, 1956. "A Comparison of Successful and Unsuccessful Cases in a Non-directive Therapy Situation." *Southern California.*

Berthold Brenner, A.B. George Washington, 1954. "State Characteristics and Suicide among White Males." *American.*

David Brewer, B.S. Brigham Young, 1957. "Family Factors in Rehabilitation of Heart Patients." *Purdue.*

Margaret A. Britt, B.A. College of Our Lady of Elms, 1954. No thesis. *Fordham.*

James L. Bull, B.A. California (Los Angeles), 1947. "Masculinity Patterns in American Society." *California (Los Angeles).*

Gordon Bultena, B.A. Iowa State Teachers College, 1956. "Social Participation and Scholastic Achievement: A Study of the Relationship between Participation in (*a*) School-centered Groups and (*b*) Community-centered Groups and Scholastic Achievement among a Sample of Junior and Senior High School Students." *Minnesota.*

Thomas K. Burch, B.A. Loyola College, 1956. No thesis. *Fordham.*

Sister M. Herberta Burns, B.A. Marywood College, 1947. "Redefining Family Roles: A Study of the Reaction of High-School Students to the Experience of Family Disorganization." *Fordham.*

Hyman Burshtyn, B.A. McGill, 1955. "A Study of Interpersonal Persuasion." *McGill.*

Paula A. Bushy, B.A. College of St. Elizabeth, 1945. No thesis. *Fordham.*

Herbert Lawrence Campbell III, B.S. Iowa State, 1951. "Factors Related to Differential Use of Information Sources." *Iowa State.*

Thomas C. Campbell, B.A. Minnesota, 1950; B.D. Yale, 1955. "A Comparison of Introductory Textbooks in the Treatment of the Sociology of Religion." *Kent State.*

Chester J. Carpenter, A.B. Southern California, 1952. "Maternal Employment and Personality Development of Children." *Iowa State.*

Rev. John J. Carroll, B.A., M.A. Sacred Heart College, 1948, 1949. No thesis. *Fordham.*

David Cason, Jr., B.A. Wayne State, 1950. "The Political Attitudes of Detroit Negro UAW Members." *Wayne State.*

Purificacion Cecilio, M.A. Philippines, 1959. "Community Development in the Philippines." *Southern Illinois.*

Stavroula Christodoulou, B.A. American (Cairo), 1958. "Attraction-Repulsion Patterns at a Women's Residence Hall." *North Dakota.*

Walter Clarke, A.B. Los Angeles State College. No thesis. *Los Angeles State College.*

Theodore Grinnell Clemence, A.B. Wesleyan, 1956. "Analysis of Crime Rates in 1957 by States and Selected Cities in Southern New England." *Brown.*

Morgan E. Clippinger, B.A. Maryland, 1957. "An Exploratory Study of Social Disorganization in Postwar Japan." *Maryland.*

Rodney Coe, B.S. Iowa State University, 1955. "Some Characteristics of Well-adjusted Inmates in a State Penitentiary." *Southern Illinois.*

Lucy Wellborn Cole, B.A. Mississippi State College for Women, 1924. "Selected Factors with the Organization of Community Development Clubs." *Mississippi State College.*

Frank E. Crabtree, B.A. Fordham College, 1957. No thesis. *Fordham.*

Gordon F. DeJong, B.A. Central College (Pella, Iowa), 1957. "A Comparison of Two Techniques for Studying Reference Groups." *Kentucky.*

Robert Lee Derbyshire, B.S. Maryland, 1954. "Some Social Aspects of Suicide in Baltimore City during the Years 1954, 1955, and 1956." *Maryland.*

Steven E. Deutsch, A.B. Oberlin College, 1958. "A Community Study of Status Consistency and Voting Behavior." *Michigan State.*

Carolyn R. Dexter, B.S. St. Lawrence, 1948. "The Role of Informal and Formal Organization in Education." *Columbia.*

Edward Di Roma, B.A. City College of New York, 1941. "Work and Working Conditions of Public Librarians in the United States." *New School.*

Arthur N. Disney, Jr., B.A. Western Maryland College, 1950. "Factors Related to the Failure of the Adult Offender on Probation as Revealed by Certain Measurements of a Direct or Indirect Contact with Law-Enforcement Agencies." *Maryland.*

Dorothy Dohen, B.A. College of Mount St. Vincent, 1945. "The Background of Consensual Union in Puerto Rico." *Fordham.*

James F. Donovan, B.A. Boston College, 1957. No thesis. *Fordham.*

James R. Dove, B.A. Michigan State, 1957. "The Reception of Hospital Publicity among Former Hospital Patients." *Michigan State.*

Dennis Dowell, B.S. Purdue, 1957. "Class Orientations of Holiness Church Pastors and Congregants." *Purdue.*

Kenneth J. Downey, B.S. State University of New York, 1954. "A Cross-cultural Study of Selected Values." *Illinois.*

Edward P. Doyle, B.A. Maryland, 1958. "Empathy: A Study of Empathic Ability in Dyads of Friends, Acquaintances, and Strangers." *Maryland.*

Troy S. Duster, B.S. Northwestern, 1957. "Situs versus Stratum in the Prediction of Religious Attitudes." *California (Los Angeles).*

Thomas G. Eagen, B.A. King's College (Pennsylvania), 1957. "Correctional Administration." *Notre Dame.*

Janice Ann Egeland, A.B. Pennsylvania, 1956. No thesis. *Pennsylvania.*

Lily Elco, B.A. Brooklyn College, 1954. "The Handicapped Child in Society." *New School.*

Harry Ellett, Jr., A.B. Iowa State Teachers College, 1951. No thesis. *State University of Iowa.*

Nancy Ellsworth, B.A. Huron College (South Dakota), 1957. No thesis. *Nebraska.*

Rev. Josef Elsener, Theological Seminary, Switzerland. "Urbanization and African Family Life: A Case Study of Leopoldville (Belgian Congo)." *Fordham.*

Sister Alma Mary Erhard, B.A. Mount St. Vincent College, 1932. No thesis. *Fordham.*

James A. Erickson, Jr., A.B. California (Los Angeles), 1957. No thesis. *Los Angeles State College.*

Theresa E. Falaguerra, A.B. Radcliffe College, 1951. "Anticipatory Socialization." *Columbia.*

Sheldon Farber, B.A. Brooklyn College, 1956. "The Society of Jewish Science-Religious Group: A Study in the Sociology of Sects." *New York.*

Asghar Fathi. "Role Conflict and Marginality: A Study of Jewish High-School Students." *Washington (Seattle).*

Phillip Fellin, A.B. St. Benedict's, 1953; M.A. in Social Work, St. Louis, 1957. No thesis. *Michigan.*

Francis X. Femminella, B.A. Iona College, 1952. "A Paradigm for the Study of Cultural Assimilation." *Fordham.*

Sister Cecile Agnes Forest, B.A. Annhurst College, 1957. "Sisters as Graduate Students: The Integration of the Roles of the Religious Teacher, Student, and Scholar." *Fordham.*

Morris A. Forslund, A.B. Yale, 1958. No thesis. *Yale.*

Jack D. Foster, B.A. Kent State, 1953. "Empirical Studies on Criminality Relating to the General Theory of Talcott Parsons." *Kent State.*

Anne C. Fowler, A.B. New Jersey College for Women, 1939. "A Study of Alienation and Integration among Divorced Mothers." *Vanderbilt.*

Rev. Joseph E. X. Frain, Ordained Kansas City, Missouri, 1938. "Correctional Administration." *Notre Dame.*

Harold Gaines, B.S. in Ed., Kent State, 1953. "Social Status Levels and Types of Delinquency Behavior in Cleveland." *Kent State.*

Albeno P. Garbin, B.A. Blackburn College, 1956. "An Empirical Sociopsychological Study of Occupational Prestige and Its Correlates." *Louisiana State.*

Ruth Ursula Gebhard, A.B. Michigan, 1956. "Patterns of Participation among Husbands and Wives in Discussion Groups." *Chicago.*

Irwin Gerber, A.B. New York, 1958. "The Effects of the Supreme Court's Desegregation Decision on the Group Cohesion of New York City's Negroes." *New York.*

James A. Geschwender, B.S. Buffalo Teachers College, 1955. "Occupational Mobility, Job Satisfaction, and Social References." *Michigan State.*

Ronald T. Giannoni, B.S. St. Mary's College (Minnesota), 1957. "Correctional Administration." *Notre Dame.*

Sherna B. Gluck, B.A. *California (Berkeley)* 1956. "An Investigation of the Continuing Influence of Reference Groups." *California (Los Angeles).*

Victor Goldkind, B.S. George Washington, 1949. "A Comparison of Folk Health Beliefs and Practices between *Ladino* Women of Denver, Colorado, and Saginaw, Michigan." *Michigan State.*

Norman Goldner, B.A. Minnesota, 1955. "The Mexican in the Northern Urban Area: A Comparison of Two Generations." *Minnesota.*

Claude Good, A.B. Eastern Mennonite. "The Relation of Religious Beliefs and Participation to Attitudes and Behavior." *Cornell.*

Henry S. Gordan, B.A. New School, 1958. "Variances of Interest in the Four Freedoms in Current Science-Fiction Stories." *New School.*

David A. Goslin, A.B. Swarthmore College, 1958. No thesis. *Yale.*

Marilyn Gregory, A.B. Marshall College, 1958. No thesis. *Marshall College.*

Walter Grimes, B.S. State Teachers College (Mansfield, Pa.), 1952. "Sociological Factors in Leadership." *Cornell.*

Vera F. Grushetzky, A.B. Pittsburgh, 1954. "A Study of Some Economic Characteristics of a Segment of Casual Workers." *Pittsburgh.*

Irene Guerra, A.B. Texas, 1953. "The Social Aspirations of a Selected Group of Spanish-Name People in Laredo, Texas." *Texas.*

Thomas Raymond Gwinup, B.A. Denver, 1954. "The Concept of Psychopathic Personality and Crime." *Indiana.*

Rev. Paul F. Haas, A.B. St. Ambrose College, 1953. "Degree of Relationship between Certain Personality Ratings and Social Status at a Boy's Summer Camp." *Catholic.*

Robert B. Haldane, B.A. Texas, 1957. "Occupational and Community Integration of Southern-born Workers in a Midwestern Industrial Community." *Michigan State.*

Nason E. Hall, Jr., B.A. Sacramento State College, 1955. "An Exploratory Theoretical and Empirical Study of Friendship." *California (Los Angeles).*

Virgil Trammell Hall, M.S. Maryland, 1957. "The American Military Profession." *Maryland.*

Dorothy F. Halloran, B.S. Simmons College, 1953. "An Investigation of Family Life in Secondary Schools of Massachusetts." *Catholic.*

Rev. Edmond Hammer, B.A. Notre Dame, 1936. "A Study in the Dynamics of the Small Group: Jocist Case Studies Relevant to a Pareto-Homans Conceptual Scheme." *Fordham.*

Gladys Gray Handy, A.B. Howard, 1956. "The Effect of Mental Illness on the Families of a Group of Negro Patients." *Catholic.*

Ellsworth Harpole, B.S. West Virginia State, 1934; M.A. Minnesota, 1938. "Post-institutional Adjustment of 105 Former Delinquents." *Ohio (Athens).*

Clara P. Harris, A.B. Fisk, 1957. "Socialization of the Negro Child in Nashville, Tennessee." *Fisk.*

Nancy Rebecca Harris, A.B. Miami, 1955. "An Analysis of Administrative Jobs in Girl Scouting." *Ohio State.*

Georgiana Madge Harwood, B.S. Wisconsin, 1955. "The Relation of Independence Training to Need Achievement Scores." *Wisconsin.*

Nawal Hassan, B.A. American (Cairo) 1956. "The Psychoanalytic Approach to National Character." *Smith College.*

Paul Heckert, B.A. Catawba, 1951; B.D. Theological Seminary (Lancaster, Pa.), 1954. "Religious and Secular Participation." *Cornell.*

Donald Henderson, B.A. Kent State, 1958. "Prestige-Power Figures and Agency Effectiveness Accomplishment." *Kent State.*

George Henderson, B.A. Wayne State, 1957. "Law and the Negro: An Analysis of Legal Levels of Aspiration." *Wayne State.*

Patrick J. Henry, A.B. Loyola (Chicago). "A Study of the Leadership of a 'People's Organization': The Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council." *Loyola (Chicago).*

Gerhard Hess, A.B. Texas, 1958. "The Social Composition of the Major Political Parties of the Federal Republic of Germany in the First Two Nation-wide Elections." *Columbia.*

John M. Hickman, A.B. Cornell College, 1952. "An Empirical Evaluation of Assumptions Underlying Redfield's Folk-Urban Concept." *State University of Iowa.*

Charles A. Hildebrandt, B.A. Kent State, 1955. "Some Sociological Concepts and Orientations in the Writings of Walter Lippmann." *Kent State.*

Robert Hilgendorf, B.A. Southern Illinois, 1958. "Social Characteristics of Migrant Farm Laborers." *Southern Illinois.*

Sheila Hodges, A.B. Tulsa, 1958. No thesis. *Stanford.*

David E. W. Holden, B.A. Rice Institute, 1953. "A Comparison of the Land-Reform Programs of Mexico and Japan." *Cornell.*

Akiko U. Ikeda, B.A. Webster College, 1953. No thesis. *Fordham.*

Millard E. Jabbour, B.A. Hawaii, 1956. "The Sect of Tensho-Kotai-Jingu-Kyo: The Emergence and Career of a Religious Movement." *Hawaii.*

Clayton Reed Jackson, B.E.E., Marquette, 1946. "The Student Engineer's Identification with the Engineering Profession." *Wisconsin.*

Rose Mary Jacobs, A.B. Roosevelt, 1955. "Co-operative Gallery Membership En Route to Professionalism." *Chicago.*

Bernard L. Jacques, B.S. Fordham College, 1956. "Social Structure and the Movement between Religious Groups." *Fordham.*

Lester David Jaffe, A.B. Yeshiva College, 1955; M.S. Western Reserve, 1957. "An Exploration of Some Factors Related to Delinquency Proneness." *Ohio State.*

Carl R. Jantzen, A.B. Bethel College, 1957. "Boundary Maintenance and Personality Test-Score Differences between Old Order Amish and Non-Amish Children." *Michigan State.*"

Cleobis Hector Sirinaga Jayewardene, M.B., B.S. Ceylon, 1953. No thesis. *Pennsylvania.*

Joseph C. Jeziorski, B.A. Notre Dame, 1958. No thesis. *Notre Dame.*

Sherman Kantor, B.A. Minnesota. "Social Stratification and Mental Disorder: An Analysis of the Relationship of Social Status to the Diagnosis, Treatment, and Prognosis of Mental Illness." *Minnesota.*

Eugene J. Kapalczynski, B.A. St. Francis Seminary (Wisconsin), 1957. "Correctional Administration," *Notre Dame.*

Boris Karashkevych, A.B. "Differential Migration from the East North Central Division, 1949–50: A Study of the Selectivity in the Interstate Migration." *New York.*

Monohar Lal Kataria, B.S. North Carolina State College, 1956. "Causes of Labor Strikes during Post-World War II Prosperity Years in the United States." *New School.*

Kazuo Kato, A.B. Nagoya, 1952. "Population Trends and Problems of Postwar Japan, 1945–55." *Southern California.*

Brigitte Kellner, Institut für Vergleichende Socialwissenschaften, 1953–55. "Sociological Perspectives in the Memoirs of Louis Duc de Saint Simon." *New School.*

John Payson Kennedy, A.B. Emory, 1954. "Woleai Kinship Systems: A Methodological and Comparative Analysis." *Emory.*

Robert J. Kennedy, A.B. Kansas, 1953. "The Standard of Appropriateness in Intergroup Behavior." *Kansas.*

William A. Kessler, Jr., B.S. Illinois, 1958. "Social Class and College Achievement." *Illinois.*

Majid Al-Khazraji, B.S. Cornell. "Multipurpose Training of Village-Level Workers for Community Development and Suggestions for Future Improvement." *Cornell.*

Samrit Khunmuang, LL.B., Thammasart, 1949. "Thailand UNESCO Fundamental Education Center: A Case Study of a Rural Development Staff-Training Center." *Cornell.*

Alan George Klitzkie, B.S. Wisconsin, 1954. "Outside Employment and Fire Fighters: An Analysis of Multiple Jobholding." *Wisconsin.*

Sister M. Bernard Francis Kobayashi, B.A. St. Mary's College, 1949. No thesis. *Notre Dame.*

Ferdinand Kolegar, Graduate Status Charles University (Prague), 1951. "Political Refugee as

Immigrant: An Inquiry into Differential Adjustment of Immigrants." *Chicago.*

Sally L. Kotlar, A.B. California (Los Angeles), 1955. "Attitude Differentials and Their Relationship to Marital Adjustment." *Southern California.*

Frank J. Kretz, A.B. Vienna, 1938. "A Study of the Relationship between Management Behavior and Foreman Morale in a Steel Mill." *Chicago.*

Michael Kumpersanin, B.A. Kent State, 1957. "The Drain of Talent Out of Texas and Arkansas." *Kent State.*

Yvan Labelle, A.B. Montreal, 1950. "Essai pour une sociologie d'un institut missionnaire." *Laval.*

Prasat Laksila, B.A. in Econ., Thammasat, 1952. "Adjustment Problems as Determinants of Selective Association: A Study of a Group of Thai Students at Indiana University." *Indiana.*

Rev. Peter Lanza, B.A. Pontifical University Gregorian. No thesis. *Fordham.*

Donald E. Larsen, B.A. Minnesota, 1955. "Some Sociological Aspects of Church Relocation: A Study of a Middle-Class Parish." *Indiana.*

Sister M. Conrad Laudner, B.A. College of St. Theresa (Minnesota), 1946. No thesis. *Notre Dame.*

Patience Lauriat, A.B. Antioch, 1957. No thesis. *American.*

Ursula M. Leahy, B.A. Marymount College, 1956. No thesis. *Fordham.*

Jang Hyun Lee, B.A. Carson-Newman College, 1957. "Karl Marx's Theory of Social Change." *Duke.*

Ruth Lees, A.B. Reed College, 1958. "Desire and Intention: A Sociological Analysis Focusing on the Plans and Preferences of High-School Seniors." *Columbia.*

Edward Lehman, B.S. Fordham College, 1956. "The American Catholic College Student's Orientation to the World: An Exploratory Study of Student Autobiographical Sketches." *Fordham.*

Christine Ute Freiin von Leudinghausen-Wolff, B.A. Weston College, 1956. "Some Aspects of West German Family Life as Reflected in Postwar Research." *New School.*

Joan Ann Levin, A.B. Michigan, 1957. No thesis. *Radcliffe College.*

Myrna Seidman Levine, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1957. "A Study in Organizational Change: American Zionism, with Particular Emphasis on the Providence District of the Z.O.A., 1948–58." *Brown.*

Lionel S. Lewis, A.B. Washington (St. Louis), 1957. Discrimination and Insulation: An Intercommunity Comparison." *Cornell.*

Ralph Lewis, Ph.B. Chicago, 1932. "Amerika Haus: From Rejection to Acceptance." *Chicago.*

Bernice Loeb, B.A. Toronto, 1950. "The First Years of Medical Practice: A Study of the Initiation of Medical Practice by 52 Montreal Jewish Physicians Graduated since 1940." *McGill.*

Brinkley A. Long, A.B. Los Angeles State College, 1956. No thesis. *Los Angeles State College.*

Eugen Lupri, B.S. McPherson College, 1958. "Some Aspects of Social Change in a German Peasant Village." *Wisconsin.*

Bobbye Louella McCarter, B.A., B.S. Texas Women's University, 1958. "The Nursery School as an Agent of Socialization." *Louisiana State.*

Jane McCarts, B.A. Upsala College, 1952. "An Empirical Study of Art Consumer Publics." *Maryland.*

James N. McCrorie, B.A. McGill, 1958. "The Social Organization of Graduate Students in Chemistry." *McGill.*

Leatrice Dorph McDonald, B.S. Temple, 1953. No thesis. *Pennsylvania.*

Robert Philip McGovern, B.A. Notre Dame, 1958. No thesis. *Notre Dame.*

Betty J. McGrew, A.B. William Jewell College, 1952. "Citizen Participation in the Community Neighborhood and Youth Councils of Kansas City, Missouri." *Kansas City.*

Peter S. McHugh, B.A. California (Los Angeles), 1957. "Elements and Effects of Perceived Status Discrepancy." *California (Los Angeles).*

John J. Macisco, B.S. Fordham College, 1958. No thesis. *Fordham.*

John James Maffucci, B.S. Fordham College, 1953. No thesis. *Fordham.*

Ivan F. Magoon, A.B. Northwest Missouri State College, 1954. "The Importance of Mobility and the Local Area in the Lives of Seventeen Schizophrenic Patients." *Kansas City.*

Karen R. Many, B.A. Reed College, 1956. "A Structural-functional Analysis of the Double Standard in American Culture." *Oregon.*

Philip Marcus, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1954. "Informal Leadership in a Work Situation." *Chicago.*

Gerald Marwell, B.S. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1957. "Visibility in Small Groups." *New York.*

Richard L. Means, A.B. Kalamazoo College, 1952. "Social Research and Catholic-Protestant Conflicts in the United States." *Cornell.*

Charles Don Meyer, A.B. Long Beach State College. "An Investigation of the Relationship between Peer-nominated Leadership and a Selected Merit-Rating Scale." *Southern California.*

Marion E. Meyer, Baccalaureat, College de Moissae (France), 1942. "The Sephardic Community of the Bronx: A Community in Transition." *New School.*

Lawrence Keith Miller, A.B. Reed College, 1957. "The Effect of Interdependence on Small-Group Interaction." *Illinois.*

Roger Mitton, A.B. École Normale Supérieure Université D'Haiti, 1950. "Contribution of Georges Balandier to the Sociology of Black Africa." *Fisk.*

Mary Jean Moelk, A.B. Iowa, 1958. No thesis. *State University of Iowa.*

John Escay Montenegro, B.A., M.Ph. Sacred Heart College, 1947, 1948. "Sociological Implications of Insecure Tenure Practices in Selected Rural Areas of the Philippines." *Wisconsin.*

Sverre Henry Monsen, B.A. Florida State, 1957. No thesis. *California (Los Angeles).*

Ruth Esther Moskowitz, B.A. Brooklyn College, 1957. No thesis. *Connecticut.*

William D. Mosley, Jr., A.B. Morehouse College, 1951. "A Study of the Role of the Church in the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency." *Marshall College.*

Monique Mousseau, Baccalaureat, College Jesus Marie, 1953. "Population Distribution in the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario, Canada, 1951." *Chicago.*

Haseeb Mroueh, B.S. Beirut. "Rural Development in Lebanon." *Cornell.*

Charles L. Mulford, B.S. Iowa State, 1958. "Relationship between Community Variables and the Presence or Absence of Local Industrial Development Corporations." *Iowa State.*

Alexander J. Muntean, B.A. Youngstown College, 1952. "Community Change and Hospital Development: A Case Study of Community Power Structure." *Michigan State.*

Jean M. Murphy, B.A. Good Counsel College, 1947. "German Education under the Influence of American Occupational Forces: A Study in Planned Institutional Change." *Fordham.*

Sister Mary Norbert Murray, B.Ed. Catholic Teachers College, 1948; A.B. Salve Regina College, 1954. No thesis. *Notre Dame.*

Stuart S. Myers, B.S. in Ed., Kent State, 1958. "The Development of Professional Attitudes toward the Academic Enterprise among Students of Kent State University." *Kent State.*

Anton Naber, B.B.A. American (Beirut), 1952; C. O. Cooperative College, England, 1955. "The Role of Co-operatives in the National Community Development in Jordan." *Cornell.*

Nancy K. Nelson, A.B. State University of Iowa, 1958. No thesis. *State University of Iowa.*

Balwant Nevaskar, B.A. Bombay, 1947. "The Titans: A Comparative Study of the Elites of India and the United States." *Minnesota.*

Richard Allen Nies, A.B. Brigham Young, 1950. "The Influence of Subculture Group on Its Members in Evaluating Status Positions." *Southern California.*

Udo Nkmare, A.B. Stanford, 1958. No thesis. *Stanford.*

Ralph C. Nuss, B.A. LaSalle College, 1957. "Correctional Administration." *Notre Dame.*

Rev. Austin M. O'Farrell, M.A., Ph.D. Institute of Social Sciences, Gregorian University. No thesis. *Fordham.*

Ethna V. O'Flannery, B.A. College of New Rochelle, 1955. "The Relation of Sociology to the Policy Sciences." *Fordham.*

Elizabeth Daniels Ossorio, B.S. California, 1953. "Correlates of Peer Status in Wave Recruit Companies." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Richard Edmond O'Toole. "Judgmental Displacement of Communications." *Oklahoma.*

Robert Perrucci, B.S. State University of New York, 1958. "Social Class and Intra-occupational Mobility: A Study of the Purdue University Engineering Graduates from 1911 to 1956." *Purdue.*

Thomas Ross Phelps, B.S.S. Seattle, 1951. "Pretrial Detention and Differential Sentencing of 1,104 County Jail Inmates, Booked on a Felony Charge in an Urban and a Rural County of Washington State, 1954." *Washington (Seattle).*

Leonard J. Pinto, Jr., B.S. Fordham, 1956. "The Analysis of Educational Patterns of Groups Which Hold Traditional Ideas and Values: A Content Analysis of Two Diocesan Newspapers." *Fordham.*

Ronald Lee Pitzer, B.S. Ohio State, 1958. "The Influence of Social Values on the Acceptance of Vertical Integration by Broiler Growers." *Ohio State.*

Frederick J. Platte, B.A. Aquinas College, 1957. "Correctional Administration," *Notre Dame.*

Rev. Renato Poblete, Catholic University of Chile; S.T.L. Woodstock College, 1956. "Puerto Rican Sectarianism and the Quest for Community." *Fordham.*

Sister M. Theresita Polczynski, A.B. De Paul, "A Study of Social Backgrounds and Other Factors Associated with Interest of the Chicago Secondary-School Girl in the Religious Life." *Loyola (Chicago).*

Kenneth A. Poole, B.A. British Columbia, 1954. "The Social Background of the United States Senate." *California (Los Angeles).*

Judy (Ulbricht) Porta, A.B. Washington, 1957. No thesis. *Stanford.*

Disavat Prasit, B.S. Thammasat, 1956. "A Consideration of the Administration Methods Used in the Self-help Land Settlement of Thailand." *Cornell.*

Martha Rea, B.A. Southern Illinois, 1958. No thesis. *Southern Illinois.*

James D. Robb, A.B. American, 1943. "The Effect of Church Attendance on Racial Attitudes." *Pittsburgh.*

Carl Thomas Robbins, B.S. Mississippi State, 1958. "Estimates of Population: A Methodological Study of the Vital Rates Technique." *Mississippi State.*

Rita Roffers, B.A. Minnesota, 1955. "Religious and Other Sources of Parental Attitudes toward Independence Training." *Minnesota.*

Kim Rodner, B.A. Michigan State, 1956. "Critique of Motivational Theories in Social Psychology." *Michigan State.*

Joseph Wilson Rogers, A.B. San Diego State College. "A Study of Attitudes of Employers toward Parolees." *Washington (Seattle).*

Morris Rombro, A.B. Bucknell, 1949. "Crime and

Delinquency among Migrant Workers in Maryland." *Maryland.*

Owen Rosson, B.S. Illinois Institute of Technology, 1957. No thesis. *Michigan.*

Norma Rudolph, B.A. Brooklyn College, 1952. "The Unique Housing Needs of the Aging and the Role of Religious Organizations in Meeting Them." *New School.*

Constantina Safilios, B.S. Athens (Greece) 1957. "Migration Patterns in Ohio, 1949–50." *Ohio State.*

Judith Samonte, A.B. Michigan, 1957. No thesis. *Michigan.*

Harriet Brown Saperstein, A.B. Michigan, 1957. "A Study of Some Effects of Books and the Mass Media in the Process of Occupational Choice." *Brown.*

Frank Roland Scarpitti, M.A. Ohio State, 1959. "A Good Boy in a High Delinquency Area: Four Years Later." *Ohio State.*

Johannes A. Schiller, A.B. Capital, 1945. "An Exploratory Study in the Occupational Choice Process of Teachers of Sociology." *Kansas City.*

Sister M. Eutheia Schlesser, B.M. DePaul. "Working Mothers: A Contributing Factor to Juvenile Delinquency." *Loyola (Chicago).*

Armin Louis Schmidt, B.S. Ohio State, 1958. "Mission Board Executives' Expectations for the Role of the Agricultural Missionary." *Ohio State.*

Raymond L. Schmitt, B.A. Notre Dame, 1958. No thesis. *Notre Dame.*

Jane Ann Schusky, A.B. Miami, 1954. "The Resource Person Method as Used in the Study of Skid Rows of the United States." *Chicago.*

Joseph Walter Scott, B.A. Central Michigan College, 1957. "Status-Perception, Self-conceptions, and Adjustment to Minority Status by Bloomington Negroes." *Indiana.*

Hans Sebald, B.A. Manchester College, 1958. "Family Integration in a Rural Fringe Population." *Ohio State.*

Kusmuljo Sedjati, B.A. National (Djakarta, Indonesia) 1954. "Changes in the Social Organization of Javanese Villages." *Cornell.*

John W. Smit, A.B. Calvin College, 1957. No thesis. *Michigan.*

Ruth Davidson Smith, A.B. George Washington, 1958. "The Mexican Village Fiesta: A Comparative Study." *Maryland.*

Norman C. Snyder, B.A. Buffalo, 1957. "The Scientist's Conception of His Role in American Society." *Buffalo.*

Warren Solomon, B.A. Wisconsin, 1958. No thesis. *Michigan.*

Donald Ray South, B.S. Mississippi Southern College, 1956. "Citronelle, Then and Now: A Study of Social Change." *Louisiana State.*

Joseph Spielberg, A.B. Texas, 1958. "Social and Cultural Configurations and Medical Care: A Study of Mexican-Americans' Responses to Proposed Hospitalization for the Treatment of Tuberculosis." *Texas.*

Thomas Steinburn, A.B. Washington (Seattle), 1951. No thesis. *Washington (Seattle).*

Muriel Weinstein Sterne, B.A. Hunter College, 1954. "A Comparison of the Effect on Sentiment of Viewing an Educational Television Program Alone or with a Group." *Washington (St. Louis).*

John Bryon Stimson, B.A. New York, 1957. "Some Background Factors Relevant to Small Group Interaction." *New York.*

John Ray Stratton, A.B. Illinois, 1957. "A Test of Hypotheses Relating to a Single Conceptual Model for the Analysis of Ethnic Identification Dynamics." *Illinois.*

Duane Norman Strinden, A.B. St. Martin's College, 1951. "Parole Prediction Using Criminological Theory and Manifold Classification Techniques." *Washington (Seattle).*

Rev. Patrick J. Sullivan, B.A. Notre Dame, 1952. "Aspects of Participation in Parish Organizations." *Fordham.*

Sister Mary Noel Sutter, A.B. Mount Mary College (Milwaukee). "Religious Preparedness of the Six-Year-Old Parochial Child." *Loyola (Chicago).*

James W. Swift, B.A. Pomona College, 1951; B.D. Chicago, 1955. "The Influence of Marxian and Hegelian Thought upon the Early Development of Karl Mannheim's *Wissensoziologie*." *Colorado.*

Charlotte Mae Richardson Tatro, B.A. Emory University, 1957. "Women in Prison: A Study of Social Relationships." *Louisiana State.*

Alexander Blair Taylor, A.B. California (Los Angeles), 1955. "Engaged Couple's Role Expectations." *Southern California.*

Josephine Parks Templer, A.B. Texas, 1957. "Nationally Known Reporters and News Analysts: A Social Profile." *Texas.*

Ivan A. Vallier, A.B. Utah, 1953. No thesis. *Harvard.*

Margaret Vandenbosch, A.B. Calvin, 1957. No thesis. *Michigan.*

Seymour D. Vestermark, Jr., A.B. Swarthmore, 1955. No thesis. *Harvard.*

Evert C. Wallenfeldt, B.S. Wisconsin, 1954. No thesis. *State University of Iowa.*

Michael D. W. Walton, A.B. Baylor, 1940. "County Voting Patterns in the State of Missouri." *Columbia.*

William H. Watson, B.A. Marietta College, 1949. "Evaluation of the Effect of Counseling with Ninth-Grade Students." *Ohio (Athens).*

Judith Roberta Weinblatt, B.A. City College of New York, 1955. No thesis. *Pennsylvania.*

George H. F. Welikala, Diploma, London School of Economics and Political Science, 1949. "An Analysis of the Adoption of Some Agricultural, Medical Public Health and Co-operative Practices in Six Selected Villages of Ceylon." *Michigan State.*

Andrew Roland Wesserle, B.S. Marquette, 1956. "The Cold Revolution of the Soviet Zone of Occupied Germany: The Sociology of a Soviet Dependency." *Wisconsin.*

Margarida West, A.B. Barnard College, 1950. "Apprehension and Permissiveness in the Southern Schools." *Columbia.*

Robert H. West, A.B. Yale, 1957. No thesis. *Yale.*

Frederick Lee Whitam, B.A. Millsaps College, 1954. "Subdimensions of Religiosity as Related to Race Problems." *Indiana.*

Elaine K. F. White, B.A. Hawaii, 1956. "A Study of the Relationship of Leadership to Job Satisfaction and Performance Rating in a Federal Governmental Organization." *Hawaii.*

James Arthur Wiggins, B.S. Iowa State College, 1957. "Role Differentiation." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Brother Brice Wilder, B.A. Catholic, 1954. No thesis. *Fordham.*

Walter Scott Wilson, B.S. Northwestern, 1948. "Property, Power and Status in a Bakery Shipping Department." *Buffalo.*

Halliman Herrin Winsborough, A.B. Chicago, 1952. "Variations in Industrial and Occupational Composition with City Size." *Chicago.*

Rev. Theodore Wisniewski, M.A. Catholic, 1958. "Father-Role Concepts of Catholic Parents in a Suburban Area of Washington, D.C." *Catholic.*

Thaddeus Wojciechowski, B.S. Montana State, 1950. "A Study of Change Regarding the Agriculture Department of the County Extension Service in a Southern New York Community." *Cornell.*

Charlotte Elizabeth Wolf, B.A. Colorado, 1949. "A Study of Reaction to Intrusive Leadership." *Colorado.*

Rev. Joseph Wood, B.A. Portland, 1949. No thesis. *Fordham.*

Rev. Richard Woodarek, S.T.L. Pontifical Antheneaum Angelicum, 1956. "Missionary Adaptation in Thailand." *Catholic.*

Helen Yeager, A.B. Marshall College, 1945. No thesis. *Marshall College.*

M. Dwayne Yost, B.S. Manchester College, 1957. "A Study of Protestant Agricultural Mission Service and How To Prepare for It." *Ohio State.*

Rev. Martin Donald Zewe, B.A. Holy Cross College, 1944; M.A. Woodstock College, 1951. No thesis. *Fordham.*

Edward Zwaska, A.B. Minnesota, 1949. "A Sociological Study of a Group of Convicted Adult Male Misdemeanants Applying for Probation in Los Angeles County." *Southern California*

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN PROGRESS, 1959

The following list of doctoral dissertations in progress in universities and colleges in the United States and Canada is compiled from returns sent by 41 departments of sociology. The number of candidates now working for doctoral degrees is 257. This list includes dissertations in social work, divinity, and other related fields whenever the local department of sociology undertakes to direct them.

Baha, Abu-Laban, A.B., M.A. American (Beirut), 1953, 1956. "Visibility of Community Leaders." *Washington (Seattle).*

James G. Allen, B.S. Wisconsin, 1949; M.S. Iowa State, 1954. "Behavioral Patterns and Characteristics of Formal Leaders in a College Residence Community." *Iowa State.*

Fuad Baali, B.A. Bagdad, 1953; M.A. Kansas, 1957. "Rural-social Organization of Southern Iraq." *Louisiana State.*

Alfred Barnabas, B.A. Lucknow, 1946; M.S. Cornell, 1950. "Social Structure and Social Change in a North Indian Village, with Particular Reference to Differentials in Age and Caste." *Cornell.*

Robert Barnes, A.B., A.M. Michigan, 1950, 1955. "Types of Meaning and of Social Integration." *Michigan.*

Vickery Lathrop Beale, A.B. Randolph-Macon, 1943. "An Analysis of Religious Adherence and Community Integration among Protestants." *Chicago.*

Benjamin Benari, B.A., M.S. in Ed. City College of New York, 1931, 1932. "A Sociological Study of Jewish Reconstruction." *New School.*

John Beresford, A.B. Antioch College, 1952; A.M. Michigan, 1953. "Nature and Origins of Catholic Fertility Patterns in the United States." *Michigan.*

Ivar E. Berg, A.B. Colgate, 1954. "Role, Personality, and Social Structure: A Study of Nursing in the General Hospital." *Harvard.*

Pierre L. Van den Berghe, A.B., A.M. Stanford, 1953, 1953. "The Dynamics of Race Relations: An Ideal-Type Case Study of South Africa." *Harvard.*

Bernard Berk, A.B. California, 1956; A.M. Michigan, 1957. "A Comparative Study of the Social Structure and Leadership of Delinquents and Inmates in Treatment and Custodial Types of Institutions." *Michigan.*

Goddard Binkley, B.S. Northwestern, 1944. "Conversation and Sociability." *New School.*

Egon Bittner, B.A. Los Angeles State College, 1955; M.A. California (Los Angeles), 1958. "Entry into Psychiatric Care." *California (Los Angeles).*

Milton Bloombaum, B.A. California (Berkeley), 1952; M.A. Southern California, 1955. "The Resolution of Role Conflict." *California (Los Angeles).*

August C. Blunck, B.A., M.A. New York, 1919, 1920. "American Lutheranism and Democracy." *New School.*

Henry G. Bobotek, B.S., M.A. Illinois, 1957. "An Instrument for Identifying and Measuring Latent Social Norms." *Illinois.*

Paul E. Breer, A.B. Harvard, 1952. "A Theory of Social Inequality." *Harvard.*

Raymond J. Breton, A.B. Manitoba (Canada), 1952; M.A. Chicago, 1958. "The Role of Interpersonal Relations in the Absorption of Immigrants into the Social Structure." *Johns Hopkins.*

Robert Lane Brown, A.B. Whittier College, 1949; M.S. in Ed. Southern California, 1952. "Attitudes of Ministers and Leaders of the American Baptist Convention of Washington State on Selected Social Issues." *Southern California.*

Joseph Herbert Bruening, B.A., M.A. Florida, 1954, 1956. "Delineation of a Hospital Service Area." *Mississippi State.*

Clifton D. Bryant, B.A., M.A. Mississippi, 1956, 1957. "An Occupational Analysis of the Petroleum Landman." *Louisiana State.*

Elaine Burgess. "Minority Community Leadership Power Structure." *North Carolina.*

Herbert Lawrence Campbell III, B.S., M.S. Iowa State, 1951, 1959. "Interpersonal Influence." *Iowa State.*

George R. Carpenter, B.S. Brigham Young, 1950; M.S. Purdue, 1958. "Cross-cultural Values as a Factor in Premarital Intimacy." *Purdue.*

Robert Carroll, A.B., M.A. Cincinnati, 1953, 1955. "The Nature of a Metropolis." *Michigan.*

Thomas Carroll, B.A. Indiana, 1956; M.A. Minnesota, 1958. "Group Social Work Agencies as a Preventative of Delinquency." *Minnesota.*

Gelia Castillo, A.B. Philippines, 1953; M.S. Pennsylvania State, 1958. "A Study of Occupational Stratification in the Philippines as Perceived by Filipino Youth." *Cornell.*

Judith Nelson Cates, B.S. Minnesota, 1953; M.S. Yale, 1956. "The Resolution of Role Conflicts in Psychiatric Therapy." *Yale.*

Alice Y. Chai, B.M. Seoul National, 1950; M.A. Ohio State, 1957. "Patterns of Mate Selection among the Urban Population of Korea." *Ohio State.*

Harris Chaiklin, A.B., A.M. Connecticut, 1950, 1952; M.S. Wisconsin, 1953. "The House Staff of a University Teaching Hospital." *Yale.*

Sol Chaneles, B.A. Brooklyn College, 1948; A.M. New York, 1950. "The Concert Pianist in American Culture." *New York.*

Alexander Logie Clark, A.B. San Diego State, 1955; M.A. Stanford, 1956. "A Study of Factors Associated with Women's Sexual Responsiveness in Marriage." *Stanford.*

Leslie LeRoy Clark, A.B. Harvard, 1950. "The Election of Managerial Personnel: A Study in Organizational Process." *Yale.*

Herbert Collins, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1942; A.M. Duke, 1946. "The Idea of Race." *Duke.*

John Louis Colombotos, A.B., A.M. Columbia, 1949, 1952. "The Compatibility of Personal Goals and Organizational Requirements in a School System and in a Business Enterprise: A Comparative Study." *Michigan.*

Mary Grace Connolly, B.S. in Nursing Ed. Catholic, 1949; M.S. Yale, 1951. "Resources Sought for Psychiatric Assistance by the Mentally Ill and Their Families." *Catholic.*

John F. Connors III, B.S. Mount St. Mary's College (Maryland), 1948; M.A. Catholic, 1954. "The Adequacy of Public Housing Units for Family Needs." *Catholic.*

Ronald G. Corwin, B.A. Iowa State Teachers College, 1954; M.A. Minnesota, 1958. "Identities, Ambitions, and Disillusionment of Professional Nurses." *Minnesota.*

Frank E. Crabtree, A.B., M.A. Fordham. "A Study of the Relationship between Husband-Wife Interaction and Prognosis in Cases of Chronic Alcoholism. *Emory.*

Dorothy M. Crowley, B.S. in Nursing Ed. St. Louis, 1950; M.S. in Nursing Ed. Catholic, 1953. "The Role of the Nurse in Bedside Care of Patients in a General Hospital." *Catholic.*

Joseph T. Crymes, B.S. Virginia Polytechnic Institute, 1952; M.S. Cornell, 1958. "A Test of the Group-Effect Hypothesis with Local Voluntary Associations." *Cornell.*

John G. Curry, A.B., M.A. Colorado, 1946, 1951. "Variations in Role Consensus among Parents in Regard to Child-rearing." *Oregon.*

Richard Farnsworth Curtis, A.B. Oberlin, 1953; A.M. Michigan, 1954. "Consequences of Occupational Mobility in a Metropolitan Community." *Michigan.*

Eugene J. Czukor, B.A. Oskaloosa College, 1919; M.A. National College (Toronto), 1932. "The Suicidal Child: A Sociological Study." *New School.*

Benjamin Darsky, A.B. Youngstown, 1948; M.A. State College of Washington, 1949. "The Effect of a Comprehensive Physicians' Insurance Plan on a Community Medical-Care System." *Michigan.*

Maria Davidson, M.S. John Cosimir, 1933; M.A. Washington, 1951. "Predictors of Marital Fertility." *New York.*

Leona L. Davis, B.A., M.A. Kent State, 1953, 1954. "Rural-Urban Infant-Mortality Differentials in the United States." *Connecticut.*

Arturo DeHoyos, B.A., M.A. Brigham Young, 1952, 1954. "Occupational and Educational Levels of Aspiration of Mexican-American Youth." *Michigan State.*

Robert F. Delaney, B.N.S. Holy Cross, 1946; A.M. Boston, 1948. "Communist Education in Hungary." *Catholic.*

Robert A. Dentler, A.M. Northwestern, 1950. "Attitude Change in Work Groups: Composition, Solidarity, and Environment as Sources of Change." *Chicago.*

Leo Despres, B.A., M.A. Notre Dame, 1954, 1956. "Culture and Power: Changes in the Organization and Structure of Power in a Midwestern Community." *Ohio State.*

Robert A. Deutsch, B.S. Long Island, 1947; M.A. New School, 1952. "The Ecological Aspects of Civilian Defense in the Atomic Age." *New School.*

Harry Dillingham, B.A. Texas, 1948; A.M. Michigan, 1951. "Religious Vitality and Social Integration." *Michigan.*

Martin Dosick, B.A., M.A. Boston, 1952, 1955. "Behavior Systems of Youthful Offenders under the National Motor Vehicle Transportation Act (Dyer Act) and Their Correctional Implications." *Los Angeles (California).*

Ann M. Douglas, B.S. St. John's, 1949; M.S. Catholic, 1950. "Social Factors Which Influence Career Choice in Psychiatric Nursing." *Catholic.*

John Edward Dunkelberger, B.A. Franklin and Marshall College, 1957; M.S. Pennsylvania State, 1959. "Income and Occupational Levels of Families in Low-Income Rural Areas." *Mississippi State.*

Paul Eberts, B.A. Heidelberg College, 1953; B.D. Yale, 1956; A.M. Michigan, 1958. "Age, Life-Cycle, and Orientations toward Social Control." *Michigan.*

Vernon Edmond, A.B. Oklahoma State, 1954; M.A. Purdue, 1955. "Logical Error as a Function of Group Pressure and Difficulty." *Missouri.*

Henry Elsner, Jr., A.B., A.M. Michigan, 1952, 1953. "Technocracy." *Michigan.*

Ivan Joel Fahs, A.B. Wheaton College, 1954; M.Ed. Cornell, 1955. "Motivational Factors in Social Participation." *Cornell.*

David Feldman, A.B. San Diego State College, 1953; M.A. Stanford, 1955. "Social Class and Academic Achievement at Law School." *Stanford.*

Theodore Ferdinand, B.S. in Chem. Notre Dame, 1951; M.S. Purdue, 1953. "Sexual Identity and Political Ideology." *Michigan.*

Arthur Jordan Field, B.S. Pennsylvania, 1947;

A.M. Columbia, 1948. "Spatial and Functional Change in the Providence Central District, 1934–59." *Brown.*

Harold Finestone, A.B., A.M. McGill, 1942, 1943. "A Comparative Study of Reformation and Recidivism among Italian and Polish Adult Male Criminal Offenders." *Chicago.*

Roger J. Fisher, B.A. Illinois, 1948. "Theories of Deviancy and Patterns of Criminal Behavior." *Illinois.*

Charles Frederiksen, B.S., M.S. Iowa State, 1953, 1954. "Leadership and Small-Group Dynamics." *Iowa State.*

David French, A.B. Michigan 1935; M.S. Columbia, 1943. "Social Work and Social Science: An Analysis of Their Relationship." *Michigan.*

Albert Friedman, A.B., A.M. Michigan, 1952, 1953. "Traditionalism, Competitiveness, and Equalitarianism in an Urban Community." *Michigan.*

Robert L. Fulton, B.A. Illinois, 1951; M.A. Toronto, 1953. "Russell Woods: Succession without Violence." *Wayne State.*

Mary Grace Gabig, B.S. in Nursing Ed. St. Louis, 1942; M.S. in Nursing Ed. Catholic, 1948. "A Study of the Graduates of Catholic University School of Nursing Education." *Catholic.*

Charles E. Garth, A.B. Morehouse College (Atlanta), 1951; M.A. Atlanta, 1956. "A Study of the Self-concept as a Motivational Factor in Negro High-School Students who Change Schools in a 'Voluntary' School Desegregation Plan." *Kentucky.*

Irving Peter Gellman, A.B., A.M. New York, 1951, 1956. "'High-Bottom' Alcoholism: A Study of the Socially Integrated Alcoholic." *New York.*

Janet Z. Giele, A.B. Earlham, 1956; A.M. Radcliffe College, 1958. "The Social Movement as Preservation of Ego Integrity: A Comparison of Women's Suffrage and Women's Prohibition Groups." *Radcliffe College.*

Margaret W. Giovanelli, B.A. Indiana State, 1935; M.A. Illinois, 1937. "Montaigne: Moral Aestheticism." *New School.*

Joseph R. Godwin, B.A., M.S. Loyola, 1953, 1956. "Subregional Migration within Illinois, 1935–40: An Analysis of Selected Characteristics of Migrants." *Illinois.*

Irwin Goldberg, B.S. City College of New York, 1951; A.M. Michigan, 1952. "Class and Democracy." *Michigan.*

Morris Goldman, B.A. New York, 1949; M.A. New School, 1953. "The Sociology of Negro Humor." *New School.*

Harold Goldsmith, Ph.B., M.A. Chicago, 1949, 1954. "A Study of Migration Expectations of Rural Youth." *Michigan State.*

Louis Goldstein, B.A. City College of New York, 1939; M.A. New York, 1943. "The Social Agency Executive: A Study of Administrative Isolation." *Minnesota.*

Gerald Gordon, A.B., A.M. New York, 1954, 1955. "A Delineation of the Sick Role." *New York.*

Whitney H. Gordon, B.A. Pomona College, 1954; M.S. Purdue, 1956. "A Further Examination of Middletown." *Purdue.*

David Gottlieb, A.B. Wayne State, 1953. "Processes of Socialization in the American Graduate School." *Chicago.*

Carle P. Graffunder, A.B. Seattle Pacific College, 1950; M.A. Columbia, 1953. "The Changing Role of the Agricultural Agent." *Michigan State.*

Denez Gulyas, B.A., M.A. Kent State, 1951, 1956. "Community Differences in Work Patterns and Schizophrenia." *Wayne State.*

Barbara Aileen Wells Gunn, B.S. Oregon, 1948; M.A. California (Los Angeles), 1954. "Group Structure and Opinion Change: A Study in Small Groups and Mass Communications." *Stanford.*

Orville R. Gursslin, B.A., M.S.S. Buffalo, 1950, 1952. "The Formulation and Partial Test of a Class-linked Theory of Delinquency." *Buffalo.*

Bartlett Hague, B.A. Yale, 1950; M.S. Michigan, 1951. "Changing Function and Structure of Family and Work Relations as Related to Adoption of Selected Soil-Conservation and Woods Practices in Five Sample Areas." *Michigan.*

Thomas Hansbrough, B.S., M.F. Louisiana State, 1949, 1957. "A Sociological Analysis of Man-caused Forest Fires in Louisiana." *Louisiana State.*

James Harkness, B.A., M.A. Michigan State, 1951, 1953. "Hospital-Community Relations: A Sociological Analysis of Interlocking Social Systems." *Michigan State.*

Edward Eugene Harris, A.B. Lincoln (Missouri), 1954; M.A. State University of Iowa, 1958. "The Derivation of Self-attitudes from Reference-Group Attitudes." *State University of Iowa.*

Ab del-Bassit Hassan, B.A., M.A., Alexandria (Egypt), 1950. 1956. "Social Interaction between Foreign Students and Americans." *Purdue.*

Rudolf A. Helling, B.A. Wayne State, 1952; M.A. Wilhelmshaven-Ruestersiel, 1953. "The Work Adjustment of German Immigrants in Toronto and Detroit: A Comparison." *Wayne State.*

Joseph m. Nguyen-Hieu Hoc, B.A. St. Paula Seminary (Phuc-Nhac, Vietnam); M.A. Catholic. "System of Controlled Decentralization of the Catholic Church." *Stanford.*

Charles Henderson, A.B. Vanderbilt, 1952; M.A. George Peabody College for Teachers, 1953. "The Anglo-Indian Community." *Missouri.*

Harold G. Hubbard, A.B. California (Los Angeles), 1954; M.A. Southern Methodist, 1955. "The Career Business Executive as a Definitive Occupational Type." *Southern California.*

Ann Hubbell, A.B. Allegheny College, 1953; A.M. Michigan, 1955. "Social Origins of Control of Aggression." *Michigan.*

Charles Hubbell, A.B. Oberlin, 1950; A.M. Michigan, 1955. "Effects of Religious Faith and Child-rearing Patterns on Control of Aggression." *Michigan.*

Wsevolod Isajiw, B.A. La Salle College, 1955; M.A. Catholic, 1957. "An Evaluation of Some of the Implications of Functionalism for the Study of Social Reality." *Catholic.*

Isis Istiphan, A. B. American (Cairo), 1942; M.S. Columbia, 1953. "A Study of Role Expectations of Senior College Women." *Southern California.*

Allen Keith Jackson, A.B. Denver, 1956; M.Th. Iliff School of Theology (Cambridge), 1958. "Social Correlates of Religious Themes." *Emory.*

Elton Fender Jackson, A.B. Indiana, 1954; A.M. Michigan, 1958. "Status Crystallization, Social Mobility, and Symptoms of Mental Stress." *Michigan.*

Merrill Jackson, B.A. Houghton, 1949; M.A. Cornell, 1951. "Healers and Healing: A Cross-cultural Study." *Michigan.*

William Jarrett, B.S., A.M. St. Louis, 1955, 1956. "The Role of the Pathologist in the Hospital System." *Michigan State.*

William C. Jenne, B.S. Illinois State Normal, 1953; M.A. Illinois, 1958. "Parental Life-Goals for Their Children." *Illinois.*

Ted Jitodai, A.B. Washington, 1952; A.M. State College of Washington, 1954. "Urban and Rural Backgrounds of Migrants to an Urban Area and Their Relationships to Social Participation." *Michigan.*

Peter A. Johnson, A.B. Stanford, 1950; M.A. Minnesota, 1951. "The Sociology of Existentialism." *Oregon.*

Samuel L. Johnson, B.A. San Diego State College, 1954. "Sociological Analysis of Business Organization." *Oregon.*

Charles Frederick Jones, A.B. Princeton, 1938; M.S. Yale, 1953. "Culture Change among the Chippewa." *Yale.*

Wyatt Claiborne Jones, A.B. Southern College, 1941; B.D. Vanderbilt, 1944; A.M. New York, 1955. "Correlates of Social Deviance: A Study of the Unmarried Mother." *New York.*

Kenneth C. W. Kammeyer, B.A. Iowa State Teachers College, 1953; M.A. State University of Iowa, 1958. "A Comparative Approach to Community Decision-making." *State University of Iowa.*

Abraham Kampf, B.S. New York, 1951; M.A. New School, 1953. "Jewish Artists in Paris: A Contribution to the Category of the Stranger." *New School.*

Lawrence Kasperbauer, B.S., M.S. Iowa State, 1958, 1959. "Diffusion of Ideas." *Iowa State.*

Allen H. Kassof, A.B. Rutgers, 1952; A.M. Harvard, 1954. "Youth Organizations in the U.S.S.R." *Harvard.*

Benjamin Katz, Ph.C. College of Pharmacy, 1924; B.S., A.M. New York, 1931, 1942. "Argentine Sociology: The Social Ideas of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento." *New York.*

Vytautas Kavolis. A.B. Wisconsin, 1952; A.M. Harvard, 1956. "Totalitarian Social Structure and Socialization." *Harvard.*

John D. Kelley, B.A. Harvard, 1950; M.A. Minnesota, 1957. "Social Stratification." *Louisiana State.*

Clarence Ketch, B.A. Houston, 1951; M.S. Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, 1955. "Migration Characteristics in a Drought Area of Texas." *Louisiana State.*

Richard Kolm, B.A., M.A. Springfield College, 1950, 1952. "Value Changes of Immigrants as a Function of Primary Interaction with Indigenous Residents of the New Social Environment." *Wayne State.*

Sally Kotlar, A.B. California (Los Angeles), 1955; M.S. Southern California, 1959. "Middle-Class Marital Roles: Ideals as Perceived in Relation to Adjustment and Marriage." *Southern California.*

Clarence Kraft, B.S., M.S. Illinois, 1937, 1940; M.S. Purdue, 1952. "Mate Adjustment in Catholic-Protestant Marriages." *Purdue.*

Witold Krassowski, B.S., M.S. Purdue, 1952, 1954. "The Satellite Factory: A Study of the Relationships between Social Structure and Political Milieu." *California (Los Angeles).*

Roger Krohn, B.A. St. Olaf College, 1953; M.A. Minnesota, 1957. "The Professional Career of the Research Scientist." *Minnesota.*

Jane Collier Kronick, A.B. Barnard College, 1953; M.S. Yale, 1956. "Social and Economic Factors Affecting Change of Residence in a Metropolitan Area." *Yale.*

Alexander Kuman, Th.B. Princeton Theological Seminary, 1930; M.A. Columbia, 1942. "A Changing Church: A Study of Change in Church Membership and Activities Associated with Urbanization in a Rural County." *Buffalo.*

John Kunkel, B.A. Pomona College, 1954; A.M. Michigan, 1955. "Nation and Peasant Communities in Mexico." *Michigan.*

Jack Ladinsky, B.S., M.A. Missouri, 1954, 1957. "The Detroit Lawyer: A Study of Ethnic and Occupational Subcultures." *Michigan.*

W. Clayton Lane, B.A. Goddard College, 1950; M.A. Stanford, 1953. "Some Correlates of Social Class among Freshman Women." *Stanford.*

Kenneth Edward Larsen, A.B., M.A. State University of Iowa, 1949, 1951. "An Investigation of Central Life-Interest and the Productivity of the Industrial Worker." *State University of Iowa.*

David Lavin, A.B. Colby College, 1953; A.M. New York, 1955. "A Study of Mother-Father Interaction concerning Child-rearing Decisions." *New York.*

Richard LeBlond, B.A., M.A. Cincinnati, 1950, 1950. "The Italian Military Elite: A Sociological Analysis." *Michigan.*

John Leggett, A.B., A.M. in Pol. Sci., A.M. in Soc.

Michigan, 1954, 1956, 1958. "Class Consciousness, Political Ideology, and Class Crystallization in an Industrial Community." *Michigan.*

Anthony Lenzer, A.B. Antioch College, 1952. "Mental Health of the Aging." *Michigan.*

David Lewis, B.A., M.A. Maryland, 1954, 1956. "A Study of Levels of Aspiration and Occupational Evaluations of Japanese Youth." *Michigan State.*

Michel Di Liscia, B.A. Brooklyn College, 1955. "The Sephardic Jews in Rhodes and New York City: Patterns of Acculturation." *New School.*

Theodor J. Litman, B.A., M.A. Minnesota, 1954, 1956. "The Influence of Conceptive Self- and Life-Orientation Factors on the Rehabilitation of Orthopedic Patients." *Minnesota.*

Joseph Lopreato, A.B. Connecticut, 1956; A.M. Yale, 1957. "Emigration and Social Mobility in Southern Italy." *Yale.*

Thomas Lough, B.S.E. in M.E. Michigan, 1949, A.M. Michigan, 1952. "A Mathematical Model of the Relatedness of Feelings and Behavior." *Michigan.*

James Lowe, B.S., M.A. Missouri, 1939, 1940. "Vocational and Educational Aspirations of High-School Seniors." *Missouri.*

Mathais B. Lynaugh, B.S. Manhattan College, 1933; M.A. Columbia, 1934. "Development and Application of Human Relations in Industry under the Impact of Elton Mayo and His School." *New School.*

Robert McCargar, A.B. Colgate, 1946, A.M. Michigan, 1951. "Role of the Central Business District in the Functioning of the Urban Community." *Michigan.*

M. Ruth McIntyre, B.A. College of the Pacific, 1947; M.A. Pittsburgh, 1948. "Homewood-Brushton, Pittsburgh: A Study of Urban Neighborhood Integration Patterns." *Pittsburgh.*

Donald G. McKinley, A.B., A.M. Washington, 1949, 1951. "Social Position and Parental Roles." *Harvard.*

John H. McNamara, A.B. Santa Barbara, 1953; M.A. California (Los Angeles), 1958. "Social Role Components of Alcoholism." *California (Los Angeles).*

Sister M. Loretto Ann Madden, A.B. Loretto Heights College, 1943; M.A. Catholic, 1956. "Role Definitions of Catholic Sister Educators and Expectations of Students, Parents, and Teaching Sisters in Selected Areas of the United States." *Catholic.*

Nathan G. Mandel, B.S., M.A. Minnesota, 1934, 1936. "An Evaluation of the Sociological, Psychological, and Physiological Post-hospital Adjustment of Mental Patients Treated with Intensive Electric-Shock Therapy." *Minnesota.*

Peter Mazur, A.B. Stetson, 1952; M.A. Colorado, 1954. "Test and Application of an Indirect Method of Deriving Fertility Indexes in the Analysis of Cohort Fertility, State of Washington, 1947-57." *Washington (Seattle).*

John W. Merck, A.B., M.A. Georgia, 1952, 1956. "A Mathematical Model for Projecting the Personnel Structure of a Complex Social System." *Duke.*

Samuel M. Meyers, A.M. Chicago, 1951. "The Psychiatry Service in a Veterans Administration General Medical and Surgical Hospital: A Sociological Analysis." *Chicago.*

Laurence K. Miller, A.B. Reed College, 1957; M.A. Illinois, 1959. "The Effect of Interdependence and Productivity on Friendliness in Small Groups." *Illinois.*

John Mitchell, B.S., M.A. Missouri, 1949, 1950. "Prison Social Structure." *Missouri.*

Kalliopie Mohring, Superior School of Agriculture, 1949. "The Family Organization of Greek-Americans." *Michigan.*

Charles Alfred Moore, B.A. Dillard, 1951; M.A. New School, 1955. "Social Mobility in Sweden: A Study of Occupational Mobility between Generations." *New School.*

Baron Lee Moots, A.B. Cincinnati, 1953. "Economic Relations between Metropolitan Communities in the United States, 1940–50." *Michigan.*

Paul Mott, B.S. Purdue, 1952; A.M. Michigan, 1955. "Sources of Adaptability and Flexibility in Large Organizations." *Michigan.*

Nicos Mouratides, B.A. Cornell College, 1949; M.A. Minnesota, 1951. "A Sociological Analysis of an Empirical Study of Dispositional Staffings at Veterans Administration Neuropsychological Hospitals." *Minnesota.*

Donal E. Muir, A.B. Harvard, 1953; M.A. Marshall, 1957. "The Social Debt: An Investigation of Lower-Class and Middle-Class Norms of Social Obligation." *Vanderbilt.*

Subash Mukerjee, M.A. New School, 1954. "India's Joint-Family System." *New School.*

Erwin Muller, S.T.M. Theological Seminary (Philadelphia), 1941. "The Protestant Church in Germany during 1933–45." *New School.*

Elizabeth W. Nall, B.A., M.A. Michigan State, 1947, 1956. "Ideology and Social System Implications of the Feminist Movement." *Michigan State.*

Harold Nelson, A.B. Ohio Wesleyan 1954; M.A. California (Berkeley), 1958. "Reference-Group Theory, Selection, and the Images of Professions." *Southern California.*

Elinor Roth Nugent, B.S., M.A. Missouri, 1938, 1942. "Change in Fashion as an Expression of Social Change." *Louisiana State.*

John O'Donnell, B.A. St. Peter's College; M.A. Fordham. "A Measure of Retreatism: An Empirical Contribution to the Theory of Anomie." *Kentucky.*

Virginia Lee Olesen, B.A. Nevada, 1947; M.A. Stanford, 1954. "Determinants and Consequences of

Role Perception among College Undergraduates." *Stanford.*

Harold Organic, A.B., A.M. Michigan, 1942, 1957. "Anomie in an American Industrial Setting." *Michigan.*

Robert P. Overs, A.B. Hobart College, 1935. "A Sociological Analysis of Counseling Psychology." *Buffalo.*

Preston Parsons. "A Role Analysis of the United States Navy Chaplain." *North Carolina.*

Peter George Paulhe, A.B. San Francisco State College, 1951; M.A. Stanford, 1953. "Person, Perception, and Marital Success." *Stanford.*

Mary Louise Paynich, B.S. Michigan, 1944; M.S. in Nursing, Catholic, 1953. "The Social Role of a Visiting Nurse: A Role-Consensus Analysis of Nurses and Patients." *Catholic.*

Robert Perrucci, B.S. New York State, 1958; M.S. Purdue, 1959. "Mental Hospitals as a Social System." *Purdue.*

Richard A. Peterson, A.B. Oberlin College, 1955; M.A. Illinois, 1958. "Styles of Interpersonal Orientation and Group Consensus." *Illinois.*

Gilda Petralgia, B.A. Hunter College, 1944; M.S. in S.S. Fordham, 1949. "Female Parole Violators: An Analysis of the 'Situational' Aspects of Their Failure." *Fordham.*

Henry Grady Pitchford, B.S. Alabama Polytechnic Institute, 1948; M.L.S. Syracuse, 1950; M.A. Denver, 1958. "Social Functions of Humor." *Emory.*

Rev. Maurus Pollard, B.A. St. Anselm's College, 1949; M.A. Catholic, 1955. "Adaptation of a Community to Industrial Change: A Case Study of Manchester, New Hampshire." *Fordham.*

Hollowell Pope, A.B., A.M. Chicago, 1951, 1957. "Economic Deprivation and Social Integration among Upper Blue-Collar Workers." *Michigan.*

Severn Provus, B.S. Chicago, 1936. "Self-Perception and Mate Perception as Factors in Marital Adjustment." *Chicago.*

Joy M. Query, B.A., M.A. Drake, 1954, 1955. "A Cultural Comparison of Schizophrenia from Mountain-Rural and Metropolitan Kentucky." *Kentucky.*

James Randell, A.B., M.A. Michigan, 1947, 1949. "Comparative Study of Social Participation among Detroit Negroes, with Particular Reference to Migratory Status." *Michigan.*

Edna Raphael, B.S. Wayne, 1940; A.M. Northwestern, 1952. "Conflict, Cohesion, and Welfare Activities in Trade Unions." *Chicago.*

Rajpal Singh Rathee, B.A. Punjab, 1949; M.A. Delhi, 1952. "Case Studies in Family Structure and Decision-making." *Wisconsin.*

Leo Ratner, B.A. Denver, 1951; M.A. New School, 1955. "The SS: A Sociopsychological Study of a Political Organization." *New School.*

Horace D. Rawls, B.S., M.S. North Carolina State College, 1943, 1946. "Education as a Factor in Social Participation." *Duke.*

Paul J. Reiss, B.S. Holy Cross, 1952; A.M. Fordham, 1954. "The Extended Kinship System in the American Urban Class." *Harvard.*

Robert Rennick. "A Study of Court Petitioners for Change of Name." *North Carolina.*

David Reynolds, A.B., M.A. Michigan, 1955, 1956. "Role Orientations of Physicists." *Michigan.*

Michel P. Richard, A.B., M.A. Chicago, 1951, 1955. "The Cohesion Value of a Goal: The Conquest of Space." *Duke.*

Marvin P. Riley, B.S. Northwestern, 1942; M.A. Missouri, 1950. "The Hutterites of South Dakota: A Study of Intergroup Relations." *Missouri.*

Jonathan E. Robbin, A.B. Harvard, 1952; A.M. Columbia, 1955. "Congruency of Role Specifications and Personality Characteristics." *New York.*

George O. Roberts, B.S. Hampton Institute, 1952; M.A. Catholic, 1955. "Cultural and Social Differentials in Acceptance of European Health Practices in Bo, Sierra Leone." *Catholic.*

Ellen Robin, B.A., M.A. Ohio State, 1953, 1954. "Concepts of Aging in a Small Industrial Community." *Purdue.*

Stanley Robin, B.A., M.A. Ohio State, 1955, 1957. "Variables Affecting Performance of Women Engineers and Engineering Students." *Purdue.*

David Rogers, A.B. Harvard, 1953. "The Automobile Dealer: A Study of the Status and Ideology of the Small-Business Man." *Harvard.*

Glen Rollins, A.B., M.A. Southern California, 1952, 1954. "Normative Values of Selected Law-Enforcement Officers and Adult Male Offenders." *Southern California.*

James Rollins, B.A., M.A. Los Angeles State College, 1952, 1955. "Study Relating Family Structure to Family Decision-making." *Oregon.*

Howard Rosencranz, B.S. Winona State College, 1941; M.A. Michigan State, 1947. "The Relation of Social References to Imagery of Occupational Life-Styles." *Michigan State.*

Mary Lou Rosencranz, B.S. Carnegie Institute of Technology, 1946; M.S. Michigan State, 1948. "The Application of a Projective Technique for Analyzing Clothing Awareness, Clothing Symbols, and the Range of Themes Associated with Clothing Behavior." *Michigan State.*

Leon J. Rosenthal, LL.B., M.B.A. Rutgers, 1923, 1945. "Insurance Services by Trade and Professional Associations to Their Members." *New School.*

Edward J. Rydman, B.S., M.A. Ohio State, 1938, 1954. "Factors Related to Success or Failure in Family Planning." *Ohio State.*

Aeta Salba, B.A. Hunter College, 1928. "Titus Oates (Times of Betrayal)." *New School.*

Warren Sauer, B.A. Wayne State, 1952; M.A. Michigan State, 1958. "Labor-Business Images of Community Power." *Michigan State.*

Jeannette Smalley Schaefer, B.S. in Ed., A.M. Southern Illinois, 1952, 1953. "The Emergent So-

cial Structure of an Interracial Housing Development." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Ross P. Scherer, A.B. Concordia Seminary, 1943; A.M. Chicago, 1947. "Career Patterns of Lutheran Ministers." *Chicago.*

Howard Schuman, A.B. Antioch College, 1953; M.S. Trinity (San Antonio), 1956. "Social Structure and Personality Construction." *Harvard.*

Frances G. Scott, B.A., M.A. Texas, 1952, 1954. "The Roles of the Aged in the American Family." *California (Los Angeles).*

John Scott, A.B. Antioch College, 1954; A.M. Michigan, 1956. "Portrait of the Underdog, 1960: A Study of Responses to Severe Economic Deprivation." *Michigan.*

Robert A. Scott, B.A. Pennsylvania State, 1957; M.A. Stanford, 1958. "Social and Social-psychological Correlates of Premarital Intercourse among 604 Engaged Couples." *Stanford.*

William Richard Scott, A.B., A.M. Kansas, 1954, 1955. "A Case Study of Professional Workers in a Bureaucratic Setting." *Chicago.*

Ruth Searles, A.B. Oberlin, 1951; A.M. Michigan, 1955. "Influence and Communication Patterns as Related to Organizational Effectiveness." *Michigan.*

Bernard E. Segal, A.B. Dartmouth, 1955. "Reactions of Graduate Nurses to Working with High-Status Psychiatric Patients." *Harvard.*

Henry Seligson, B.S. City College of New York, 1942; M.A. Columbia, 1949. "A Survey of Occupational Interests in Young Students with Reference to Social Variables." *New School.*

Lillian S. Shapiro, A.B. Radcliffe, 1934; M.S.S. Smith, 1936. "Changing Theories in Child Care and Their Relation to the American Family since 1800." *New School.*

Edith Mary Sherman, B.Mus.Ed. Colorado, 1939; M.A. Denver, 1949. "Profile of Aging in Colorado." *Colorado.*

Ray E. Short, B. A. Willamette (Oregon) 1944; B.D. Duke, 1947. "An Analysis of International Conflict in Relation to Social Control Theory in Introductory Sociology Textbooks." *Duke.*

Jacob Siegman, B.A. Brooklyn College, 1953; M.A. New School, 1958. "A Study of White-Collar Automation." *Illinois.*

Alex Simirenko, B.A., M.A. Minnesota, 1957, 1958. "Class and Status in the Minneapolis Russian Community." *Minnesota.*

Ansel P. Simpson, A.B. Virginia State College, 1950; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1951. "Adjustment in Old Age as a Function of Family Pattern." *Missouri.*

Paul Sites, B.A. Indiana Central College, 1955; M.S. Purdue, 1956. "Factors Influencing the Orientation of College Students toward Various Types of Experts in the Society." *Purdue.*

Philip A. Slaner, B.A. City College of New York, 1932, 1934. "The Protestant Ethic in America: A Conspectus." *New School.*

Jonathan Slessinger, A.B. Vassar, 1949; M.A. American, 1954. "Career Adaptations in a Junior Management-Assistant Program." *Michigan.*

Eugene V. Smith, B. A. DePauw, 1951; M.S. Trinity, 1954. "Content Analysis of Values Related to Changes in United States Middle-Class Birth Rates." *Purdue.*

Ralph Smith, A.B. Michigan State Normal, 1946; A.M. Michigan, 1950. "Formal Organization and Residential Locations." *Michigan.*

Robert Smock, B.A. Adrian, 1946; M.A. Wayne State, 1953. "The Sociology of Consumer Credit: An Analysis of Some Social Causes and Consequences of Middle-Class Indebtedness." *Wayne State.*

Lorenzo H. Snow, A.B. Brigham Young, 1950; M.A. Northwestern, 1955. "Personality Development: A Study of Adjustive Behavior of Youths at Two Age Levels." *Ohio State.*

Clinton Snyder, B.S., M.A. Michigan State, 1943, 1954. "Variations in Role and Status Expectations as Related to Personal Interaction." *Michigan State.*

Joe L. Spaeth, A.B. Reed College. "Value Orientations and Academic Career Plans: Structural Effects on the Careers of Graduate Students." *Chicago.*

Chalmers K. Stewart, B.A., M.A. Akron, 1932, 1933. "The Independent Socialist League: A Sociological Analysis." *New School.*

Edward Grant Stockwell, A.B. Harvard, 1955; A.M. Connecticut, 1957. "Socioeconomic Differentials in Mortality, Hartford, Connecticut, and Providence, Rhode Island, 1949–51." *Brown.*

Karl E. Taeuber, A.B. Yale, 1955; A.M. Harvard, 1957. "Residential Segregation by Color in United States Cities, 1940–50." *Harvard.*

Yuzura Takeshita, A.B. Park College, 1951; A.M. Michigan, 1952. "Socioeconomic Correlates of Urban Fertility in Japan." *Michigan.*

Theodore Tannenbaum, A.B., A.M. Brooklyn College, 1958, 1959. "Social Change and Intergenerational Role Variations." *Purdue.*

James Teele, B.A., Virginia Union, 1949; A.M. New York, 1958. "Correlates of Social Isolation among the Relatives of Former Mental Patients." *New York.*

Fred Thalheimer, B.A., M.A. California (Los Angeles), 1956, 1959. "Religious Beliefs, Attitudes, and Activities of Academicians." *California (Los Angeles).*

Aida Tomeh, B.A. American (Beirut), 1954; A.M. Michigan, 1957. "Informal Group Participation in a Metropolitan Community." *Michigan.*

J. Richard Udry, B.S. Northwestern, 1950; M.A. Long Beach State College, 1956. "The Construction and Empirical Test of a Theory Based on Five Selected Variables in Small-Group Interaction." *Southern California.*

Raul Vargas, Dr. Math. U. de San Marcos, 1950; M.P.H. Michigan, 1954. "The Legitimate Joint

Reproduction Rate: An Application to the Experience of Venezuela." *Chicago.*

Beth E. Vanfossen, A.B. Blackburn College, 1957; M.A. Pennsylvania State, 1958. "The Concept of Status." *Emory*

Marion Vanfossen, A.B. Blackburn College, 1957; M.A. Pennsylvania State, 1958. "The Theory of Commitment." *Emory.*

Seymour D. Vestermark, A.B. Swarthmore, 1955; A.M. Harvard, 1959. "The Structure and Dynamics of Ideology." *Harvard.*

Paul H. Vossick, A.B. Kent State, 1953; M.A. Bowling Green State, 1954. "Religious Affiliations in a Selected Urban Upper Socioeconomic Group." *Texas.*

Walter L. Wallace, A.B. Columbia, 1954; A.M. Atlanta, 1955. "Some Effects of Peer-Group Structure on College-Student Achievement." *Chicago.*

Wilson Keith Warner, B.S., M.S. Utah State, 1958, 1959. "An Approach to the Study of Vertical Social Mobility as Related to Status." *Cornell.*

Leonard Weller, B.A. City College of New York, 1955. "Personality, Social Organization, and Prejudice." *Minnesota.*

Neil Weller, Ph.B. Chicago, 1948; A.M. Michigan, 1950. "A Reexamination of the 'Protestant Ethic' in a Modern Industrial Metropolis." *Michigan.*

Raymond Wheeler, B.S. in Ed. Miami, 1951; A.M. Cincinnati, 1954. "Invasion of White Residential Areas by Negroes and Its Relationship to Property Values: An Ecological Study." *Michigan.*

Robert M. White, Ph.B., M.A. North Dakota, 1955, 1957. "Comparative Study of Socioeconomic and Social-psychological Determinants of Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Negro and White College Seniors." *Florida State.*

Rodney F. White, A.B., B.S., M. Com. Toronto, 1943, 1948, 1949. "Professionalization and Nursing Careers." *Chicago.*

Winston R. White, A.B. Western Reserve, 1942; A.M. New York, 1955. "Ideology of the Intellectuals: American Society, 1949–58." *Harvard.*

Sidney Willhelm, A.B., M.A. Texas, 1957, 1957. "The Cultural Approach to Ecology: A Case Study of Zoning." *Texas.*

Virgil Williams, A.B., M.A. Texas, 1955, 1956. "Scantex: A Study in Survival." *Texas.*

Eleanor P. Wolf, B.A., M.A. Wayne State, 1938, 1939. "Changing Neighborhood: A Study of Racial Transition." *Wayne State.*

David L. Wolfe, B.S., M.Ed. Illinois, 1950, 1952. "Conflicts in Academic Commitments to Organizational Change." *Oregon.*

Donald Wolfe, A.B. Illinois, 1952; A.M. Michigan, 1955. "Formal Authority as a Dimension of Group Structure." *Michigan.*

Margot Haas Wormser, B.A. Elmira College, 1943. "Community Studies on Anti-Semitism." *New School.*

Angelina Q. Yap, A.B., B.S.E., Assumption College (Philippine Islands), 1955; M.A. Catholic, 1957. "The Study of a Kinship System: Its Structural Principles." *Catholic.*

Richard Young, Czechoslovakia, 1948; Norway, 1953. "College Careers and Adult Personalities of Women." *Harvard.*

Anita Yourglich, B.S. Seattle College, 1945; M.A. St. Louis, 1948, "A Study of Role Consensus in the Family System." *Oregon.*

Joseph F. Zygmunt, A.B. Illinois, 1942; A.M. Chicago, 1958. "The Role and Interrelationship of Symbolic and Structural Processes in the Development and Institutionalization of a Sectarian Movement." *Chicago.*

NEWS AND NOTES

At the time of going to press, the *Journal* learns of the death of Professor Arnost Blaha on April 25, 1960, in Czechoslovakia, at the age of eighty-one. He became the first professor of sociology at the Masaryk University at Brno after World War I. He published five sociological books, of which his *Sociology of the Intelligentsia* (1937) was the most important. (It never appeared in English.) He was also the founding editor of the quarterly *Sociologicka Revue*, which appeared from 1930 to 1940 and again from 1946 to 1949. At the age of sixty-eight, at the end of the World War II, he undertook a study of the sociocultural profile of the city of Brno, which had a population of 300,000. When sociology was banished from the universities, the project came to an abrupt end, and he lived thereafter in retirement.

Professor Jiri Kolaja writes of him: "Amazing was his optimistic belief that sociology will fulfil the melioristic function in society, in face of the fact that he himself had twice in his lifetime to witness the abolition of sociology in the universities of his country."

His influence persists in America in the work of his former students, Jiri Nehnevajsa, at Columbia; Jiri Kolaja, of the University of Kentucky; and A. J. Obrdlik, two of whose articles have appeared in this *Journal*. Another student of Professor Blaha is Ivan Gadourek, of the University of Groningen.

American Academy of Arts and Sciences.—In 1960 the Academy will offer three prizes of be held at the Denver Hilton Hotel, Denver, meritorious unpublished monographs, one each in the fields of the humanities, the social sciences, and the physical and biological sciences.

Competition for the Academy Monograph Prizes is open to any author, regardless of his nationality or place of residence. Manuscripts must, however, be written in the English language and be submitted by the author (or authors, if there is joint authorship), not by a publishing agency.

To be eligible for the award, a manuscript must be received at the address given below by October 1, 1960. The prize-winners will be announced in December. All correspondence concerning these awards should be directed to Committee on Monograph Prizes, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Little Hall 33, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

American Correctional Association.—The Nineteenth Annual Congress of Correction will be held at the Denver Hilton Hotel, Denver, Colorado, from August 28 to September 2. The theme is "Corrections in Retrospect and Prospect." This will entail the examination of the degree of achievement of previous Congress goals and recommendations as well as a determination of actions that possibly should be taken to advance corrections in the future.

American Sociological Association.—The Association will meet as follows: August 29–31, 1960, Statler-Hilton Hotel, New York City; August 30–September 2, 1961, Chase-Park Plaza, St. Louis, Missouri; August 31–September 2, 1962, Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C. Following the 1962 meeting, the International Sociological Association will also meet at the Shoreham Hotel, September 3–10.

American University.—Austin van der Slice, chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, continues research and teaching in Europe until this summer.

Frank Lorimer was re-elected president of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population. Dr. Lorimer, who visited Africa twice last year, returns to teach the Trinity term at the University of Ghana and will help develop the University's program of population studies. He is also preparing a survey of African demographic statistics for publication by the African Studies Program, Boston University.

Harvey C. Moore, acting chairman, will be on sabbatical leave in the year 1960–61. Dr. Moore is currently president of the Anthropological Society of Washington.

Lawrence Krader, who has been promoted to professor of sociology and anthropology, has received an American Council of Learned Societies grant for a book on Central Asia. He

serves as a senior officer for Asian coverage ot the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and was appointed a member of the Committee on International Anthropology of the National Academy of Sciences, National Research Council.

John C. Scott has been promoted to associate professor of sociology and anthropology and is also a research consultant for the Special Operations Research Office (Washington, D.C.) and continues investigation of conceptions of the aging process. He will be engaged in full-time research with the Research Division of that office this summer.

Frederick Seymour has joined the Department as associate professor of sociology.

Robert Bower and Ivor Wayne, director and assistant director of the Bureau of Social Science Research in Washington, are teaching graduate courses in research methods. Dr. Bower is president of the Sociological Society and of the Association for Public Opinion Research, both in the District of Columbia.

Clark Tibbitts, adjunct professor, has just brought out, as co-editor, *Aging in Today's Society*. He is editor of *Handbook of Social Gerontology*.

Ernst Correll, James H. Fox, and Angel Palerm teach courses as professorial lecturers; Wallace W. Culver, William T. Davies, Eileen Kuhns, James McCafferty, Conrad C. Reining (selected as head of the Africana section, Library of Congress), and Priscilla Reining have been teaching courses in the department part-time this year. Lynda Malik is a Teaching Fellow, and Suzanne Lie is the graduate assistant.

Antioch College.—The Department of Sociology's chairman, Everett Wilson, in collaboration with Herman Schnurer, chairman of the language department, has completed translation of some of Durkheim's theory. The translation is entitled *Moral Education*. Dr. Wilson will spend his sabbatical leave next year in France, pursuing his study of Durkheim's work, for which purpose he has received a Fulbright award.

Working with Professor Wilson, Irene Jerison and Monique Roeth, research associates, will attack both sides of the question of how ideas generated by Durkheim and the scholars who gathered around him crossed the Atlantic, what happened to them when they got here, and how they have affected American sociological and anthropological research. The work is supported by grants from the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council.

Brandeis University.—Mason Griff, of Montana State University, is serving as visiting professor for the present year. He is completing a book on commercial artists and continuing his research in the sociology of art.

Kurt H. Wolff, formerly of Ohio State University, took up his duties as chairman and professor of sociology last September.

Morris S. Schwartz has joined the Department of Sociology as Mortimer Gryzmish Professor of Human Relations. He is presently writing a book, in collaboration with others, on the care of mental patients in the United States.

Maurice R. Stein's *Eclipse of Community* and his reader, *Identity and Anxiety*, co-edited with Arthur Vidich and David White, were published this spring. He is currently working on a study of the relationship between the rise of capitalism and the flowering of dramatic poetry and drama in England during the seventeenth century and, with Arthur Vidich, a general book about social change.

Lewis A. Coser has written an introduction to, and edited the translation of, Max Scheler's *Ressentiment*, which will be published late this year. He is currently working on a book on the sociology of intellectuals.

Robert A. Feldmesser is on leave of absence for the current academic year. He has a grant from the Social Science Research Council for a study of factors affecting social mobility in the Soviet Union.

Suzanne Keller is currently working on problems relating to the formation of elite ideologies and attitudes.

University of Bridgeport.—Joseph S. Roucek, chairman of the Departments of Political Science and Sociology, has been appointed the American editor of the *Journal of Social Research*, published by J. V. College, Baraut (Meerut), United Provinces, India. He is also the American editor of *Il Politico*, published by the University of Pavia, Italy.

Cedar Crest College (Allentown, Pa.).—Leona B. Nelson, chairman of the Department of Sociology, has been made professor.

University of Chicago.—Beginning in the Autumn Quarter, 1960, a new workshop in urban studies will be offered by faculty members from the Departments of Economics, Geography, Political Science, and Sociology and the Graduate School of Business. Meeting once a week, the workshop will consider in lectures and discussions theoretical, empirical, and practical problems in the field of urban studies and community life. It is open to all graduate students.

The tentative subject for this autumn's workshop is "Housing and Residential Land Use." Topics to be treated may include: urban residential districts, by Richard F. Muth, associate professor, urban economics; ethnic segregation and succession, by Otis Dudley Duncan, research associate, human ecology; race and housing, by Anthony Downs, assistant professor, economics and political science; residential land values, by Martin J. Bailey, associate professor, economics; residential land use and business structures, by Brian J. L. Berry, assistant professor, geography; housing issues and community organizations, by James Q. Wilson, instructor, political science; residential planning, by Harold M. Mayer, professor, geography; and politics of urban renewal, by Peter H. Rossi, associate professor, sociology, and director of the National Opinion Research Center.

Inquiries should be directed to James Q. Wilson, secretary of the workshop, in the Department of Political Science.

Clyde W. Hart retires on July 1 after serving for thirteen years as director of the National Opinion Research Center. He was presented the Julian L. Woodward Memorial Award for Exceptionally Distinguished Service by the American Association for Public Opinion Research at its meeting in May in Atlantic City.

Peter H. Rossi has been appointed director of the National Opinion Research Center, succeeding Mr. Hart.

Elihu Katz is the acting editor of the *Journal* in the summer quarter.

Everett and Helen MacGill Hughes will be in Europe in the Summer Quarter, during which time their standing address until mid-September is: Canada House, Trafalgar Square, London, S.W. 1., England.

Philip M. Hauser is teaching in the summer at the School of Business at the University of Indiana.

Peter and Zena Blau are teaching in the summer on the Berkeley campus of the University of California.

Philip H. Ennis has been appointed assistant professor in the Graduate Library School. His courses, new to the Graduate Library School curriculum, will be "Mass and Minority Audiences," a sociological survey of kinds of audiences for kinds of media, and "Organizational Theory," a study of administrative problems of organizations, with special emphasis upon the library. In addition, Mr. Ennis will be responsible for the core course, "Communication and Libraries," and for an advanced course in "Characteristics of a Profession," a comparative analysis of the problems which librarians share in common with other professional groups.

Colorado College.—In fall, 1960, the former Department of Sociology becomes the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

Anthropology's offerings were expanded and are staffed by the addition of Paul Kutsche, assistant professor.

Marianne L. Stoller (Mrs. Paul Kutsche) is associated with the department as research associate and part-time lecturer in anthropology and has been awarded a grant from the National Science Foundation. Mr. Kutsche has been awarded a Colorado College Research Grant. They are doing joint research in Europe this summer on the relationship between art and society.

Alvin Boderman and Van B. Shaw, chairman, continue as staff members in the department.

Ruth T. Carter will be on leave in the first semester of the school year 1960–61 for travel and study.

Colorado College was host to the annual meeting of the Rocky Mountain Social Science Association in May. Van B. Shaw is the secretary-treasurer of the association.

University of Connecticut.—The *Journal* learns with regret of the death of James Lowell Hypes, emeritus professor of sociology, February 26, at the age of seventy-five. Dr. Hypes joined the staff of the university in 1921, became the first head of the Department of Sociology when it was established as a separate unit in 1931, and served in that capacity until 1948. He retired from the University in 1950. Dr. Hypes studied at Marshall College and at the University of Illinois and received his Ph.D. degree from Columbia University in 1927.

Dr. Hypes's research interests were in pop-

ulation mobility and suburbanization, in both of which he made early contributions to the literature. A traveler by inclination, he made two trips to the Orient in a professional capacity and was a member of the Layman's Foreign Mission Board Inquiry, with special responsibility for investigating village life in India.

His publications include *Social Participation in a Rural New England Town* (1927), *Spotlights on the Culture of India* (1937), and *Knights of the Road* (1938). He was active in a number of welfare organizations and was committed to the application of modern methods of sociological research to the problems of rural life.

Council on Higher Education in the American Republics.—A report, "Inter-American Scholarly Communication in the Humanities and Social Sciences," written by Frederick Burkhardt, president of the Council, for the Conference on Higher Education in the American Republics (February, 1960) is available on request. Accounts of the condition of education, prepared by seven representatives of Latin-American universities, who consulted over two hundred scholars and educators, are the basis of the report. Questions discussed include: part-time faculty service (as against full-time professional teaching), the need for bibliographical centers, impediments to the circulation of scholarly books and periodicals, exchange appointments in universities, professional organizations, and co-operative research.

Requests for copies of the report should be addressed to: Kenneth Holland, Secretary-General, Institute of International Education, 1 East 67th Street, New York 21, New York.

Duke University.—Kurt W. Back, formerly of the University of North Carolina, and Jack J. Preiss, formerly of Michigan State University, joined the staff in September, 1959 as associate professors.

Herman Turk, formerly of the National Institute of Mental Health, has joined the staff as assistant professor.

A medical sociology program has been established in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, to teach medical students and resident physicians at Duke School of Medicine and to engage in health-related research. Its staff consists of John C. McKinney, Jack J. Preiss, Weston La Barre, Kurt W. Back, David M. Shaw, and Herman Turk. George L. Maddox of Millsaps College, who has been awarded a postdoctoral residency in medical sociology by the Russell Sage Foundation, will also work with the program for the period 1960–62.

The National Institutes of Health have awarded a grant to John C. McKinney, Kurt W. Back, Alan C. Kerckhoff, and Ida Harper Simpson, of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, and to Dean Ann Jacobansky and Thelma Ingles, of the School of Nursing, for a five-year study of the professionalization process among student nurses.

The Department has received a grant from the Ford Foundation for a program of research on retirement. Three projects are under way: "Retirement and Community Integration," by Joel Smith and Herman Turk; "Family Structure and Retirement," by Alan C. Kerckhoff and Robert G. Brown; and "Work and Retirement," by John C. McKinney, Kurt W. Back, and Ida Harper Simpson.

The Office of Naval Research has awarded a grant to Kurt W. Back and David M. Shaw for a study of the bases and effects of systems of communication.

Other current research in the Department includes a study of division of labor in an outpatient clinic, by Herman Turk and John C. McKinney, supported by a grant from the National Institutes of Health; a study of doctor-patient interaction, by David M. Shaw and Drs. Morton Bogdonoff and Claude R. Nichols of the School of Medicine, also supported by a grant from the National Institutes of Health; a study of processes of unionization and "disunionization" in the South, by Donald F. Roy; a study of need complementarity and mate selection, by Alan C. Kerckhoff, supported by a grant from the Duke University Research Council; and a study in the sociology of art, by Eugenia Whitridge, on the basis of which she has developed a course in the sociology of art. Jack J. Preiss is completing a study of the role image of the state trooper, supported by a grant from the National Institutes of Health, which was transferred from Michigan State University to Duke.

Edgar T. Thompson, who began the presidency of the Southern Sociological Society at its April meeting, has also been elected president of the North Carolina Society for Crippled Children.

Howard B. Jensen recently returned from a nine-month trip, during which he participated

in meetings of the Danish Institute for Intercultural Relations and conferred with the sociology staffs at the University of Copenhagen, the Danish School of Social Work, the Institute of Social Research, and the Danish Institute for the Blind.

Weston La Barre has been reappointed consultant to the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry and was also recently appointed as consultant to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare on social security administration policy.

Roland J. Pellegrin, chairman of the Department of Sociology at Louisiana State University, is visiting professor of sociology during the summer session.

Eastern Sociological Society.—At its Thirtieth Annual Meeting, held April 23–24 in Boston, presentation of the first Annual Merit Award was made to Maurice R. Davie. Professor Davie was presented with a scroll bearing the citation, "In recognition of high attainment in the advancement of sociological studies and service to the profession of sociology the expression of esteem by his colleagues," and a check for $250.

Newly elected officers are: Alex Inkeles, president-elect; Francis Merrill, vice-president; Sylvia F. Fava, secretary-treasurer; and Orville G. Brim, Jr., member of the executive committee. August B. Hollingshead, president-elect for 1959–60, becomes president for 1960–61. William J. Goode, now as past president, Wilbert Moore, as representative of the Eastern Sociological Society to the Council of the American Sociological Association, and Bartlett Stoodley and Kurt Mayer, members, continue their terms on the executive committee.

The Fund for Social Analysis.—The Fund is offering in 1960 a limited number of grants-in-aid for studies of problems posed by Marxist theory and its application. Projects for books and essays in all fields of social science will be welcomed. Grants will ordinarily range from $500 to $3,000 and may be requested for an entire project, for any part, or for assistance in research, editing or publication. Address the Corresponding Secretary, The Fund for Social Analysis, Room 2800, 165 Broadway, New York 6, New York.

Indiana University.—The Department now includes Professors Clifford Kirkpatrick, Alfred R. Lindesmith, Delbert C. Miller, John H Mueller (chairman), and Dinko A. Tomasic; Associate Professors Albert K. Cohen, Joseph F. Schneider, Karl F. Schuessler, and Frank R. Westie; Assistant Professors Melvin L. DeFleur, John T. Liell, George Psathas, and Sheldon Stryker; and Instructor Allen D. Grimshaw.

Albert K. Cohen will be on leave of absence during 1960–61, when he will be visiting associate professor at the University of California, Berkeley. He is currently serving on the Social Science Research Council Committee on Sociocultural Contexts of Delinquency.

At the annual meetings of the Ohio Valley Sociological Society held at Indiana University in April, Melvin L. DeFleur served as chairman of local arrangements; Albert K. Cohen, as chairman of the Section on Sociological Theory; and Sheldon Stryker as discussant in the Section on Sociology of the Family.

Sheldon Stryker and George Psathas have received a two-year grant from the National Science Foundation for $14,000 to support experimental studies of factors affecting coalition formation in triads.

Delbert Miller served as consultant and speaker at the Symposium on Human Problems in the Utilization of Fall-Out Shelters, Disaster Research Group of the National Academy of Sciences. He has been appointed to an Advisory Committee on Industrial Sociology of the American Sociological Association. His book (together with William H. Form), *Industry, Labor and Community,* was published in May.

State University of Iowa.—Stanley Lieberson has been appointed associate director of the Center and also serves as an instructor in the Department, teaching courses in human ecology and ethnic relations.

National Defense Fellows holding internships in the Center are John W. Prehn, Kent P. Schwirian, and David L. Thomas.

Clark E. Vincent has joined the Department as associate professor. He is in charge of courses in the family area and serves as consulting sociologist to the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station.

Albert Lewis Rhodes is a visiting assistant professor, teaching courses in criminology.

Dorothy Willner is a visiting assistant professor teaching courses in anthropology.

Robert G. Caldwell is spending the year 1959–60 at the University of Chicago as a

Senior Fellow in the Law and Behavioral Science Fellowship Program.

David Gold is in the third year of a Social Science Research Council Faculty Fellowship.

Martin U. Martel is serving part time as staff sociologist in the Institute of Gerontology, College of Medicine.

Licensed Beverage Industries, Inc.—A new grant-in-aid program, through which relatively small research grants may be arranged quickly for competent scientists working in the field of alcoholism and related subjects, has been set up by the Scientific Advisory Committee of Licensed Beverage Industries, Inc. The organization is making this program possible, in response to the growing need for more scientific information both as to the extent of alcoholism and as to its causes and treatments, through a grant of $500,000 over a five-year period. Grants will be awarded to qualified researchers, including young scientists, in the biological and behavioral sciences who wish to make preliminary or pilot studies for the purpose of raising or clarifying promising hypotheses.

The program is administered by the committee, whose members represent a wide range of relevant disciplines: Edward J. Allen, professor of social science, State University of New York, College of Education, Plattsburg, New York; Leon A. Greenberg, associate professor and director, Laboratory of Applied Biodynamics, Yale University; Harold E. Himwich, director, Research Division, Galesburg State Research Hospital, Galesburg, Illinois; J. D. McCarthy, M.D., professor of medicine, Nebraska University, College of Medicine, Omaha; John W. Riley, Jr., chairman, Department of Sociology, Rutgers University; and Jackson A. Smith, M.D., Clinical Director, Illinois State Psychiatric Institute, Chicago.

Application forms and detailed information may be obtained by writing to the Scientific Advisory Committee of the Licensed Beverage Industries, Inc., 155 East 44th Street, New York 17, New York.

Marquette University.—Paul J. Reiss has been promoted to the rank of assistant professor.

Frank J. Atelsek will take a one-year leave of absence in order to work on a special nationwide research project for the Social Security Administration.

Jack H. Curtis, president-elect of the American Catholic Sociological Society, is joining the Department as professor of sociology.

Thomas K. Burch, who is finishing his PhD. thesis at Princeton University, is joining as an instructor in the Department.

The Department will introduce a graduate program leading to the degree of Master of Sociology in September, 1960.

University of Minnesota.—Arnold Rose has been named to the executive committee of the Society for the Study of Social Problems and the chairmanship of the Committee on Permanent Organization for that body.

Marvin J. Taves's study on nursing and role conception has been expanded to include a national sample of hospital personnel. He is also studying the response of adjudicated delinquents to variations in camping experiences in the forested areas of northern Minnesota.

Reuben Hill was elected chairman of the standing committee on family sociology of the International Sociological Association.

Don Martindale's book, *American Social Structure,* has recently been published.

Kingsley Davis, of the University of California, gave the Guy Stanton Ford Lectures. These lectures honoring former University of Minnesota President Guy Stanton Ford, are sponsored by the Graduate School and the Department of Concerts and Lectures. Professor Davis spoke on "Public Policy and the World Population Crisis."

Edward Gross, formerly of Washington State College, has been named professor of sociology. He will also be working in the Industrial Relations Center.

Reuben Hill has co-authored the Volume *Being Married* with E. M. Duvall. He has been named to the Ad Hoc Committee on Family Policies and Programs, advising the commissioner of the Social Security Administration.

National Council on Family Relations.—The Committee on Family Law of the National Council on Family Relations is seeking to collect reprints and reports of research in the field of marriage and divorce which could be useful to members of the legal profession who handle domestic relations problems. Articles which delineate the nature of family problems, procedural measures to prevent or ameliorate family difficulties, and especially the contributions that the behavioral sciences can make toward the development of a realistic appraisal of the

family as a sociolegal unit of society are requested. Please send such reprints and the like to Mrs. Marie Kargman, Barristers Hall, Boston 8, Massachusetts.

The theme of the International Conference on the Family, August 23–26, will be "Personal Maturity and Family Security." The conference is in conjunction with the annual meeting of the National Council on Family Relations and will be held at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City.

Nine sections will explore the conference theme, with outstanding speakers from the United States, Europe, and other parts of the world. In addition, thirty discussion groups, conducted in English, French, German, and Spanish, will meet to talk over the material presented in the plenary sessions and relevant ideas from the sectional meetings.

For information write: Mrs. V. W. Jewson, Executive Secretary, 1219 University Avenue, Southeast, Minneapolis 14, Minnesota.

University of New Hampshire.—Melvin T. Bobick received a University research grant to complete the writing of his study of the problem of explanation in sociology.

Richard Dewey is studying the interchange of population between rural and urban areas.

Owen B. Durgin is engaged in a study of television and radio listening habits in New Hampshire and of personal and family characteristics in low-income and low-production areas of northern New Hampshire.

Melville Nielson has accepted the position as assistant dean of the College of Liberal Arts and will teach only half time.

Stuart Palmer's *Study of Murder* was published in March, and he is now conducting a study of "Values of Delinquent and Non-delinquent Adolescents."

Gordon Shaw is currently engaged in completing his study of the content of New England newspapers and is initiating a study in community programs for older persons.

University of North Carolina.—Daniel O. Price and Ruth Searles are beginning a study of interviewer-interviewee roles and cross-cultural problems in the interviewing of Negroes by white and Negro interviewers. The study is a part of the Institute for Research in Social Science program of studies of the changing position of the Negro, supported by the Rockefeller Foundation.

Rupert B. Vance is a consultant to the Southern Appalachian Regional Survey, a study of opinions and attitudes related to social changes in the region since 1930. Six universities are co-operating in the survey, which is sponsored by Berea College and directed by Thomas R. Ford, of the University of Kentucky.

E. William Noland served as president of the Southern Sociological Society during 1959–60.

Visiting faculty members during the summer of 1960 are William E. Cole, University of Tennessee; Donald P. Irish, Ohio Wesleyan University; and Robin M. Williams, Jr., Cornell.

S. H. Hobbs, Jr., was on leave in 1959–60 to study rural life in the Scandinavian countries. Guy B. Johnson is teaching during 1959–60 at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, Union of South Africa.

Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission.—An advisory committee has been appointed for the National Recreation Survey. The members of the committee, appointed for the duration of the survey, include Dorothy Brady, University of Pennsylvania; Robert E. L. Faris, University of Washington; Robert Ferber, University of Illinois; William G. Madow, Stanford Research Institute; Edward D. Olds, University of Maryland; Daniel O. Price, University of North Carolina; and Frederick F. Stephan, Princeton University.

Norman Wengert, Deputy Director for Studies, is chairman of the committee, and the secretary is Abbott L. Ferriss, also of the Commission staff.

The ORRRC National Recreation Survey is one of a number of studies sponsored by the Commission as a part of its program of research, designed to estimate the various amounts and kinds of outdoor recreational resources which the nation will need and use fifteen and forty years hence. The interviewing for the survey will be conducted by the Bureau of the Census. One survey will be made each quarter, beginning in September of this year. Each of the four samples will include approximately four thousand households. Items of primary interest are the frequency with which individuals have engaged in various types of outdoor recreation, the distances traveled, the amounts spent, and information on how leisure time is spent, on the characteristics of outing groups, and on recreation equipment owned. In addition to tabulations for the United States as a whole, the sample will permit tabulations by the four

major subregions and by size of place of residence.

University of Pittsburgh.—An expanded Master's degree for community welfare organization workers has been inaugurated in the Graduate School of Social Work under the direction of Associate Professor Meyer Schwartz. The first entering class begins September 1, 1960. A limited number of fellowships and stipends for living expenses and tuition are available. Applicants should write to William B. McCullough, Director of Admissions, Graduate School of Social Work, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh 13, Pennsylvania.

Purdue University.—James M. Beshers and Edward Z. Dager have been promoted from assistant to associate professors in the Department of Sociology.

Werner Stark, of the University of Manchester, England, visiting professor for the fall semester, is offering courses in the development of social thought, the sociology of religion, and the sociology of knowledge.

Visiting lecturers during the past semester included Steven C. Cappannari, of Wayne State University; T. Lynn Smith, of the University of Florida; and Pitirim A. Sorokin, of Harvard University. Each of these professors remained on the campus for several days.

Gerald R. Leslie was visiting professor during a three-week period in July and August at Teachers College, Columbia University, offering special work in the sociology of the family.

Hanna Meissner spent part of the summer in Germany, lecturing on "The Sociohistorical Background of Present-Day Social Work Methods in the United States," as part of a series of training courses of social workers and their related professions offered by the Institute for Group Work and Group Dynamics in Wiesbaden.

Grants to staff members from the Purdue Research Foundation include the following: Sidney Greenfield, to spend the summer months at Vicosa, Minas Gerais, Brazil, conducting a pilot anthropological study in conjunction with the Purdue-Brazil Cooperative Project, at the Superior School of Agriculture at Vicosa; Walter Hirsch, for summer work on his study of the autonomy of science in totalitarian systems; Leonard Z. Breen, for a one-year study of sociological components of aging; and E. Z. Dager, a one-year study of the theory of generational change.

Leonard Z. Breen is a consultant to a committee planning the 1961 White House Conference on Aging. He was recently appointed a member of the Advisory Panel to the Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc., in Washington, D.C., on the subject of military retirement.

The National Institutes of Health–supported training program in survey methods applied to the study of health problems will continue its second year of operation. The trainees are affiliated with the Purdue Farm Cardiac Project. Applicants who aspire to the M.S. and Ph.D. degrees in sociology with special emphasis on research methods in the health field should apply to the Department of Sociology before March 1, 1961.

Harold T. Christensen is currently President of the National Council on Family Relations.

Revue française de sociologie.—The first number of a new scholarly quarterly, *Revue française de sociologie,* appeared in Paris in January. It was founded by the Centre d'Études Sociologiques, which in turn was founded by the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. The director is Jean Stoetzel, and the editorial committee consists of Edgar Morin, editor; L. Thomas, secretary; P. Cep and C. Laude, bibliographers; and J. Cazeneuve, F. Isambert, J. Dofny, H. Mendras, and R. Pages.

The first issue contains: "Émile Durkheim" by Georges Davy; "Le Vote ouvrier en Europe occidentale," by Mattei Dogan; "Adaptation au travail et niveau de qualification des femmes salariées," by Viviane Isambert-Jamati; "Coopération et compétition dans des petits groupes," by Roger Lambert; and "Le Concept de carrière," by Jean-René Treanton.

The issue also contains a discussion of the orientation of the Stressa meeting, research news, reviews of books appearing in French and in English, and abstracts of articles which appeared in French journals in the preceding quarter. A digest of the articles in the issue is appended in English, Spanish, German, and Russian.

The *Revue* is edited at the Centre d'Études Sociologiques, 82, rue Cardinet, Paris XVII.

Subscriptions for the four numbers published each year are 8 francs ($4.00) for American subscribers. The business address is: Julliard, Éditeur, 30–34, rue de l'Université, Paris VII.

Second European Congress of Rural Sociology.—The Congress will be held August 1–6, 1960, at the Agricultural College of Norway. Congress papers and discussions will focus on the changing structure and functions of rural communities, rural organizations in a changing society, and changes in rural occupational structure and labor organization. The Congress is being organized by the Norwegian Society for Rural Sociology on behalf of the European Society for Rural Sociology.

Information may be obtained from the Congress Secretariat, Postbox 53, Vollebekk, Norway.

University of Washington.—Robert E. L. Faris is teaching during the summer at the University of Hawaii.

Otto Larsen, who is on a Fulbright appointment at the University of Copenhagen during the current year, will return to the Department of Sociology in the fall.

Richard Boyle is the recipient of a National Science Foundation Fellowship for 1960–61.

Norman S. Hayner, who will present a paper at the Fourth International Congress of the International Society for Criminology at The Hague in September, will also attend the Second United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders in London in August.

For the past three years William R. Catton, Jr., has been teaching half-time in the department and serving half-time in the Washington Public Opinion Laboratory as director of "Project Concord," a series of studies of the role of values in organizational behavior. With the termination of this project he resumes full-time teaching.

John H. McNamara, acting assistant professor for the year 1959–60, has accepted a position as research scientist with the American Institute for Research. He will be participating in a study of the recruitment and training of the police in New York City.

L. Wesley Wager is currently engaged in contract research on the legitimacy of political behavior of corporations and orientation and satisfaction of white-collar workers in their careers. He has received a summer research grant from the Graduate School of the university to work on research on the airline industry, based on several studies completed in this area during the past five years.

Yeshiva University.—Leo Srole has been appointed visiting research professor of psychiatry (sociology) in the Albert Einstein College of Medicine. He will continue work begun on his research on social integration and ego functioning and will undertake new investigations of social factors in psychotherapy. His research volume, *Midtown Manhattan: The Mental Health Story,* with T. A. C. Rennie and T. S. Langner as co-authors, will be published late in 1960.

BOOK REVIEWS

Structure and Process in Modern Societies. By TALCOTT PARSONS. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. Pp. vi+344. $6.00.

Students of Professor Parsons' work will welcome this collection of essays, which conveniently brings together in one volume many of his thoughts on the nature of modern industrial society. The scattered original sources, plus the logical unity of the collection itself, make the book particularly appropriate. Most of the essays focus in one way or another on relationships between economic and political systems and on the place of administrative organization in such interrelations. Conceptual unity is provided throughout, both explicitly and implicitly, by Parsons' paradigm of the functional dimensions of action systems (adaptation, goal attainment, integration, and latency).

The first two essays, which deal with formal organization and its relationship to society, keynote the basic (after Weber) "administrative" emphasis of the work. The two essays following, which are concerned with industrialism and economic development, focus on manifest differentiation between economic and political subsystems as an essential condition for the development of rational bureaucratic industrial administration. A Technical Note is appended which explains the exposition schematically in terms of the four functional dimensions of action systems and thereby relates the material on industrial development to the preceding discussion of formal organization as well as to the following chapter on the political aspects of social systems. The remainder of the book contains illustrative essays on various topics ranging from McCarthyism to medical education as well as a general essay dealing with human ecology—a rather surprising topic for an essay by Parsons. A complete bibliography of Parsons' work is included in the appendix.

Certain criticisms of Parsons' work have become virtually traditional, and those who make them will be unlikely to alter their views very substantially as a result of this volume. In this, as in other works of Parsons, theory is by and large equated either with taxonomy or with functionalist arguments as to the requisite character of categories. There is an almost cor plete absence of propositions containing vai ables. Furthermore, although illustrative e amples are sometimes given, no body of da is systematically analyzed in terms of tl schemes of classification proposed. Also, the is an almost total lack of sensitivity to pro lems concerning the nature and form of the di tributions of the phenomena under discussio

Perhaps, though, we expect too much at tl stage. General works need not be about theo in the strict sense in order to be valuable. I teresting suggestions and general orientatio are important as well, and taxonomy is oft an essential precursor to theorizing. This bo draws attention in these terms to an extreme important area of investigation and, for tl reason, ought to be read, even by those wl usually avoid works of this kind. But we mu recognize that categories are not variables, th isolated illustrations are not empirical data, a that taxonomy is not theory.

STANLEY H. UDY, J

Yale University

The Politics of the Developing Areas. Edit by GABRIEL ALMOND and JAMES S. COL MAN. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Universi Press, 1960. Pp. xii+591. $10.00.

This book is a major effort "to construct theoretical framework that makes possible, f the first time, a comparative method of anal sis for political systems of all kinds." It seeks unify the diverse innovations of the behavio approach to politics in an explicit conceptu system, and then to apply the system in t world's major "developing areas." The auth clearly wish to define and exemplify the n political science: "We are not setting asi public law and philosophy as disciplines, b simply telling them to move over to make roo for a growth in political theory that has be long overdue."

Their theoretical perspective, presented l Gabriel Almond, bids farewell to the tradition conceptual scheme of political science, whi has outgrown its usefulness as far as weste European politics are concerned. The old rubri

of legal and institutional vocabulary have provided no help at all for comparison of political systems differing radically in scale and structure; an alternative presents itself in sociological and anthropological theory. The new vocabulary replaces "state, powers, offices, institutions, public opinion, citizenship training," respectively, with the terms political system, functions, roles, structures, political culture, political socialization. Their central tendency is to view political behavior as a functional system of interactions, and their common intent is the gradual achievement of a probabilistic theory of politics.

Politics as a behavioral system is represented by seven "functions" which are performed, in different and multifunctional ways, by every political structure. The four "input functions" include socialization and recruitment, interest articulation, interest aggregation, and communication; the three "output functions" include rule-making, rule application, and rule adjudication. Each of these "functions" is explained, and their variety of performance is illustrated with reference to differing political "structures" and "styles." Almond concludes with an interesting piece of advocacy for a probabilistic theory of the polity. He suggests that many propositions current in political science "may be coded into statements of probability of performance of functions by structures." He argues that the statistical mode of thinking through problems—identifying the universe, defining the sample, constructing the index, ordering the data, analyzing the aggregates—may eventuate in greater precision, not necessarily quantitative.

Such a brief summary, by a reviewer allergic to terminological wrangling under the guise of theory, may make Almond's exposition sound like tiresome taxonomy. It is, happily, an informed and reflective essay written in spirited style. So are the chapters on the developing areas, which comprise the bulk of the book. The Table of Contents announces each chapter in a monotonous format of five sections: "Background," "Process of Change," "Political Groups and Political Functions," "Governmental Structures and Authoritative Functions," and "Political Integration." This ominously ritual program is, however, again happily belied by the performance. The writers are alert and sophisticated analysts who do not need their systematics as crutches but use them to move more expeditiously toward a common goal.

Thus Lucian Pye, with his usual flair, sounds the theme of his chapter in his first sentence: "There is a quality of newness about Southeast Asia." Myron Wiener incorporates the magistral *Wasserkunst* hypothesis into one sentence on South Asia: "Large areas are unsuitable for cultivation and irregular water supply in other areas makes production irregular." And Dankwart Rustow says of the Middle East: "Where rising elements of a modernized middle class feel thwarted in their aspirations by a government which they consider excessively traditional, a potentially revolutionary situation arises." George Blanksten puts the case for political anthropology in a single vivid sentence: "It is possible to write an essay on the politics of the United States without mentioning the American Indian; a similar feat cannot be performed in Latin America." James Coleman, who also contributes a substantial chapter on sub-Saharan Africa, does yeoman service for us all by aligning the regularities and noting the deviations that appear in these excellent comparative studies.

This book is certain to enter the literature of comparative studies and is likely to reorient much of political science in the direction of comparative politics. The book demonstrates that committee thinking can be intellectually productive, that rational teamwork does not necessarily inhibit individual imagination (but only puts it to a test), that discernible regularities underlie disparate particularities of political behavior, and that the modernization process can best be clarified by comparative empirical studies. Sociologists are likely to find here the most important advance by the new generation of political scientists in the direction of a systematic sociology of politics.

DANIEL LERNER

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Social Bandits and Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. By E. J. HOBSBAWM. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. Pp. vii+208. $5.00.

In the Preface to his book Professor Hobsbawm states:

> I am quite aware of the shortcomings of this essay as a piece of historical scholarship. None of the chapters are exhaustive or definitive. Though I

have done a little work on primary sources and a little field work, both are certainly inadequate, and any specialist will be as keenly aware as I am that no attempt has been made even to exhaust the secondary sources.

This, elicited from the author himself, aptly characterizes the most obvious weakness of the book.

Hobsbawm proceeds to describe, in an interesting and lucid style, five types of what he calls "primitive" or "archaic" forms of social agitation. The five movements are similar in that they are all located in western Europe and are relatively simple in their organizational and ideological development. Two of them, social banditry (a primarily rural phenomenon, exemplified perhaps most ideally by the legends of Robin Hood) and the mobs that were common to the large cities, usually the capitals, of western Europe in the nineteenth century (and which the author regards as the urban equivalent of social banditry), are probably not adaptable to development into modern social movements.

The other three movements, Mafias, labor sects, and millenniary movements, differ from the first two in that they each have their counterparts in complex modern social movements, some of which have been institutionalized. The Mafias, the general Sicilian name for rural secret societies connected by separate gangs, have an organization whose authority stretches over several continents and whose control of the underworld is well respected. Similarly, the labor sects—some of which developed from the preindustrial urban mobs of wage-earners and small property-owners and some, particularly in Britain, from the non-conformist Protestant sects—have emerged as the modern trade-union movement.

The millenniary movements differed from the others (social banditry, Mafias, and mobs, though perhaps not the labor sects) in that they were revolutionary in their original demands. The distinction that Hobsbawm makes is that a revolutionary movement insists upon a fundamental transformation or replacement of the institution or society, in contrast to a reform movement, which accepts the general framework of an institution or society but considers it capable of improvement or, where abuses have crept in, of reform. Each of the millenniary movements discussed by Hobsbawm was captured by representatives of modern political ideologies—in, for instance, Spanish anarchism, Sicilian fascism, and peasant communism. As they emerge into essentially political movements, their traditional vagueness as to how the new society will be brought about and their essentially chiliastic orientation are replaced by a program of practical revolutionary action and a secular theory of history. Only the first of the traditional characteristics, a rejection of the present world, combined with an intense longing for another, better one, is retained.

Within each chapter devoted to a particular form of social agitation, the historical context out of which the movement arose, the particular socioeconomic crises, and the general social setting are described with considerable detail and concreteness. By and large, greater emphasis is placed on a longitudinal analysis of the changing nature of the movements as they respond to stimuli from the external environment than on presentation of a detailed cross-sectional analysis of a movement at any given period. Thus, for the student of social movements looking for materials on the patterns of recruitment into a movement, on the delegation of authority and the patterns of leadership, on the mechanisms employed by the larger society for protecting itself against the types of agitation engaged in by the movement, and on the interaction between the public definition of the movement and the movement's own conception of itself, the author has relatively little to say. On questions concerning the ideology of the movement, the setting out of which it arose, the symbolism employed, and the changes in organization and ideology through time: if on these matters it is not definitive, the book is certainly suggestive.

RITA JAMES

University of Chicago

Politische Soziologie. By GOTTFRIED SALOMON-DELATOUR. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1959. Pp. x+261. DM. 26.

In the Introduction of this book the author states that political phenomena cannot be understood without underlying theological, mythological, and ideological assumptions. Accordingly, while the first half of the work covers such topics as forms of government, state territories, constitutions, and political parties, the second deals with "theology, mythology, and ideology of the state." A fifty-page survey of modern imperialism is attached.

There is no doubt that the author possesses

a competent knowledge of ideas and important historical events of the Western world. As a matter of fact, he displays it like fireworks. But what kind of generalizations can be derived from frequent illustrations, particular events, and particular authors? The brilliant essay-like statement, if not accompanied by rigorous theoretical models or specific theoretical propositions, leaves the reader impressed but not satisfied.

Perhaps a more interesting contribution made by the author is his frequent disclosure of his own Weltanschauung. He joins the ranks of so-called aristocratic critics of the modern mass democracy. Thus we read: "Democracy is the modern absolute State, absolute power based upon the power of all under the ideology —myth of freedom and equality" (p. 34). In the tradition of European critics, Dr. Salomon-Delatour asserts that the debasement of the mind (*Geist*), its "functionalization" and subordination to the dominant category of politics, accounts for the present crisis. Though limits of the Hegelian scheme are acknowledged, the author seems to have been influenced by it.

On the last seven pages the author elaborates on "politics as science." There is, however, no reference to sociology as such and to the relation of political sociology to other sociological fields. More accurately, the title of the book should have been "Historical Political Sociology." No reference is made to contemporary voting, decision-making, or studies of political movements. The Index discloses that the most recent author quoted is Michels, referred to on one page; the most frequent references are to Aristotle, Burke, Hegel, Hobbes, Marx, Montesquieu, Proudhon, Rousseau, and Tocqueville.

Several names are misspelled: S. Sighelle, J. M. Hoene-Wronski, T. Kosciuszko, and J. Slowacki.

Jiri Kolaja

University of Kentucky

Communism and British Intellectuals. By Neal Wood. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959. Pp. 256. $4.00.

This thoughtful study is of great interest to the student of social movements; it is also a contribution to the much-neglected field of the sociology of the intellectual. Neal Wood's survey falls into three parts: a history of the involvement of British radical intellectuals, these 'mild mannered desperadoes,' with the British Communist party; an evocation of the climate of ideas among Communist intellectuals; and a study of the dialectics of the relations between the men of power in the Communist apparatus and the Communist men of intellect.

Wood's findings as to the social origin and education of the British Communist intellectuals are of special interest, especially since there are important differences between them and the Americans. The intellectuals of the twenties came mainly from middle-class families, and about two-thirds of them went to Oxford and Cambridge. The more numerous Communist intellectuals of the thirties came mainly from professional families, several from that old intellectual aristocracy of, most often, non-conformist families such as the Macaulays, the Wedgwoods, the Peases, the Stracheys, and the Haldanes, which have left a deep mark on British intellectual life since the nineteenth century. Far from being outsiders, they had been born into the intellectual Establishment. Just as eighteenth-century French Jesuits educated future Jacobins, so twentieth-century Eton educated the greatest number of future radicals. A majority attended Oxford and Cambridge. Trinity College, Cambridge, was the principal nursery of Communist intellectuals. The toleration of the radicalism of many young intellectuals in the thirties and early forties may have resulted, the author suggests, "from their belonging to respected middle-class families, so often bound together not only by ties of blood and marriage, but also by those of school, university, and club." "When England 'goes Communist,'" wrote a contemporary observer, "as usual, half the government will be Old Etonians."

While Wood's description of the literary intellectuals and their attempted escape from the wasteland does not add much to previous knowledge, his chapter on the "utopians of science" provides a fascinating analysis of the strange amalgam of Baconian, Saint-Simonian, Marxist, and Benthamite ideas which led many eminent scientists of the thirties to advocate the scientific manipulation of society on the basis of a "rational calculus of human feelings" or of a "geometry of history." When they insisted upon the planning of science, they dreamed of becoming scientist-kings bearing rule in the City.

There are a few small factual inaccuracies

in the book; for example, Max Hoelz, the German Communist leader, was hardly an intellectual. Such minor defects weigh but lightly if considered against the book's very solid merits.

LEWIS A. COSER

Brandeis University

The End of Ideology. By DANIEL BELL. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. Pp. 416. $7.50.

This *olla podrida* of essays written over the last ten years and originally published in such magazines as *Commentary, Antioch Review*, and *Encounter* makes a distinguished contribution to sociological inquiry. I have had many occasions to disagree with Daniel Bell, and I expect to have others in the future; it gives me all the greater pleasure to pay tribute here to the exceptional merits of his work. Whether he writes on "Crime as an American Way of Life," on "A Theory of American Trade Unionism," or on "The Prospects of American Capitalism," Bell's writing always exhibits the play of an alert and informed intelligence, a capacity to respond imaginatively to the challenge of novel facts. He registers shifts in intellectual atmosphere and social structure with the sensitivity of a well-constructed seismograph.

Bell seems to have the capacity to move without effort from a skilled dissection of the emotive rhetoric which informs much of C. Wright Mills's writing to a discussion of mass society, from an informed discussion of the concept of alienation in the work of Marx and the Marxists to a first-rate sociological investigation of the causes of racketeering among longshoremen. Whatever his topic, he always exhibits that combination of first-rate social reporting and social analysis which has become so rare among sociologists of the present generation.

Ralf Dahrendorf recently complained that "many sociologists have lost the simple impulse of curiosity, the desire to solve riddles of experience, the concern with problems." This volume testifies to the fact that such concerns are by no means dead among sociologists. To the extent that our science matures, it is inevitable that barriers of communication between areas of specialization become more difficult to cross. It is all the more important, then, that there be writers able to transcend specialization; and it is even more important that they do so through attention to significant detail rather than on the level of abstract rhetoric. Bell has that ability.

But Bell has the vices of his virtues. His sensitivity to novel trends all but too often leads him to a kind of principled *neomania*, that is, to the assumption that the new, simply because it is new, has a kind of superior virtue. This makes for the breathless intensity with which Bell is continuously engaged in burying what he considers dead ideas and obsolete ideologies. And it accounts for his nervous search for the latest and most up-to-date intellectual position. This leads him to ready acquiescence in the currently fashionable weariness with matters ideological. He assumes that the current decay of ideological thought in the West, the retreat from political ideals which point beyond immediate, pragmatic adjustment, is a permanent condition and a desirable one. But one may wonder whether such a retreat at a moment of global confrontation with Communist ideologies is not in some parts at least a sign of sickness rather than of health. It is somewhat rash to believe that a disenchanted society concerned only with the practical problems of the immediate here and now is the prototype of the good society. The relinquishing of utopia (i.e., the giving-up of the tension between the real and the ideal) emasculates human thought; and that is why the fashioning of counter-images which transcend present reality still remains among the most vital tasks of intellectuals. Max Weber, himself sufficiently free of illusions, anticipated the necessary rejoinder to Bell's concentration on the art of the possible when he wrote: "Certainly all political experience confirms the truth—that man would not have attained the possible unless time and again he reached out for the impossible." Bell's powerful discussion of the costs of mechanical efficiency in modern industry and of "cow sociology's" aim to "adjust men to machines" is given bite by a sharply critical stance which is informed by a "utopian" vision of what a human work situation could be like. Would that he had given such utopian yearnings a freer range in other portions of his book.

LEWIS A. COSER

Brandeis University

Attitudes towards Foreign Affairs as a Function of Personality. By BJØRN CHRISTIANSEN. Oslo: Oslo University Press, 1959. Pp. 283. 15 kroner.

One of the able young social scientists of the Institute for Social Research in Oslo here presents a systematic exploration of the relationship between personality factors and attitudes toward international affairs. The book is in two parts: the first is a thorough review of the literature and discussion of hypotheses (the Bibliography comprises 156 references from five nations); the second, a description of certain empirical investigations carried out by Christiansen and his colleagues to test these hypotheses. Both sections reveal a high order of research skill and workmanship.

Some seven major hypotheses are put to test, and a variety of attitude scales, questionnaires, projective devices, and sociometric tests were invented or adapted for the purpose, the methodology being carefully described throughout. The author's thorough testing of his instruments enables him to determine, in one instance, that a particular projective device is tapping only the manifest level of reaction and to replace it with a more effective one. The sample is a small and socially homogeneous group: approximately two hundred young men who have completed secondary school and sought military training. The effects of social and demographic variables are thus fairly well controlled, though at the cost of the sample's representativeness. Christiansen, however, is careful not to generalize from his results. Rather, he adopts the conservative position that negative findings from this group do not particularly weaken the hypothesis, while positive findings show its tenability at least in this case.

The empirical results indicate that destructive attitudes toward foreign affairs are positively associated with nationalism, psychodynamic conflicts, and aggressive everyday reaction tendencies and negatively correlated with tendencies toward taking responsibility one's self for solving everyday conflicts. No significant correlations are found with personal insecurity or knowledge of foreign affairs. Though the author has chosen to study attitudes as a function of personality structure, he concludes Part I of the book with an "interaction hypothesis" which takes into account both personality factors and group norms, and he concludes Part II with an eloquent plea for further research which will give rise to an inclusive theory concerning the processes of such interaction.

His report provides a solid basis for future efforts, and one can hope that it will stimulate renewed interest in a research area of enormous challenge and significance.

PAUL B. SHEATSLEY

National Opinion Research Center

Last Man In: Racial Access to Union Power. By SCOTT GREER. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959. Pp. 189. $4.00.

This is sociology with both substance and theoretical relevance—the substance: detailed description of ethnic opportunities in the local unions and work places of Los Angeles County; the relevance: comparative data on power structures and problems of leadership as they constrain the impact of ideology on the "race issue."

To discover the number and location of ethnic members, Professor Greer conducted a survey of twenty-eight international unions whose membership in 1950 had substantial numbers from minorities in the county (range 1–70 per cent) and which did not officially exclude minorities. He then studied intensively twenty-one locals covering about one-eighth of the union members in the county. Two-thirds of these locals have a combined Negro-Mexican membership of 45 per cent or more. The data are rich, clearly presented, and carefully analyzed. Quotations from intensive interviews and case histories enliven statistical reports on the distribution of minority opportunities.

Greer offers realistic typologies of leadership ("international dominated," "captive of allies," "membership-dominated") and of local unions ("craft type," "hall-oriented," "plant-oriented"). These categories prove useful in explaining where and how the race issue arises and who gets what jobs. For instance, minorities are underrepresented among leaders of craft locals (e.g., cooks) and hall-oriented locals (e.g., lumber and sawmill workers) and overrepresented in plant locals (e.g., textile workers). Differences are sharp and hold for every level of skill. Captive locals, a small portion of all locals, have 43 per cent of all members from ethnic groups. While their leaders are liberal, their

ability to change the ethnic status quo is severely limited by low strike power and dependence on allied (often exclusionist) unions for secondary pressures against management and rivals.

Putting the typologies together, Greer traces the course of the race issue. In international-dominated *craft* locals, which have only 5 per cent of the ethnic union members, the issue does not arise. In membership-dominated, *hall*-oriented locals, which embrace many scattered work groups, the white leaders either use race by manipulating an ethnic faction or ignore it. In membership-dominated, *plant*-oriented locals, race is a hot issue, and where minorities vote as a bloc they usually achieve overrepresentation in leadership, but not always: "When the membership is represented in the seat of power, the racist members may also be heard."

While union control structure affects ethnic fate, it comes into play only after minorities achieve something like job parity in an industry. Greer describes the process of ethnic integration: (1) job opportunities expand beyond the supply of preferred non-ethnics; (2) ethnics are recruited into lower levels in new or marginal establishments where, if union-management barriers hold, they are segregated as a small minority (e.g., Negroes in steel and furniture); (3) if a severe labor shortage continues, management resistance weakens, and ethnics will increase in number until they have to be upgraded (not enough poor jobs); and (4) in twenty years or so they achieve job parity and, if union structure permits, union power (e.g., packing-house workers).

Race aside, the study provides an excellent analysis of membership participation—the conditions necessary to the development of an "organizational middle class" (little leaders mediating between mass and elite), the functions of various types of meetings, the rank order of pressures on leaders in various union types, and more.

The author makes a case for the state of the labor market and the ethnic composition and control structure of the local (seemingly in that order) as the crucial determinants of ethnic status in union and work place, and he argues that ideology and values do not count: "The 'practical situation' of the leader and his local will always take precedence over his ideology" (p. 15). The picture is not pretty: accommodative Mexican and Negro leaders bargain for small advantage but keep hands off where the issue threatens union power; intellectuals in staff and line remain quiet and cautious, applying a little verbal medicine but no real cure for the disease, or they are tagged as troublemakers and eliminated; leaders of all persuasions make deals with the powerful Teamsters Union or with exclusionist craft unions. Greer piles up examples in which liberals and race leaders turn out to be captives of organizational commitments and problems.

The case is strong but not wholly convincing. To demonstrate that organizational commitments limit the play of equalitarian ideology is not to prove the latter irrelevant. Thus in five locals Negro overattendance at membership meetings is traced to left-wing or race leadership (p. 49). In locals organizing small, fluid work groups (e.g., building trades), attitudes of individual office-holders are said to affect hiring (p. 100). Greer's report of an ethnic uprising ending in Negro and Mexican domination of a captive craft local—a revolt led by a white man "of unusual sensitivity and intelligence"—again casts doubt on the central theme. Story after story is told of important changes in hiring and work assignments brought about by leaders who linked courage and persuasion to equalitarian ideology (e.g., pp. 139–43).

In short, the analysis is heavy on structural limits and light on the variations in ideology which motivate action within the limits. As a result, several tantalizing cases are left hanging: Why do minorities get a break in highly skilled work in the oil workers' jurisdiction? Why are the retail clerks membership-dominated? Above all—and this is a product both of the sample (local unions) and of the assumption that ideology counts for little—how can we explain vast nation-wide differences between unions in auto and steel? Both are multi-industrial and mainly plant-oriented in structure; only the auto workers carry out a vigorous antidiscrimination program. The author does not fully exploit deviant cases in either his own data or existing literature to specify the conditions under which ideology may be crucial. True, ideology is itself anchored in still other structural facts; the recruitment base of many CIO unions in the thirties perhaps cast the die for ethnic policy and practice for two decades, and, as Greer acknowledges, the ideology of those early missionaries could be a determinant of the very structures that now foster integration. This is an elusive problem, best tackled by assuming not the predominance of either factor but rather

the interplay of both.

It is Greer's full reporting of an unusual body of data that makes these complaints possible. The book takes its place among a small but growing group of unpretentious studies which compare attributes of structure (size, turnover, channels of representation), persons (ethnicity, skill) and given outcomes (participation, integration) among many organizational units. Any practitioner or theoretician who wants to grasp the political and economic determinants of race relations, any sociologist who seeks to understand the politics of the self-governing private association should ponder *Last Man In*.

HAROLD L. WILENSKY

University of Michigan

The Forest Ranger: A Study in Administrative Behavior. By HERBERT KAUFMAN. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1960. Pp. xviii+259. $5.00.

Organizational studies usually tend to accept either the official actions of members or their informal behavior as decisive. Herbert Kaufman relies mainly upon manifest and official acts in explaining how the United States Forest Service has maintained unity and exacted conformity among its dispersed rangers.

The argument commences with the assertion that the Forest Service "has enjoyed a substantial degree of success in producing field behavior consistent with headquarters directives and suggestions." The quest for explanation of this accomplishment carries the reader through three analyses: tendencies toward fragmentation, techniques of integration, and attainments and dilemmas. This sequence is more than an effective way to organize materials. The point and counterpoint of fragmentation and integration give the book its pervasive theme.

Persistent forces divert the rangers' attention from larger goals: isolation, a unique geographical domain, the need to secure co-operation from local citizens without being captured by special interests, and an official attitude that the Ranger's authority is a decentralized one, with other conditions, promote "the impulse toward disintegration."

The Forest Service counterpoises this impulse with numerous procedures. Preformed decisions (a serviceable term which might be translated sociologically as "official constraints"), reports, diaries, inspections, rotated assignments, and performance ratings provide the information and the leverage which the headquarters requires to apprehend deviation and to do something about it.

The argument, carefully wrought and skillfully written as it is, rests finally upon the data collected and the interpretations made of them. Kaufman immersed himself in the Forest Service for a period, visiting the Washington headquarters, spending a week or more with rangers in five districts, interviewing assistants and supervisors, and examining files and records. The author is properly tentative about these procedures. He warns the reader at the beginning that "a great many of the findings remained highly impressionistic." Thus the work as a whole is characterized here as an argument rather than a report of empirical findings.

In the end, Kaufman suggests that the visible controls are probably sufficient but may not be necessary to induce unity and conformity among Rangers. These controls are superimposed upon a process of socialization (Kaufman, a political scientist, does not use the word, but he is clear about its meaning) which constrains the ranger "to do as a matter of personal preference the things that happen to be required." Recruitment, training, and an almost Marine-like identification with the Forest Service produce rangers who want to conform in spite of distraction. This is no slavish obeisance to a stronger will; the strong will, Kaufman believes, resides in the ranger. In keeping with his theme, he leaves the reader to ponder that most elusive sociological paradox: Why it is that men find their independence when they take as their own the goals and values of those upon whom they are manifestly dependent.

ROBERT W. AVERY

University of Pittsburgh

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URBAN RACIAL VIOLENCE IN THE UNITED STATES CHANGING ECOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS[1]

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ABSTRACT

During the period of "classic" race-rioting in the United States, the character of violence reflected the social and demographic characteristics of individuals who inhabited specific locales in the city. In overt radical conflict in the post–World War II period, a new pattern has developed: participants with varying social and demographic attributes have been drawn to specific focal points where they give expression to a new militancy. This changed pattern reflects three more basic changes: in the mode and pattern of the assault upon the accommodative structure, in the orientation and activity of organized police forces, and in the nature of the accommodative structure itself.

Urban racial social violence has occurred in every geographic region of the United States.[2] It has not occurred in every city in every area. Certain similarities in its background and social context are found in the cities which have had major race riots.[3] East St. Louis, Washington, Chicago, Tulsa, and Detroit all had sharp increases in Negro population in the years immediately prior to major interracial disturbances, and there were accompanying strains in the accommodative structure, generated in part by the Negroes' assaults on it and in part by the sheer pressure of population on facilities.

Accounts of urban race riots which are in sharp disagreement on other details consistently converge in descriptions of their ecology.[4] Ecological patterns are found in reports of individual incidents which did not lead to riots.

[1] Based in part on my unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. "A Study in Social Violence: Urban Race Riots in the United States" (University of Pennsylvania, 1959). Indebtedness to the George L. Harrison Foundation, the Samuel S. Fels Fund, and the Albert M. Greenfield Center for Human Relations for financial assistance is gratefully acknowledged.

[2] Social violence is defined as assault upon individuals or their property solely, or primarily, because of their membership in a social (in this case, racial) category.

[3] The question of why some cities have had riots and others not cannot be fully answered until data have been collected on four types of urban areas: those characterized by combinations of high or low social tensions with weak or strong external forces of constraint. It will then be possible to isolate peculiarities of cities that have had riots. There has been no agreement as to what is decisive in causing outbreaks of violence.

[4] Other consistent patterns in major urban racial disturbances can be isolated. In view of the acknowledged defects in the materials and their frequently partisan nature, however, considerable caution is necessary in drawing conclusions about "patterns" (cf., e.g., the conclusions on the Detroit riot [1943] of the "Dowling Report" [H. J. Rushton, W. E. Dowling, Oscar Olander, and J. H. Witherspoon, *Committee To Investigate the Riot Occurring in Detroit on June 21, 1943: Factual Report* (Detroit, n.d.)] and of various "action" agencies, such as the Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People).

Without doing too great an injustice to the data, it is possible to specify roughly four patterns of urban racial violence:

1. Spontaneous brawls over an immediate disturbance, among bystanders.
2. The "mass, unco-ordinated battle" occurring when groups of one race attack usually isolated members of the other. Mobs of one race seldom engage mobs of the other race in open battle.
3. The "urban pogrom," which is the full-scale assault of one group, almost always white, upon Negroes and which has occurred particularly where whites have assumed the tacit approval of government. These "pogroms" have resulted in the flight of large numbers of the minority community.
4. Stray assaults and stabbings on the part of individuals or small groups of one race upon individuals of the other.[5]

Three varieties of expression of social violence may be distinguished: physical assault, including lynching and other homicide; arson, bombing, and like forms of attack upon property; and looting. These occur with differential frequency and intensity in the four patterns of urban racial violence noted above and in the following types of ecological areas: (*a*) Negro residential areas with no, or a minimal number of, business establishments (usually the upper or middle strata of the Negro population); (*b*) white middle-class residential areas; (*c*) Negro residential areas of high density, serviced largely by white businesses; (*d*) "stable" mixed neighborhoods; (*e*) neighborhoods previously dominated by whites, now undergoing a transition in occupancy;[6] (*f*) white-dominated areas not contested by Negroes; and (*g*) white-dominated central business districts.[7]

[5] These four categories are a paraphrase and condensation of a typology of social violence developed by Richard D. Lambert in his study, "Hindu-Muslim Riots" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1951), pp. 217–21. Marked parallels and some significant differences emerge from comparison of Hindu-Muslim and Negro-white violence.

[6] Called "contested areas" in Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *The Negro in Chicago* (Chicago, 1919).

The importance of other sites within a city, such as recreational areas and, more recently, lunch counters or schools, is determined partly by their location relative to the seven types of ecological areas and partly by the local potential for violence.[8] In major riots occurring before and up to the end of World War II, two other types of locations were of particular importance in the ecology of major disturbances: public transportation facilities, particularly transfer points, and government buildings. Finally, either natural or man-made boundaries (e.g., bodies of water or large parks and large industrial complexes or railroad yards) have confined or determined the path of violence.

Three questions receive attention in this paper. First, are the patterns of urban racial violence (brawls, etc.) and particular expressions (physical assaults, etc.) differently manifested in different types of ecological areas? Attention will be directed here primarily to major urban race riots up to and including the Detroit riot of 1943. Second, have changes in urban racial violence occurred since 1943? Focus here will be on the changing role of the police and of the nature of disputes. Finally, is it possible to forecast the future of racial social violence?

ECOLOGICAL CONSISTENCIES IN URBAN RACIAL VIOLENCE THROUGH THE WORLD WAR II PERIOD

During the first forty-five years of the twentieth century the United States experi-

[7] Obviously these ecological areas do not *cause* variant manifestations of social violence. It would be more precise to say that patterns of social organization or disorganization which are local characteristics are more likely to be associated with some outbreaks of violence than with others. For heuristic purposes, however, it is convenient to bypass the well-documented social characteristics of the areas and speak of the areas themselves as experiencing the varying manifestations.

[8] While two the bloodiest riots of this century, Chicago's in 1919 and Detroit's in 1943, started in recreational facilities, combat quickly moved away from the site of the original incident and thereafter conformed to the ecological patterns described below.

enced a large number of major interracial outbreaks and, particularly in the years following World War I, a host of lesser disturbances.[9] Excepting certain differences between "northern" and "southern" styles of race riots,[10] they show a remarkable degree of ecological consistency.

A. NEGRO RESIDENTIAL AREAS WITH NO, OR A MINIMAL NUMBER OF, BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS

Where they have existed, these Negro residential areas contain populations which, in income, in years of education completed, and in occupational status, are above the norms for the larger Negro population. These neighborhoods had few incidents. The absence of non-residential property meant an absence of opportunity for looting. Lower population density and less likelihood of large gatherings made rioting on a large scale unlikely. It is also possible, although no evidence can be found to support the claim, that the higher social and economic status of the residents enabled them to enjoy better police protection than was provided in other Negro areas.

Two varieties of racial violence might be expected to occur in these neighborhoods: arson and bombing and related forms of assault on property, and attacks on persons. In Chicago, where bombings and arson were used to intimidate real-estate dealers of both races from selling properties in "exclusive" areas, trouble might have been anticipated where middle-class Negroes were concentrated; however, there is no evidence that these neighborhoods were singled out or that they suffered from "raids" directed randomly by white hoodlums either during the major riot or in times of relative peace. It can only be concluded that insufficient evidence documents the local violence; there may have been incidents, but too few to attract the attention of authorities, or the characteristics of the neighborhoods and residents may have reduced the likelihood of incidents. In the absence of adequate documentation it seems reasonable to accept the second interpretation.

B. WHITE HIGHER-CLASS RESIDENTIAL NEIGHBORHOODS

The experience of white residential neighborhoods, particularly those more distant from central business districts with residents of relatively high socioeconomic characteristics, was similar to that of Negro residential neighborhoods. The more isolated they were from centers in which violence occurred, the more likely they were to escape trouble, except during major outbursts of race rioting.

The single pattern of racial violence reported for such neighborhoods reflected the higher social and economic status of their white residents, many of whom employed Negro domestics.[11] During the course of several major riots such domestics were attacked by white gangs, frequently while waiting for buses or streetcars. Large mobs seldom gathered in such neighborhoods, removed as they were from the areas where rioting was concentrated, but youths frequently prowled in automobiles in search of stray Negroes,[12] and many frightened white

[9] Details of many of these disorders can be found in Grimshaw, *op. cit.* A typology of periods of racial violence in the United States is suggested in my article, "Lawlessness and Violence in America and Their Special Manifestations in Changing Negro-White Relationships," *Journal of Negro History*, XLIV, No. 1 (January, 1959), 52–72.

[10] Grimshaw, "Lawlessness and Violence . . . ," *op. cit.*, p. 65; "A Study in Social Violence . . . ," *op. cit.*, pp. 36–37, 178.

[11] With recent changes in the American social and economic structure, there have been fewer domestics. During the waves of riots during the two world wars, however, domestic service accounted for a large proportion of all Negroes who worked, particularly of Negro women.

[12] It would be interesting to see how the wider distribution of automobile ownership has spread racial disturbances to areas more remote from city centers. With television carrying news of incipient disturbances (see, e.g., William Gremley, "Social Control in Cicero," *British Journal of Sociology*, III [1952] 322–38) and cars available to carry people to the scene (as in the case of a Negro "move-in" in Levittown, Pennsylvania), the time may be ripe for an examination of "modern tech-

employers kept their domestics at home until violence came to an end.

C. NEGRO SLUMS

Violence in time of major race riots has been concentrated in Negro slums, which in many cities were served largely by white businesses. Casualties and fatalities occurred most often in slums or along their fringes,[13] and destruction of property, particularly looting, was greatest there. Three subvarieties of social racial violence have occurred in Negro slums.

In a number of race riots of the "southern" style, attaining the intensity of urban "pogroms" or of mass racial war, Negro slums were completely or partially destroyed. In the Springfield, Illinois, riot of 1908, forty Negro homes were destroyed and an estimated two thousand Negroes were driven from the town by rioting whites. In the riot in East St. Louis in 1917, the Negro section was invaded, Negro residences and businesses were set on fire, and Negroes were shot down in large numbers as they attempted to flee from the burning buildings. In these, and in equally bitter disorders in Tulsa in 1921, violence was confined to Negro areas and their boundaries; however, in each case, fighting began in the central business district. Negroes then retreated to their own sections, and attacks were launched against them there by large white mobs. In Springfield there was little fighting back; in Tulsa, on the other hand, the white attackers were resisted in strength and, for a time, repulsed. In these cases, and in similar "southern" riots, all three varieties of violence occurred, although looting was minimal and was often only in the form of breaking into pawnshops and hardware stores in search of weapons and ammunition. Casualties were heavy and fatalities high, Negro victims accounting for the largest share. Arson was endemic; in Tulsa and East St. Louis the Negro sections were almost totally destroyed.

No northern city experienced racial strife in which "all-out" attacks such as these were made on Negro sections.[14] The two Harlem disturbances of 1935 and 1943 were completely limited to the Negro slum; on other occasions riots in Negro sections occurred in conjunction with more widespread violence.

The Harlem disturbances differed from other riots because of the sheer size of the local Negro population. A major invasion was inconceiveable without a fairly well-equipped army, and only police forces were equipped in a manner in any way adequate to cope with the 1943 disorders. On the other hand, whites in the area were relatively few and, when outbreaks occurred, were either able to flee or to find Negroes willing to give them shelter. There were few occasions for Negro-white contacts, and physical clashes were usually between the resident population and the police. Most of the violence was in the form of looting of stores and general destruction of property. While some evidence suggests white property was singled out for attack, enough Negro establishments were attacked to leave open the question whether the violence was racial.

In other northern urban race riots Negroes have suffered physical violence as well as being the victims of property damage and looting. Physical assault may be by Negroes on whites passing through their neighborhoods in automobiles, on public vehicles, or on foot, or on whites who found themselves in the area when major rioting began; or there may be conflict between Negroes and the police, the Negroes frequently being armed and, according to the police, initiating violence by assault or by resisting arrest; or, finally, there may be conflict following the invasion of Negro neighborhoods by bands of armed whites, most frequently

nology and the diffusion of racial disturbances." While it is too early to tell, it seems likely that the spread of the current "lunch-counter" strikes is related to the wide coverage of news by television.

[13] The Chicago riot of 1919 was an exception.

[14] Alfred McClung Lee and Norman Daymond Humphrey assert that one was narrowly averted in Detroit in 1943 (*Race Riot* [New York: Dryden Press, 1943], pp. 39–40).

making forays by automobile. In both the Chicago riot of 1919 and the Detroit riot of 1943, the Negro slum or the immediately contiguous areas experienced the greatest number of casualties. Over half the fatalities in the Detroit riot occurred in Paradise Valley. According to the reports filed by the police department, seventeen of thirty-four deaths in the riot were caused by justifiable shooting by the police.[15]

With two exceptions, physical violence in these areas was usually visited by mobs of one race upon isolated members of the other. One exception involves large numbers of police engaged in battle with mobs of Negroes: in both the Chicago and the Detroit riots they waged pitched battles. The other exception has occurred when large numbers of Negroes have caught and engaged raiding parties of whites invading Negro sections. A more frequent occurrence than either of these, however, was that in which white motorists passing through Negro areas, in some cases unaware of the rioting, were stoned by Negroes or in which whites were pulled from buses and beaten or otherwise assaulted.

Assaults on property have taken three forms. In the Chicago riot, arson was fairly common in the Negro section, allegedly committed by members of white gangs and "athletic clubs." Arson and bombings were not frequent in other major northern riots; more frequent was the looting of places of business by Negroes who engaged in general destruction of property of whites. Destruction of automobiles was incidental to assaults on white motorists.

D. "STABLE" MIXED NEIGHBORHOODS

The term "stable mixed neighborhood" has, conveniently, no precise meaning. In discussions of race riots the term has come to mean, residually, neighborhoods in which no social violence occurred. The implied meaning, however, seems to be that neighborhoods so labeled are characterized by unchanging patterns of occupancy, whatever the proportion of whites to Negroes. If this is the case, there is indirect confirmation that violence is less likely there. Studies like that of Kramer have demonstrated that more favorable interracial attitudes are to be found in such neighborhoods.[16]

Direct evidence is more problematical. Lee and Humphrey state that students reported that there was no violence in mixed neighborhoods during the Detroit riot.[17] The characteristics of these neighborhoods were not specifiied, either in their volume or in other writings on the Detroit riot where similar statements were made. On the other hand, in the Chicago riot of 1919 violence directed against Negroes occurred even in areas of long-established Negro occupancy, while other "adjusted" areas remained quiet.[18] If there were any residential areas in northern cities where Negroes and whites had lived amicably for long periods, they were probably few and far between, and any assertions about a lack of violence there should be looked upon with caution.[19] Areas where patterns of occupancy remained relatively unchanged over long periods of time, where friendly or, at the least, cordial relations prevailed between the two races, probably had the same experience during race riots as did the Negro residential and white middle-class neighborhoods: violence, such as it was, resulted from invasions from outside, not from the explosion of local social tensions. As in the case of Negro and white middle-class residential areas, however, there is insufficient data to state positively that "stable" neighborhoods were

[15] H. J. Rushton *et al., op. cit.,* Exhibits 18, 19. Considerable caution is needed in interpreting the findings of this report.

[16] Bernard M. Kramer, "Residential Contact as a Determinant of Attitudes toward Negroes" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertion, Harvard University, 1950).

[17] *Op. cit.,* p. 17. They claimed that violence did not occur in mixed neighborhoods, among mixed groups of students, or among whites and Negroes who worked together in war plants.

[18] E.g., the North Side (see Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *op. cit.,* pp. 108–13, 119).

[19] There were "non-adjusted" neighborhoods which experienced no violence (*ibid.,* pp. 114–15).

characterized by particular patterns of violence, during periods either of actual rioting or of relative peace.

E. "CONTESTED AREAS"

The term "contested area" was used by the Chicago Commission on Race Relations to describe areas previously dominated by whites but undergoing transition and those which, although not yet penetrated, are in the line of movement of the Negro population and anticipating invasion. The latter differs from the next ecological type in that the areas discussed in the next section, although close to centers of Negro population, are not contested by Negroes.

Opposition to Negro in-movement has been expressed in both an organized and a non-organized fashion. Much of the interracial conflict in periods of relative harmony occurred there, and much of it was, and is, organized in the form of "neighborhood improvement" or "property-owners" associations. These ususally disavowed, at least verbally, violence of any variety, although the claim has been made that their publicity was often inflammatory. Whatever their official views toward violence may have been, it was in contested areas, where Negroes had already moved in, that incidents of violence most frequently occurred in periods when there were no actual riots. The incidents largely involved property, either destruction of Negro-occupied property or harassment of the owners by minor damage. Long and Johnson have noted that both the Chicago and Detroit riots were preceded by violence over the entrance of Negroes into white neighborhoods.[20] Such areas, in a pattern that continues today, also provided the scene for physical assaults.

In view of the concentration of violence in these contested areas in periods when other parts of the city were enjoying relative peace, it might be anticipated that in times of actual race rioting they would have been the focal point of violence. This is not the case; the Negro slum suffered more casualties and, in at least one major riot, that in Chicago in 1919, the highest number of casualties reported was in an area with no Negro residents. Some violence did occur in these areas, particularly along their borders and at transfer points in public transportation. In 1940, Woodward Avenue in Detroit served as a boundary line between the major concentration of Negroes in that city and an area of low-class white residence which included a large number of rooming houses. Lee and Humphrey, in their volume on the Detroit riot of 1943, include a "battle map" of major points of overt conflict. Two were located at Woodward Avenue and main cross-streets in the Mack-Davenport area and at Vernor Highway where the sharpest fighting, involving large mobs of whites, took place. Whites stoned automobiles with Negro passengers, dragged Negroes from buses, and beat them. At other points up and down Woodward Avenue, Negroes occasionally took the initiative and attacked whites. However, there was no major invasion across this line, and, although some Negro penetration had occurred in areas west of Woodward Avenue, there was no major violence there. However, violence also occurred around a smaller concentration of lower-income Negroes along Michigan Avenue. Here again, the violence occurred on the peripheries rather than in surrounding contested areas.

The reason for the lack of major violence in contested areas during major race riots is not clear. A possible answer may lie in the implicit observation made by the Chicago Commission on Race Relations that the neighbors of Negro in-movers were infrequently involved in attacks upon the new tenants. It is possible that most of the violence visited upon new Negro residents is the work of individuals not themselves local residents. In its investigation of bombings the commission heard testimony of one victim that the police believed that the bombings were being done by a gang of young white "roughnecks" who were under police

[20] Herman H. Long and Charles S. Johnson, *People vs. Property* (Nashville, Tenn.: Fisk University Press, 1947).

surveillance.[21] If this was true, and if similar acts of violence directed against property have been committed not by neighbors but by "outside fanatics,"[22] it becomes easier to understand why these sectors saw less violence during actual rioting. The perpetrating individuals or groups were, during major riots, more likely to be found where there was more action. Violence in these areas during major rioting was probably more likely to occur as a result of chance encounters or of a concentration of people, not specifically gathered for the purpose, for instance, at bus transfer points.

Except in the peak periods of major race riots, contested areas were the centers of most racial violence in northern cities through World War II. In cities which experienced no major race riots, almost all violence occurred there or in areas, such as recreation centers, with unusually high potential for trouble.

F. WHITE-DOMINATED AREAS NOT CONTESTED BY NEGROES

In their discussion of Negro residence areas in Chicago, the 1919 Commission on Race Relations described adjusted and nonadjusted areas. The second category consisted of areas of organized opposition and of unorganized opposition. The report presented materials on areas of organized opposition; of one variety of unorganized opposition, the commission said:

> There are residence districts of Chicago adjacent to those occupied by Negroes in which hostility to Negroes is so marked that the latter not only find it impossible to live there, but expose themselves to danger even by passing through. There are no hostile organizations in these neighborhoods, and active antagonism is usually confined to gang lawlessness. . . . In the section immediately west of Wentworth Avenue and thus adjoining the densest Negro residence area in the city, practically no Negroes live. . . . Wentworth Avenue has long been regarded as a strict boundary line separating white and Negro residence areas. The district has many "athletic clubs." The contact of Negroes and whites comes when Negroes must pass to and from their work at the Stock Yards and at other industries located in the district. It was in this district that the largest number of riot clashes occurred. Several Negroes have been murdered here, and numbers have been beaten by gangs of young men and boys.[23]

Of those reported injured in the Chicago riot, 34 per cent received their wounds in the "Black Belt" itself, and 41 per cent in the stockyards district of the Southwest Side.

It is difficult to find neighborhoods which have been as vehement in hostility to Negroes as the stockyards area of Chicago. Even today, the district west of Wentworth in Chicago has remained one of minimal Negro residence.[24] In 1910, Wentworth Avenue was the east-west dividing line between the Negro and white populations. Between 1910 and 1950 the Negro population increased from slightly under fifty thousand to a little over five hundred and eighty-six thousand.[25] Squeezed between Wentworth Avenue and the lake front, they spread throughout the South Side and into enclaves in western

[21] *Op. cit.*, p. 128. Observers in Levittown, Pennsylvania, noted that most of the opposition to the Meyers family moving in was by persons not resident in the immediate neighborhood.

[22] A recent study in a Kansas City residential area found that whites were, at the least, resigned to an in-movement of Negro residents (Community Studies, Inc., *An Attitude Survey of Negro Infiltration into a White Residential Area* [Kansas City, Mo., n.d.], undertaken at the request of the Kansas City, Missouri, Commission on Human Relations). When a bomb was exploded in the neighborhood, it was interpreted as the work of a fanatic, not a resident (personal communication from William H. Gremley, executive secretary, Kansas City, Missouri, Commission on Human Relations).

[23] *Op. cit.*, p. 155.

[24] Between the Chicago River and Fifty-fifth Street. This neighborhood, like Cicero and Trumbull Park, scenes of more recent disorders, has a Polish, Bohemian, and Slavic population. The residents are too poor and too foreign to go elsewhere. They are neither geographically nor socially mobile.

[25] The best ecological and demographic study of the Negro population of Chicago or, for that matter, of any northern city, is Otis D. Duncan and Beverly Duncan, *The Negro Population of Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

sections. The stockyards district has remained essentially white in the face of tremendous pressures of the Negro population.

Under ordinary circumstances, Chicago Negroes in 1919 would have avoided the stockyards district. They passed through it on their way to and from their work in the yards and packing houses and other industries but did not linger; as noted above, prior to the riot several Negroes had been murdered there by gangs of young men and boys. If the situation had been normal, no Negroes would have been found there during the riot, with the possible exception of small "raiding" parties. However, the riot coincided with a major strike of Chicago's transportation lines. Negroes found themselves stranded at work; some stayed, others attempted to go home. Whether it was to protect their families or to engage themselves in rioting, or whether they did not know about the riot, is unimportant: what matters is that they got caught in the very locality most notorious for hostility to them. Many were beaten, and several slain.

No other major urban race riot has taken place where a white neighborhood characterized by such intense prejudice immediately abutted on the central concentration of Negroes. If, in Chicago, it had not been for the transportation strike, it is doubtful whether so much of the violence would have occurred where it did. More probably, battles would have been concentrated, as elsewhere, along the boundary lines. However, tension was high in the areas of Detroit immediately west of Woodward Avenue, which, however, was a contested area even in 1940; and, as has been observed, violence was largely concentrated along the dividing line itself.

G. WHITE-DOMINATED CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICTS

With the exception of the Harlem disturbances, highly distinctive in many of their characteristics, in every important interracial disturbance in both northern and southern cities, Negroes were the victims of mobs in the white-dominated central business districts. In those cases where few Negroes were so assaulted, it was because the Negro population, forewarned, had not ventured downtown. Violence in central business districts took the form of physical assault and usually involved large mobs of whites and individual Negroes or small groups of them. In the Chicago riot it was reported that the white gangs of soldiers and sailors who raided the Loop, the central shopping district, in search of Negroes, "in the course of their activities . . . wantonly destroyed property of white business men."[26] This, as in other cases, was largely incidental to the main purpose of catching and assaulting Negroes. No major outbreaks of looting directed at white property were reported resulting from white mob activity.

The largest mobs of whites have usually been those which gather in the central business district. Lee and Humphrey report a mob of "10,000 people jammed around the Woodward and Davenport-Mack intersections on the northern edge of the downtown district. Cadillac Square—between City Hall and the County Building—was packed with milling murderous thousands, especially at the City Hall end."[27] The mobs engaged in a variety of types of assault, from the stoning of Negro automobiles and their occupants, to the invasion of theaters in search of Negroes. Army officers saw, from windows of the Federal Building in downtown Detroit, a mob estimated at five hundred pursuing a lone Negro on Fort Street from Woodward. Similar events occurred in every major riot.

SPECIAL ECOLOGICAL FACTORS

Two types of ecological locations warrant special mention. Violence in northern urban race riots occurred frequently at transfer points of public transportation lines, particularly where members of one race had to pass through the territory of the other. A comparison of maps noting transportation contacts between Negroes and whites with spot maps of injuries and deaths in the

[26] Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[27] *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

Chicago riot of 1919 is instructive.[28] A general strike on surface and elevated lines after the second day of the rioting magnified the importance of transportation, for, with the stopping of the street cars, a new source of danger arose to those who attempted to walk to their places of employment. Even on the first day of the riot, however, "attacks on street cars provided outstanding cases, five persons being killed and many injured."[29]

In the Detroit riot, both whites and Negroes were pulled from street cars and beaten or otherwise assaulted. The same thing occurred in the East St. Louis and Washington riots, Negroes being the major victims. Incidents in Harlem have been recorded in which white employees of the transportation systems were assaulted by Negro passengers, although this was important in neither of the major disturbances in Harlem.

Public transportation provides an opportunity to catch isolated individuals and attack them without fear of immediate reprisal. Another scene of violence is government buildings, attacks on which have occurred when it is believed that Negroes have sought shelter there or because Negroes are known to work there. Negro municipal employees were evacuated from the City Hall in Detroit when the building was threatened by white mobs. Other locations of interracial violence in major northern urban race riots have been highly specific. The rioting in Detroit began on the Belle Isle Bridge and became general apparently only after a much publicized announcement at a Negro night club. That location (Belle Isle) was on the very periphery of the Negro concentration in Detroit and fits none of the ecological classifications of areas suggested above. Once the riot was under way, activity in the original area became minimal.

[28] See the numerous maps accompanying the report of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations. Note also the special exhibits on incidents on the Detroit Street Railway (H. J. Rushton, *et al.*, *op. cit.*).

[29] Chicago Commission on Race Relations, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

RACIAL CONFLICT SINCE WORLD WAR II

In February, 1960, racial conflict appeared in a previously unexperienced form. Starting in Greensboro, North Carolina, demonstrations by Negro youth, college students, and occasional high-school students were directed against segregation at lunch counters and in restaurants.[30] At the time of this writing, only minor violence has been reported (in Chattanooga and Nashville, Tennessee, and in Portsmouth, Virginia) but large numbers of both whites and Negroes have been arrested, and the movement has expanded through seven southern states and into border cities, such as Indianapolis.

These demonstrations have differed from previous Negro-white conflicts in several significant ways. In the first place, although there is evidence of some co-ordination and the national offices of several protest organizations have "sanctioned" the demonstrations, the participants have generally claimed that the movement is spontaneous and autonomous. The spokesmen of the movements have been college students and, on occasion, high-school students. Local leadership has been drawn into the movement, largely in an advisory capacity, as instructors in techniques of "non-violent protest." The second characteristic which distinguishes these from previous interracial disturbances has been the youth and student status of the demonstrators. While other Negroes have been drawn into the situation as events have unfolded, neither the white nor the Negro leadership of affected communities has thought to characterize the initiators as "hoodlums." A third change is the restraint with which Negro participants have acted, even when subjected to considerable physical abuse by whites (also frequently youth, although occasionally not students). This refusal to respond to acts which can only be interpreted as invitations to violence,

[30] *Southern School News*, VI, No. 9 (March, 1960). For detailed information on these and subsequent events, see the special report of the Southern Regional Council, *The Student Protest Movement, Winter 1960* (Report SRC-13 [rev.], April 1, 1960), and later, supplementary, reports.

(e.g., the dropping of lighted cigarettes down the backs of Negro students seated at lunch counters in a silent request for service), the quiet acceptance, even courting, of arrest, and the clearly conscious nature of the assault upon the accommodative structure, would alone differentiate these demonstrations from any previous behavior. In view of the historical patterning of race relations in the South, however, another difference in the current events is almost equally impressive: the restraint and the apparent impartiality with which local municipal officials and police forces have acted. In some instances, when stores have requested arrests of Negroes on charges of "trespassing," arrests have been entirely one-sided. In every case where opposing groups have appeared, however, arrests apparently have been relatively impartial, and almost equal numbers of each group have been taken into custody.[31]

It will be some months before the real nature of these demonstrations is known. The events seem, at least, as clearly linked to ecological factors as were earlier, more extended, race riots. Events have occurred where they did, not because of the social characteristics of residents or because of the social organization of the particular area affected, but rather because of their location in central business districts.

One other post–World War II pattern of racial violence has been directly related to an ecological circumstance: the pattern of violence and near-violence which has grown out of attempts to desegregate white southern schools in response to the Supreme Court decisions.[32] Schools have been bombed. Demonstrations, including the throwing of stones as well as epithets, have occurred on school grounds or on nearby streets. Inside the schools new Negro students have been pushed and threatened. In events related to the school problem the homes of whites and Negroes alike have been bombed, and in one case white school board members were assaulted, allegedly because of their pro-integration actions.[33]

Except for the collateral bombings and related events, disorders over school desegregation have been highly local and, with few exceptions, have involved relatively large numbers of whites and small numbers of Negroes. In almost every case the presence of legal force has prevented major assault by whites.

PROBLEMS IN FORECASTING RACIAL VIOLENCE

Considerable courage would be required to forecast major racial violence as a result of current events in the South or of continuing tension in northern cities. Nonetheless, it is possible to note some changes in general patterning of race relations in the United States, both north and south, which may affect the probabilities.

The forecasting of racial violence requires knowledge of the history and current status of three factors:

1. *The mode and pattern of the assault upon the accommodative structure; its direct or indirect nature, the militancy with which it is pressed, and the areas in which it occurs.* —In a historical review of racial violence in the United States, the writer has expressed the view that such violence has resulted from reactions of the dominant white community to real or perceived attacks on the accommodative structure and not from a conscious policy of repression and that violence in the South would be contingent on the militancy with which Negroes carried on

[31] *Southern School News, op. cit.* However, later action has shown increasing intervention by the state and even greater proportions of Negroes arrested (see Southern Regional Council, *op. cit.*).

[32] See *Southern School News*, Vol. I——, September, 1954——. A dramatic presentation of some events surrounding attempted desegregation can be found in Dorothy Sterling (with Donald Gross), *Tender Warriors* (New York: Hill & Wang, Inc., 1958). A more general, if journalistic, account is that of John Bartlow Martin in *The Deep South Says Never* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1957). Among others, one specific treatment is Virgil T. Blossom, *It Has Happened Here* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1959), an account of events in Little Rock, Arkansas, by its discharged superintendent of schools.

[33] *Southern School News*, V, No. 3 (September, 1958), 15.

their struggle against subordinate status.[34] That this struggle would evolve into the current campaign of non-violent action was not anticipated.

2. *The attitude and actions of agencies of external control.*— There is no direct relationship between the level of tension and the eruption of social violence. While assaults on the accommodative structure doubtless lead to an increase in tensions, violence is constrained by the strength and mode of application of external agencies of control, particularly the police.[35] Changes in the latter's attitudes and in the legal use of force have had an undeniable influence in reducing the possibility of violence in the current "sit-down" campaign, particularly in large southern cities (with one marked exception: Birmingham, Alabama).

3. *The nature of the accommodative structure itself.*—Negro participation in areas previously forbidden is now accepted, if with some lack of grace. At the same time Negro activities occur in areas previously considered secure and areas in which participation had been acceptable in the past are redefined. In the current disturbances the reaction of the larger national, and world, communities has consequences in redefining, frequently through increasing rigidity, local systems of accommodation. The changing structure of the accommodative system must be considered in attempting to assess interpretations of new demands by Negroes as these interpretations determine the level of tension in the white community. Concurrently, as changes in the accommodative structure occur and some demands are met, the level of aspiration of the Negro community rises, and new rebuffs generate greater tensions there.

During the period in which major urban racial disturbances occurred, the social characteristics of ecological areas within the metropolis greatly influenced the kind and intensity of local racial violence. In recent years, and more particularly in the current events in the South, ecological factors have had a continuing but different influence on manifestations of conflict. While in the past it has been characteristics of people, now the specific ecological locale and its characteristics are of importance. Disturbances now occur where Negroes have moved into residential areas, have attempted to go to school in accordance with judicial decisions, and, most recently, have insisted on their right to eat where they buy. The whites and Negroes involved in the disturbances of the last decade have not been the populations residing in the affected locales. Indeed, particularly in the case of the current "sit-down" disturbances, there are no major concentrations in the affected areas. All involved have been transients on the sites of conflict. It is perhaps true that many of the whites who have been most active in resisting the new Negro movement have been from locales in the city characterized by more militant anti-Negro prejudices. It is certainly true that the Negroes involved have been unlike the victims and the offenders in past racial disturbances, including major riots, in the urban North.

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[34] See n. 9.

[35] For documentation of this in another case of violence, see Lambert, *op. cit.*

CASTE IN INDIA AND THE UNITED STATES[1]

GERALD D. BERREMAN

ABSTRACT

Caste is defined in such a way as to be useful cross-culturally. Comparison of race relations in the southern United States and relations between the untouchables and other castes in India demonstrates that the two systems are closely similar in operation despite differences of content. Low-caste status in India, as in America, is actively resented. Research emphasis upon the realities of structure and process as revealed by cross-cultural studies of caste interaction is more likely to lead to useful generalizations about this kind of social stratification and intergroup relations than is the more conventional emphasis upon differences of cultural content.

Many writers who have contributed to the vast literature on the caste system in India have emphasized its unique aspects and ignored or denied the qualities it shares with rigid systems of social stratification found in other societies. Others have claimed to find caste systems or caste groups in such widely scattered areas as Arabia, Polynesia, Africa, Guatemala, and Japan.[2] Some observers refer to Negro-white relations in the United States, and particularly in the South, as being those of caste,[3] a usage which others, including C. S. Johnson, Oliver C. Cox, and, more recently, G. E. Simpson and J. M. Yinger, have criticized. This paper will compare the relationship between "touchable," especially twice-born, and "untouchable" castes in India with that between Negroes and whites in the southern United States.

Caste can be defined so that it is applicable only to India, just as it is possible to define narrowly almost any sociocultural phenomenon. Indianists have traditionally held to specific, usually enumerative, definitions. Indeed, the caste system in India has several unique features, among which are its religious aspects, its complexity, and the degree to which the caste is a cohesive group that regulates the behavior of its members. Within India there is considerable variation in the characteristics of, and the relations among, the groups to which the term "caste" is applied.

However, caste can be accurately defined in broader terms. For many purposes similar social facts may be usefully categorized together, despite differences which, while not denied, are not crucial to the purposes at hand. For purposes of cross-cultural comparison this is necessary: for the study of social process, and with the aim of deriving generalizations, caste is a concept which might well be applied cross-culturally. For these purposes a caste system may be defined as a *hierachy of endogamous divisions in which membership is hereditary and permanent*. Here hierarchy includes inequality both in status and in access to goods and services. Interdependence of the subdivisions, restricted contacts among them, occupational specialization, and/or a degree of cultural distinctiveness might be added as criteria, although they appear to be corre-

[1] Delivered in abbreviated form before the Fifty-eight Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Mexico City, December, 1959, and based partly on research carried out in India under a Ford Foundation Foreign Area Training Fellowship during fifteen months of 1957–58 (reported in full in my "Kin, Caste, and Community in a Himalayan Hill Village" [unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1959]). I am indebted to Joel V. Berreman and Lloyd A. Fallers for their helpful comments.

[2] E. D. Chapple and C. S. Coon, *Principles of Anthropology* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1942), p. 437; S. F. Nadel, "Caste and Government in Primitive Society," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, New Series VIII (September, 1954), 9–22; M. M. Tumin, *Caste in a Peasant Society* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1952); J. D. Donoghue, "An Eta Community in Japan: The Social Persistence of Outcaste Groups," *American Anthropologist*, LIX (December, 1957), 1000–1017.

[3] E.g., Allison Davis, Kingsley Davis, John Dollard, Buell Gallagher, Gunnar Myrdal, Kenneth Stampp, Lloyd Warner.

lates rather than defining characteristics.

This definition is perhaps best viewed as describing an ideal type at one end of a continuum along which systems of social stratification might be ranged. There can be little doubt that the systems in India and the southern United States would fall far toward the caste extreme of the continuum.[4] It now becomes necessary to look at the differences cited as crucial by those who object to use of the term "caste" in both societies. The objections raised by those interested in structure, relationships, and interaction will be discussed here; the objections of those interested in specific content will be ignored —not because the latter objections are less cogent, but because they are less relevant to the comparison of social systems.[5]

Johnson sees many similarities in the two systems but objects to identifying both as caste, since "a caste system is not only a separated system, it is a stable system in which changes are socially impossible; the fact that change cannot occur is accepted by all, or practically all, participants. . . . No expenditure of psychological or physical energy is necessary to maintain a caste system."[6] Simpson and Yinger agree with Johnson and further object that, in the United States, "we lack a set of religious principles justifying a rigid system of social stratification and causing it to be willingly accepted by those at all levels."[7] Cox lists a number of features of a caste system (i.e., caste in India) which distinguish it from an interracial situation (i.e., Negro-white relations in America), important among which are its "nonconflictive," "nonpathological," and "static" nature, coupled with absence of "aspiration and progressiveness."[8]

Central to these distinctions is that caste in India is passively accepted and indorsed by all on the basis of religio-philosophical explanations which are universally subscribed to, while Negro-white relations in America are characterized by dissent, resentment, guilt, and conflict. But this contrast is invalid, resulting, as it does, from an idealized and unrealistic view of Indian caste, contrasted with a more realistic, pragmatic view of American race relations; Indian caste is viewed as it is supposed to work rather than as it does work; American race relations are seen as they do work rather than as they are supposed, by the privileged, to work. The traditional white southerner, asked to describe relations between the races, will describe the Negro as happy in his place, which he may quote science and Scripture to justify. This is similar to the explanations offered for the Indian system by the advantaged.

The point here is that ideal intercaste behavior and attitudes in India are much like those in America, while the actual interaction and attitudes are also similar. Commonly, ideal behavior and attitudes in India have been contrasted with real behavior and attitudes in America—a fact which has led to a false impression of difference. Similarly, comparisons of race relations in the rapidly changing urban or industrial South with caste relations in slowly changing rural or agrarian India lead to erroneous conclusions.

[4] The Tira of Africa, for example, would not fall so far toward this extreme (cf. Nadel, *op. cit.*, pp. 18 ff.).

[5] As a matter of fact, ignorance of the details of content in the patterns of relations between whites and Negroes in the United States has prevented many Indianists from seeing very striking similarities. Two contrasting views of the cross-cultural applicability of the concept of caste have appeared since this paper was written: F. C. Bailey, "For a Sociology of India?" *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, No. 3 (July, 1959), 88–101, esp. 97–98; and E. R. Leach, "Introduction: What Should We Mean by Caste?" in *Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and North-west Pakistan* ("Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology," No. 2 [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959]), pp. 1–10.

[6] C. S. Johnson, *Growing Up in the Black Belt* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1941), p. 326.

[7] G. E. Simpson and J. M. Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1953), p. 328.

[8] O. C. Cox, "Race and Caste: A Distinction," *American Journal of Sociology*, L (March, 1945), 360 (see also his *Caste, Class and Race* [Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1948]).

Valid comparison can be made at either level, but must be with comparable data. The impact on intergroup relations of the social and economic changes which accompany urban life seems to be similar in both societies. Recent literature on village India and on the changing caste functions and caste relations in cities and industrial areas presents a realistic picture which goes far toward counteracting traditional stereotypes of Indian caste.[9]

In a study of caste functioning in Sirkanda, a hill village of northern Uttar Pradesh, India, I was struck by the similarity of relations between the twice-born and untouchable castes to race relations in the southern United States.[10] In both situations there is a genuine caste division, according to the definition above. In the two systems there are rigid rules of avoidance between castes, and certain types of contacts are defined as contaminating, while others are non-contaminating. The ideological justification for the rules differs in the two cultures, as do the definitions of the acts themselves; but these are cultural details. The tabooed contacts are symbolically rather than literally injurious as evidenced by the many inconsistencies in application of the rules.[11] Enforced deference, for example, is a prominent feature of both systems. Lack of deference from low castes is not contaminating, but it is promptly punished, for it implies equality. The essential similarity lies in the fact that the function of the rules in both cases is to maintain the caste system with institutionalized inequality as its fundamental feature. In the United States, color is a conspicuous mark of caste, while in India there are complex religious features which do not appear in America, but in both cases dwelling area, occupation, place of worship, and cultural behavior, and so on, are important symbols associated with caste status. The crucial fact is that caste status is determined, and therefore the systems are perpetuated, by birth: membership in them is ascribed and unalterable. Individuals in low castes are considered inherently inferior and are relegated to a disadvantaged position, regardless of their behavior. From the point of view of the social psychology of intergroup relations, this is probably the most important common and distinct feature of caste systems.

In both the United States and India, high castes maintain their superior position by

[9] See, for example, the following community studies: F. G. Bailey, *Caste and the Economic Frontier* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1957); Berreman, *op. cit.*; S. C. Dube, *Indian Village* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1955); Oscar Lewis, *Village Life in Northern India* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1958); McKim Marriott (ed.), *Village India* (American Anthropological Association Memoir No. 83 [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955]); M. E. Opler and R. D. Singh, "The Division of Labor in an Indian Village," in *A Reader in General Anthropology*, ed. C. S. Coon (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1948), pp. 464–96; M. N. Srinivas *et al.*, *India's Villages* (Development Department, West Bengal: West Bengal Government Press, 1955). See also, for example, the following studies of caste in the contemporary setting: Bailey, *op. cit.*; N. K. Bose, "Some Aspects of Caste in Bengal," *American Journal of Folklore*, LXXI (July–September, 1958), 397–412; Leach, *op. cit.*; Arthur Niehoff, *Factory Workers in India* ("Milwaukee Public Museum Publications in Anthropology," No. 5 [1959]); M. N. Srinivas, "Caste in Modern India," *Journal of Asian Studies*, XVI (August, 1957), 529–48; and the several articles comprising the symposium on "Caste in India" contained in *Man in India*, XXXIX (April–June, 1959), 92–162.

[10] The following discussion is based not exclusively on the Sirkanda materials but on observations and literature in non-hill areas as well. The hill area presents some distinct regional variations in caste structure, important among which is the absence of intermediate castes—all are either twice-born or untouchable. This leads to a dichotomous situation, as in the United States, but one which differs in that there are important caste divisions on either side of the "pollution barrier" (cf. Bailey, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Berreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 389 ff.). Relations across this barrier do not differ greatly from similar relations among plains castes, although somewhat more informal contact is allowed—pollution comes about less easily—in the hills.

[11] The symbolic acts—the "etiquette" of caste relations—in India and in America are often remarkably similar. The symbolism in America is, of course, not primarily religious as much as it is in India, although the sacred aspects in India are often far from the minds of those engaging in the acts and are not infrequently unknown to them.

exercising powerful sanctions, and they rationalize their status with elaborate philosophical, religious, psychological, or genetic explanations. The latter are not sufficient in themselves to maintain the systems, largely because they are incompletely accepted among those whose depressed position they are thought to justify. In both places castes are economically interdependent. In both there are great differences in power and privilege among, as well as class differences within, castes and elaborate barriers to free social intercourse among them.

Similarities in the two caste systems extend throughout the range of behavior and attitudes expressed in relations among groups. An important and conspicuous area of similarity is associated with competition for certain benefits or "gains" which are personally gratifying and/or socially valued and which by their nature or under the circumstances cannot be enjoyed by all equally. Competitive striving is, of course, not unique to caste organization; it is probably found to some extent in all societies. It is subject to a variety of social controls resulting in a variety of forms of social stratification, one of which is a caste system as defined here. However, the genesis of caste systems is not here at issue.[12]

The caste system in India and in the United States has secured gains for the groups established at the top of the hierarchy. Their desire to retain their position for themselves and their children accounts for their efforts to perpetuate the system. John Dollard, in his discussion of "Southerntown," identifies their gains as economic, sexual, and in prestige.

In the economic field, low-caste dependence is maintained in India as in America by economic and physical sanctions. This assures not only greater high-caste income but a ready supply of free service and cheap labor from the low castes. It also guarantees the continuing availability of the other gains. In India it is the most explicitly recognized high-caste advantage.

The sexual gain for the southern white caste is defined by Dollard, quoting whom I will substitute "high caste" and "low caste" for "white" and "Negro," respectively. In this form his definition fits the Indian caste system equally well.

> In simplest terms, we mean by a "sexual gain" the fact that [high-caste] men, by virtue of their caste position, have access to two classes of women, those of the [high] and [low] castes. The same condition is somewhat true of the [low-caste] women, except that they are rather the objects of the gain than the choosers, though it is a fact that they have some degree of access to [high-caste] men as well as men of their own caste. [Low-caste] men and [high-caste] women, on the other hand, are limited to their own castes in sexual choices.[13]

This arrangement is maintained in the Indian caste system, as it is in America, by severe sanctions imposed upon any low-caste man who might venture to defy the code, by the toleration accorded high-caste men who have relations with low-caste women, and by the precautions which high-caste men take to protect their women from the low castes.

High-caste people gain, by virtue of their caste status alone, deference from others, constant reinforcement of a feeling of superiority, and a permanent scapegoat in the lower castes. Dollard has stated the implications of this gain in prestige, and, again substituting a caste designation for a racial one, his statement describes the Indian system perfectly:

> The gain here . . . consists in the fact that a member of the [high] caste has an automatic right to demand forms of behavior from [low-caste people] which serve to increase his own self-esteem.
>
> It must always be remembered that in the end this deference is demanded and not merely independently given.[14]

[12] Cf. Nadel, *op. cit.*

[13] John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* ("Anchor Books" [Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1957]), p. 135 (cf. Berreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 470 ff.).

[14] Dollard, *op. cit.*, p. 174. Nadel speaking of caste in general, has noted that "the lower caste are despised, not only unhappily under-privileged; they bear a stigma apart from being unfortunate. Conversely, the higher castes are not merely en-

Ideally the high-caste person is paternalistic and authoritarian, while the low-caste person responds with deferential, submissive, subservient behavior. Gallagher might have been describing India rather than America when he noted: "By the attitudes of mingled fear, hostility, deprecation, discrimination, amused patronage, friendly domination, and rigid authoritarianism, the white caste generates opposite and complementary attitudes in the Negro caste."[15]

An additional high-caste gain in India is the religious tradition which gives people of high caste promise of greater rewards in the next life than those of low caste. People can increase their rewards in the next life by fulfilling their traditional caste duty. For high castes, this generally results in increasing the economic advantages and prestige acquired in this life, while it requires that the low castes subordinate their own economic gains and prestige in this life to the service and honor of high castes. Thus, for high-caste people, behavior leading to immediate rewards is consistent with ultimate rewards, while, for low-caste people, behavior required for the two rewards is contradictory.

These advantages are significant and recognized reasons for maintenance of the system by the privileged groups.[16] They are expressed in folklore, proverbs, and jokes; for instance, a story tells that, as the funeral procession of an old landlord passed two untouchable women going for water, one hand of the corpse fell from under the shroud and flopped about. One of the women turned to the other and remarked, "You see, Takur Singh is dead, but he still beckons to us." Other stories recount the avariciousness of Brahmins in their priestly role, the hard-heartedness of landlords and the like.

The compensatory gains for low-caste people are cited more often by high-caste advocates of the system than by those alleged to enjoy them. They are gains common to authoritarian systems everywhere and are usually subject to the will of the dominant groups.

As noted above, India is frequently cited as an example of a society in which people of deprived and subject status are content with their lot, primarily justifying it by religion and philosophy. This is the characteristic of caste in India most often cited to distinguish it from hereditary systems elsewhere, notably in the southern United States. On the basis of my research and the literature, I maintain that this is not accurate and therefore not a valid distinction. Its prevalence is attributable in part, at least, to the vested interests of the advantaged and more articulate castes in the perpetuation of the caste system and the maintenance of a favorable view of it to outsiders. The same arguments and the same biases are frequently presented by apologists for the caste system of the southern United States.

In both systems there is a tendency to look to the past as a period of halcyon amity and to view conflict and resentment as resulting from outside disturbances of the earlier normal equilibrium. Alien ideas, or large-scale economic disturbances, or both, are often blamed for reform movements and rebellion. Such explanations may account for the national and regional reform movements which find their advocates and followers primarily among the educated and social elites; they do not account for the recurrent grass-roots attempts, long endemic in India, to raise caste status; for the state of mind which has often led to low-caste defections from Hinduism when the opportunity to do so without fear of major reprisals has presented itself; nor for the chronic resentment and tension which characterizes intercaste

titled to the possession of coveted privileges, but are also in some way exalted and endowed with a higher dignity" (Nadel, *op. cit.*, p. 16).

[15] B. G. Gallagher, *American Caste and the Negro College* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), p. 109.

[16] Cf. Pauline M. Mahar, "Changing Caste Ideology in a North Indian Village" *Journal of Social Issues*, XIV (1958), 51–65, esp. pp. 55–56; Kailash K. Singh, "Inter-caste Tensions in Two Villages in North India" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1957), pp. 184–85; and M. N. Srinivas, "The Dominant Caste in Rampura," *American Anthropologist*, LXI (1959), 1–16, esp. p. 4.

relations in even so remote a village as Sirkanda, the one in which I worked.

Among the low or untouchable castes in Sirkanda, there was a great deal of readily expressed resentment regarding their caste position. Specific complaints revolved around economic, prestige, and sexual impositions by the high castes. Although resentment was suppressed in the presence of people of the dominant high castes, it was readily expressed where there was no fear of detection or reprisal.[17] Low-caste people felt compelled to express village loyalties in public, but in private acts and attitudes caste loyalties were consistently and intensely dominant when the two conflicted.

Caste, as such, was not often seriously questioned in the village. Objections were characteristically directed not at "caste" but at "my position in the caste hierarchy."

In the multicaste system of India, abolition of the system evidently seems impossible from the point of view of any particular caste, and a change in its rank within the system is viewed by its members as the only plausible means of improving the situation. Moreover, abolition would destroy the caste as a group which is superior to at least some other groups, and, while it would give caste members an opportunity to mingle as equals with their superiors, it would also force them to mingle as equals with their inferiors. Abolition, even if it could be accomplished, would thus create an ambivalent situation for any particular caste in contrast to the clear-cut advantages of an improvement in rank.

In the dual system of the southern United States where the high caste is clearly dominant, abolition of the caste division may be seen by the subordinate group as the only plausible remedy for their deprived position. Furthermore, they have nothing to lose but their inferior status, since there are no lower castes. There are, of course, Negroes and organized groups of Negroes, such as the black supremacist "Muslims" recently in the news in the United States, who want to invert the caste hierarchy; conversely, there are low-caste people in India who want to abolish the entire system. But these seem to be atypical viewpoints. The anticaste religions and reform movements which have from time to time appealed with some success to the lower castes in India, for example, Buddhism, Islam, Christianity, Skhism, have been unable, in practice, to remain casteless. This seems to be a point of real difference between Indian and American low-caste attitudes, for in America objection is more characteristically directed toward the system as such.[18]

In Sirkanda those low-caste people who spoke most piously against high-caste abuses were likely to be equally abusive to their caste inferiors. However, no low caste was encountered whose members did not seriously question its place in the hierarchy. A sizable literature is accumulating concerning castes which have sought to alter their status.[19] Such attempts were made in Sirkanda. A more common reaction to deprived status on the part of low-caste people was what Dollard calls "passive accommodation" coupled with occasional ingroup aggression.[20]

In both America and India there is a tendency for the person of low caste to "laugh it off" or to become resigned. In Sirkanda low-caste people could not avoid frequent contacts with their superiors, because of their proximity and relative numbers. Contacts were frequently informal, but status differences and the dangers of ritual pollu-

[17] Elaborate precautions were often taken by informants to insure against any possibility that their expressions of feeling might become known to their caste superiors, which is very similar to behavior I have observed among Negroes of Montgomery, Alabama.

[18] Whether this difference in attitude is widely correlated with multiple, as compared to dual, caste systems, or is attributable to other differences in the Indian and American situations, can be established only by further comparative work.

[19] E.g., Opler and Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 476; B. S. Cohn, "The Changing Status of a Depressed Caste," in Marriott (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 53–77; and Bailey, *op. cit.*, pp. 220–26.

[20] Dollard, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

tion were not forgotten. An untouchable in this village who covered up his bitter resentment by playing the buffoon received favors denied to his more sullen caste fellows. The irresponsible, simple-minded untouchable is a widespread stereotype and one which he, like the Negro, has found useful. Similarly, sullen resignation, with the attendant stereotype of lazy shiftlessness, is a common response, typified in the southern Negro axiom, "Do what the man says." This, too, helps him avoid trouble, although it does little for the individual's self-respect. Aggression against the economically and numerically dominant high castes in Sirkanda was too dangerious to be a reasonable alternative. It was discussed by low-caste people in private but was rarely carried out. Even legitimate complaints to outside authority were avoided in view of the general belief that the high-caste's wealth would insure an outcome unfavorable to the low castes—a belief well grounded in experience.

Since they harbored indignation and resentment, a number of rationalizations of their status were employed by low-caste people, apparently as mechanisms to lessen the sting of reality. Thus, they often attributed their caste status to relative wealth and numbers: "If we were wealthy and in the majority, we would make the high castes untouchable."

Three more explanations of their caste status were consistently offered by low-caste people. These had the effect of denying the legitimacy of their low-caste position:

1. Members of the entire caste (or subcaste) group would deny that they deserved the low status to which they had been assigned. One example:

> Englishmen and Muslims are untouchables because they have an alien religion and they eat beef. This is as it should be. We are Hindus and we do not eat beef, yet we, too are treated as untouchables. This is not proper. We should be accorded higher status.

No group would admit to being lowest in the caste hierarchy.

2. People might grant that the caste of their clan, lineage, or family was of low status but deny that their particular group really belonged to it. I have not encountered a low-caste group which did not claim high-caste ancestry or origin. Thus a typical comment is:

> Yes, we are drummers by occupation, but our ancestor was a Brahmin who married a drummer woman. By rights, therefore, we should be Brahmins, but in such cases the high castes here go against the usual custom and assign the child the caste of his low-caste parent rather than of his father, from whom a person inherits everything else.

3. A person might grant that his own caste and even his lineage or family were of low status, but his explanation would excuse him from responsibility for it. Such explanations were supplied by Brahmins who, as the most privileged caste and the recipients of religiously motivated charity from all castes, have a vested interest in maintenance of the system and its acceptance by those at all levels. An individual's horoscope would describe him as having been of high caste and exemplary behavior in a previous life and therefore destined for even greater things in the present life. However, in performing some religiously meritorious act in his previous existence, he inadventently sinned (e.g., he was a raja, tricked by dishonest servants who did not give to the Brahmin the charity he intended for them). As a result he had to be punished in this life with a low rebirth.

Thus, no one said, in effect, "I am of low status and so are my family members and my caste-fellows, and justly so, because of our misdeeds in previous lives." To do so would lead to a psychologically untenable position, though one advocated by high-caste people and by orthodox Hinduism. Rationalizations or beliefs such as these form a consistent pattern—they are not isolated instances. Neither are they unique to the village or culture reported here: the literature reveals similar beliefs elsewhere in North India.[21] They evidently indicate something

[21] Cf. E. T. Atkinson, *The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India* (Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Press, 1886), III, 446; B. S. Cohn, "The Camars of Sena-

less than enthusiastic acceptance of caste position and, meanwhile, they perhaps alleviate or divert resentment.

That people remain in an inferior position, therefore, does not mean that they do so willingly, or that they believe it is justified, or that they would do anything in their power to change it, given the opportunity. Rationalizations of caste status which are consistent and convincing to those who are unaffected or who benefit from them seem much less so to those whose deprivation they are expected to justify or explain. Adherence to a religious principle may not significantly affect the attitudes and behavior to which logic would seem, or to which dogma attempts, to tie it. A comparison of the realities of caste attitudes and interaction in India and the United States suggests that no group of people is content to be low in a caste hierarchy—to live a life of inherited deprivation and subjection—regardless of the rationalizations offered them by their superiors or constructed by themselves. This is one of many points on which further cross-cultural comparision, and only cross-cultural comparison of caste behavior might be conclusive.

It should be evident that the range of similarities between caste in India and race relations in America, when viewed as relations among people, is wide and that the details are remarkably similar in view of the differences in cultural context. Without denying or belittling the differences, I would hold that the term "caste system" is applicable at the present time in the southern United States, if it is applicable anywhere outside of Hindu India, and that it can be usefully applied to societies with systems of hierarchical, endogamous subdivisions whose membership is hereditary and permanent, wherever they occur. By comparing caste situations, so defined, it should be possible to derive further insight, not only into caste in India, but into a widespread type of relations between groups—insight which is obscured if we insist upon treating Indian caste as entirely unique.

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pur: A Study of the Changing Status of a Depressed Caste" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1954), pp. 112 ff.; and D. N. Majumdar, *The Fortunes of Primitive Tribes* (Lucknow: Universal Publishers Ltd., 1944), p. 193.

CORRELATES OF SUCCESS IN RETAIL SELLING[1]

CECIL L. FRENCH

ABSTRACT

In a retail sales group high production, as measured by sales volume and money earned, seems to depend upon the individual's disposition to violate the group's norms. The tendency was highly correlated with downward occupational mobility and a higher reference group or stratum than his own.

This study was made over a four-year period in a large retail furniture store in a midwestern metropolis. Almost all business was done on credit, and the store catered primarily to lower-class clients.

Sales personnel (about sixty-five in all) were classified according to the department in which they worked. There were appliance salesmen, radio-television salesmen, rug salesmen, and housewares salesmen. Each group was specialized, and the salesmen were not allowed to "follow through" and sell an article in another department. But, in addition to these departmental salesmen, there was an unspecialized group called "big-call" salesmen. They sold all conventional articles of furniture—entire suites as well as individual pieces—and were allowed to follow through and sell in the departments. It was this "big-call" group that was studied.

The wage system was as follows: Each salesman received $90 a week as base pay, which was a wage and not a "draw," for, should he fail to meet his sales quota, he did not have to return any of it. The daily sales quota was set at $360, and the monthly quota was obtained by multiplying it by the number of working days in the month. After a salesman had "delivered" his monthly quota, he received a 3 per cent commission on all additional sales. Additional sums, called "spiffs," were also paid for selling high-profit or unattractive merchandise. The management was generous with "spiffs," and salesmen often earned more in "spiffs" than in commissions.

A wide difference was discovered in earnings. Although within the formal system each salesman had an equal chance to earn as much as the next, the actual earnings in 1956 varied from about $6,000 to $10,000.

The study had several objectives, but the one here reported concerns the correlates of production. Drawing upon existing theory in industrial sociology, we believed the following areas could be explored with data drawn from the big-call group: the relationships between off-the-job attitudes and productivity, between the informal group structure and productivity, and between the norms and productivity.

Participant observation was the chief method of study, coupled with both formal and informal interviewing. In addition, observations were made of the salesmen's behavior, and a close written record was kept of habitual interaction between individuals (such as eating together) as well as of patterns of hostility. The salesmen were unaware that observations were being made.

The writer was not a member of the big-call group but worked as a salesman in the jewelry department, a rented concession. Thus, although not an employee of the store, he was always present, and his presence seemed natural to the others. Consequently, he was able to win the confidence of the furniture salesmen, with whom he did not compete in any way.

The management was never informed that a study of its personnel was under way; therefore, the salesmen's actual earnings could not be learned. In 1956, however, the

[1] A slightly different version of this paper was read at the 1958 Missouri Sociological Society meetings in Columbia, Missouri. The author is indebted to Marc Swartz and John Brim for helpful criticisms and suggestions.

store manager began the practice of posting the rank in sales of the big-call salesmen. A composite rank was made by the writer for each member of the sales group, using the sales volume for 1956, the final standings in a sales contest, and the "Honor Roll" standings for the first five months of 1957. At the time of the study the big-call group was composed of twenty-one men and one woman. The mean age was forty-six (ranging from thirty-three to sixty-five), mean time in this job was seven years (ranging from less than a year to fifteen years), and the average time of schooling was 11.1 years (ranging from four to sixteen years). We decided on an equal division of the twenty-two members into a high-producing half, consisting of the top eleven salesmen, and a low-producing half, composed of the bottom eleven. This procedure was not purely arbitrary, for the management allowed only the top eleven to attend the periodic honor-roll parties. The two halves were then compared along various dimensions.

At first it was suspected that experience and job satisfaction might be positively associated with production, but this idea was soon abandoned. There was no apparent difference between the two groups with respect to age, time on the job, formal education, or liking for the job. All except two salesmen stated that they liked selling, the exceptions holding ranks 4 and 7.

When asked what were the chief advantages in selling as a career, all except two gave "money" as the first answer. The disadvantages most often mentioned were long and irregular working hours and trouble from customers, following a sale.

When asked if he believed his present job led to anything higher, each of the twenty-two stated that it was a "dead end." They perceived the promotion policies of the management correctly; in the four years the group was studied, only one salesman in the entire chain was promoted to junior-executive rank.

Each salesman was then asked if he considered his job a step up from his former job and what his future plans were—that is, whether he would stay until retirement or move to another job. Here important differences between the low and high producers were seen: Only four of the eleven high producers planned to stay until retirement, in contrast to nine of the eleven low producers. Three of the high producers thought the present job a step up from their former jobs, as against ten of the low producers.

The occupational histories of the salesmen showed that their perceptions of their own occupational mobility was based on some fact. The National Opinion Research Center scores of each one's past occupations were averaged and the two groups compared.[2] The mean NORC score for the high producers was 71.1; that of the low producers was 66.8; all were currently at the rank of 68.2. Only four of the high producers had been salesmen, or the equivalent, all their lives, and none had been "lower." Of the low producers, all had been salesmen or something "lower" all their lives. Three had gone into selling from blue-collar jobs, three more had previously been general-office clerks, and five had always been salesmen.

The NORC scores were then calculated for the principal occupations of the fathers of the salesmen. Here again the same pattern emerged. Eight of the eleven fathers of the high producers had been entrepreneurs, one had been a white-collar worker, one an artisan, and one blue-collar; only two had been "less" than "salesman." The fathers of the low producers were predominantly of the working class. Only three had been entrepreneurs, one had been a farmer, two had been white-collar workers, and five were blue-collar. Seven of the low producers had risen "above" their fathers occupationally, and only three had fallen "below." The mean NORC score for the fathers of the high producers was 71.6 as against 67.9 for the fathers of the low producers.

[2] National Opinion Research Center, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," reported in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds.), *Class, Status and Power* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953), p. 414.

Thus the high producers were downwardly mobile, as shown in both their own and their fathers' occupational histories. By and large, the high producers were reared in the homes of small businessmen where they may have taken on the high level of aspiration often found among members of this class.

The writer explored the possible association between aspiration and production by asking the salesmen what they considered a fair year's salary for the job and to name the occupations of their best friends. It was expected that, if aspiration was important, the high producers would expect significantly more money and would have high social aspirations as well. Both these expectations were borne out. The mean earnings expected by the high producers were $9,182 per year as against $7,173 for the low producers. One might argue that the high producers expected a larger income because they were in fact earning more, but that is to overlook the fact that the low producers knew that others were earning large amounts yet failed to aspire to more.

Concerning best friends' occupations, the high producers named friends who were owners or in the management and professional categories, while the low producers did not. The mean NORC score for the high producers' friends was 73.0; it was only 67.6 for the friends of the low producers. Perhaps the high producers actually had highly placed friends, in which case their aspirations could be expected to be higher, or they had formerly had such friends before they themselves became downwardly mobile, and their persisting high aspirations were a residue of old associations. Then, again, perhaps they had never had highly placed friends but had adopted the values of a higher stratum into which they hoped to move eventually—the phenomenon which Merton has called "anticipatory socialization."[3] But, regardless of the source, the effect on aspiration would be the same, and the high producers had apparently taken a reference group from a stratum higher than their present one.

Two measures of style of life were made to determine if there were significant differences between the two groups in their efforts to attain the levels to which they aspired. From the *Midwest Metropolitan Survey* (a fictitious title), which gives socioeconomic ranks for each census tract of the metropolis where the store is located, the census tract where each salesman lived was noted and ranked. In addition, an automobile index was constructed, in which weights were assigned by type and age of their automobiles.

On the "Social Area Index of Census Tracts," where the range of scores is from a high of 100 to a low of 1, the high producers had a mean score of 74.2 as against a mean score of 56.3 for the low producers ($p < .01$ according to the T-test). Seven of the high producers lived in two of the top ranked suburbs, two lived in suburbs of lesser rank, and only two lived in the city itself. By contrast, five of the low producers lived in the city, three lived in suburbs of medium rank, and three lived in suburbs of relatively high rank.

There was also a statistically significant ($p < .05$ by the T-test) difference between the high and low producers with respect to their automobiles. The high producers owned later and more expensive models than the low producers, and two owned two cars each.

From the above data it appears that men who were still moving toward their goals tended to be the high producers, while those who had attained their goals were the low producers. All saw their present jobs as a blind alley, but those who had accepted selling as an occupational goal were content with the job and planned to remain in it for life. Those who had not yet given up the dream of rising knew that the job offered no opportunity for advancement, and for this reason they believed they would have to change jobs if they were to continue moving toward their goals. Most of the high producers seemed to be in a dilemma; they held

[3] Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (rev. ed.; Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957), p. 265.

a job with high pay but with little prestige in the group with which they associated or wished to associate. The desire to leave was certainly there, but leaving might have meant an immediate reduction in earnings and style of life, which among the high producers had been relatively high. The fact that most of the high producers had been on the job for a rather long time seemed to indicate that little will come of their high aspirations.

The low producers appeared to be in no such plight. They had achieved their occupational goals and did not consider changing jobs. They felt that their job carried high prestige and adequate earnings and that they were not "on the skids." Their present occupation was better than any they had held in the past and was also better than their fathers' occupations. Their style of life was less opulent than that of the high producers, but they seemed to associate with others of an equivalent, or even lower, level. We may assume, then, that their reference groups were composed of persons who were, at most, no higher than salesmen.

Since the data seemed to indicate that the significant distinctions between the high and the low producers were perceived downward mobility, a higher level of aspiration, and a probably higher reference group, the problem then was to determine how these factors were associated with behavior which led to high production.

There were three positions on the sales floor which had to be occupied by big-call salesmen at all times. The first position was directly in front of the only entrance, the second was just behind the first, and the third was between the entrance and the payment window. The salesmen worked in rotation: when the No. 1 man took a customer, No. 2 moved up to the first position, and so on. The order was determined by the order of arrival in the morning. After a salesman had reached position No. 1, been assigned a customer, and had either sold or "walked" the customer, he then returned to a waiting area (called the "bull pen"), signed in again, and waited until he reached position No. 3, when he would leave the bull pen and walk out to the sales floor again.

There was no furniture on the first floor, so customers did not usually browse. In fact, they were not encouraged to do so. When a customer entered, he was greeted by the No. 1 man, and, if he wanted to look at some article of furniture, the No. 1 man would turn to the assistant sales manager, who stood nearby, and call out the article the customer wanted. The assistant sales manager then handed the salesman a ticket and kept the stub. While the salesman accompanied the customer to the second or third floor where the merchandise was displayed, the assistant sales manager wrote the salesman's name and the kind of call on the stub, which was kept and later matched with the salesman's ticket.

When the salesman reached the sales floor, he was supposed to begin pressing for a down payment almost immediately. Even if the customer wanted to look at several types of suites, the salesman was not allowed to move from one kind to another unless he had first secured a down payment. When the salesman was unable to get a down payment, he had to call another salesman and turn over the sale to him. This second salesman ("T.O. man") could then write the sale without a down payment if necessary. Of course, if the second salesman, who was almost always the last man in the rotation system, could not "sell" the customer, then the customer was "walked."

With this system, management was able to keep a record for each salesman of the number of sales attempted, those completed, those turned over, and those walked. Theoretically, it gave fairly accurate accounts of the efficiency of the sales force as well as insuring that every salesman had an equal chance to sell. Needless to say, this system was subverted by the salesmen.

In spite of the watchfulness of management, there was a great deal of concern among the salesmen over the individual's ability to circumvent the rules whenever he wished. We discovered, by direct questioning, from comments overheard, and by indi-

rection, that the salesmen were most concerned with curbing practices which allowed one to increase his volume of sales at the expense of another. The most hated practice was "gonophing," that is, stealing sales which rightfully belong to another. Among the various ways of accomplishing this were the "rewrite" and the "outright grabst."

"Rewrite" is the name for the practice described as follows: Often a customer would decide to make some minor changes on an order before the furniture was delivered. If the original salesman was not on hand to make the changes, another salesman was expected to cancel the order for whatever item the customer did not want and to write another order for the replacement. The second salesman received credit for whatever exchange he made. Among the salesmen it was considered unethical for the second salesman to provoke further discontent in the customer in order to rewrite orders including more items. If the salesman handling the exchange did rewrite orders for more items than necessary, he was considered a "gonoph."

The "outright grabst" takes place when a salesman tells the customer that the salesman he wants is not available and takes the sale himself.

Another important unethical practice, as they saw it, was that of avoiding small calls. Often the salesman in position No. 1 was reluctant to give up this position for a small sale and would try to send the customer away from the store. By so doing, he assured himself large sales which were not rightfully his and deprived the others, who were waiting in the bull pen, of their normal number of chances to sell. Since the calls could range from $2.00 to $2,000, the salesman who could avoid a few small calls greatly maximized his earnings.

"Snitching" was also taboo. All the salesmen violated the rules of the management to some degree, and all were liable to be laid off if discovered. The violation of managements rules which did no harm to another salesman was considered normal and expected. Some rules, however, coincided with the group's norms, and violations of these were greatly resented. Nevertheless, management was seldom called upon to curb the offender. It was believed that the proper way to handle violations was informal, either by ostracism or by blocking tactics. If any salesman believed that another had "gonophed" from him, he would probably attempt to get even at the next opportunity.

The sociometric choices indicated that the salesmen believed that high production was correlated with what they considered unethical practices. Each salesman was asked to name the men he liked best, those he liked least, and those he considered the "cleanest" salesmen. The salesmen most frequently chosen as best liked tended to fall in the low and middle range. The six midrange salesmen, three above mid-point and three below, received 47 per cent of the "best-liked" choices; the bottom eight received 35 per cent, and the top eight received only 18 per cent. Observation of those persons who habitually ate together showed no contradictions with the choices of friends reported in the interviews.

The choices of "cleanest salesman" paralleled the "best liked." The six mid-range salesmen received 45 per cent of the choices of cleanest salesman, the bottom eight received 53 per cent, and the top eight received only 3 per cent.

When the choices of "least liked" were examined, the top eight men were highly overrepresented. They received 76 per cent of such choices, while the six mid-range salesmen received 20 per cent, and the bottom eight received only 4 per cent. The expressions of hostility drawn from observations followed the same pattern: the top eight received 88 per cent of all hostile expressions.

Each salesman was asked to give reasons for his sociometric choices, and almost invariably these choices were made on the basis of job behavior. Jones was liked because he was "fair and honest"; Smith was disliked because he was a "gonoph."

Each salesman was then asked to name the seven persons he considered the top-

producing salesmen and to give reasons why he believed they were able to produce more than the others. Of course, the men were not ranking each other by opinion alone, since they had access to the lists posted by management. The writer's purpose was to induce the salesman to name others and then comment on what he believed to be their methods of achieving high productivity. Although there was occasionally a word of praise in these judgments (some men ranked themselves), for the most part the salesmen believed that high production was achieved through violation of the norms, specifically by avoiding small calls and by stealing sales. Only one man commented that he believed the high producers possessed greater ability to sell; the others, including all the high producers, believed that pure ability was about the same among all members.

Within the sales group, high production frequently met with hostility and suspicion. The writer noticed that the high producers were often rejected by the others in a very abusive manner.

Not all the high producers, however, were rejected; in fact, the persons in ranks 9 and 10 tied for the highest number of "best-liked" choices, and salesmen of ranks 6 and 11 were not underchosen. None of these four salesmen received any "least-liked" choices. High production alone, then, seemed to be an inadequate explanation for the general rejection of high producers, as long as this high production was achieved within the framework of the norms.

The next problem was to discover why some of the salesmen were able persistently to violate the norms in spite of the group's hostility and ostracism. Perhaps holding to a reference group of other than salesman might render some of the men impervious to the group pressure of their fellow workers. The only significant difference between the high producers who were accepted by the group and those who were not was that none of the former had named best friends with occupations higher than salesman, while all of the latter had done so.

The big-call group was again divided for analysis. Those who had named friends with occupations higher than salesman were compared with those who had named friends on the level of salesman or below. Eight salesmen named friends of higher status than themselves. These men ranked 1, 1, 4, 4, 4, 7, 8, and 21. One might expect these to be the men who most frequently violated the norms, since they would have essentially rejected the class of salesman as potential friends and hence could resist pressures toward conformity. In comparison with the remaining fourteen with respect to the number of persons for whom hostility was expressed, the eight might be termed the most "rejecting" members of the sales group. The mean number of persons for whom hostility was expressed by the eight upwardly oriented salesmen was 3.37 as against a mean of 1.35 for the remaining fourteen. This difference in means was significant beyond the 5 per cent level.

It was also expected that, if these eight men were violators of the norms, they would also be the most rejected in the sales group. These eight were objects of hostility for thirty-nine persons, a mean of 4.87, while the other fourteen were disliked by only six persons, a mean of 0.43 ($p < .01$ by the T-distribution).

Both the above comparisons were drawn from random observations of the salesmen's behavior; when the interviews were analyzed, a similar pattern was seen. The eight men with "high-placed" friends received a total of seven choices of "best liked" (mean 0.875), while the other fourteen received a total of sixty-one (mean 4.36). This difference was again significant ($p < .001$).

With respect to choices of "least liked" from the interviews, the eight men in question received a total of thirty-eight (mean 4.75), while the remaining fourteen men received a total of twelve (mean 0.86) ($p < .05$).

A further test of group opinion as to who were unethical in their eyes was the choices for "cleanest salesman." Of a total of sixty-eight choices, the eight men with friends higher in status than themselves received

only one choice (a mean of 0.125), while the other fourteen received a total of sixty-seven choices (a mean of 4.78). This difference was highly significant ($p < .001$).

By all measures used, then, these eight men who named friends more highly placed than themselves were the most rejected, and rejecting, members of the sales group. If naming highly placed friends indicated that they had taken as a reference group people placed higher than their present occupation (and consequently higher than their present work group), then the reference group was the factor most highly associated with production. Since high production depended upon one's willingness to violate norms, and those whose reference group was higher than salesmen felt the least obliged to observe the norms of their fellow workers, whom they probably looked upon as inferior, they had, as it were, an advantage.

The salesman's position in the informal structure and his productivity were both closely related to conformity. Efforts on the part of the sales group to compel conformity were ineffective in the case of persons who could resist informal pressures. The informal controls could not expel the violator, and the norm against "snitching" prevented the group from invoking the formal controls of the management. In fact, efforts at social control seemed to make the situation worse. The effectiveness of the informal controls depended upon the individual's identifying himself with the sales group, but, the more he encountered hostility and rejection, the less likely was he to acquire identification. Unethical practice—as the group defined it—then became easier for him, and his sales productivity increased.

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CORRELATES AND ESTIMATION OF OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE[1]

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ABSTRACT

Ratings of the ninety occupations selected by the National Opinion Research Center were made by a group of judges on the responsibility, training, education, and skill required in each occupation, and showed a multiple correlation of .962 with NORC prestige scores. The personal autonomy of the jobholder added no significant explanation of variance in prestige. This finding supports the views of recent theorists and is consistent with the Davis-Moore theory of stratification. An index of occupational prestige derived from judges' ratings of these variables would mark an advance over current indexes of occupational standing.

This paper reports an attempt to clarify the relationships between certain characteristics of occupations and their differential prestige and makes suggestions for an index of prestige based on judges' ratings of occupational characteristics.

In seeking to explain differential occupational prestige, writers have generally emphasized features intrinsic to the work performed rather than extrinsic features, such as income, style of life, or working conditions. There appears to be good reason for this. Labor market conditions, class traditions, and management practices vary markedly from one locality to another and sometimes fluctuate greatly in brief spans of time. With these go variations in extrinsic correlates; yet rankings have shown a high degree of consistency in opinion polls taken at different times and places.[2] It seems likely that the intrinsic aspects of occupations do not change so rapidly or vary so much from place to place and that their stability helps to explain the consistency of prestige rankings found in the various studies.

The intrinsic correlates of prestige cited most often by recent writers fall under two general headings. One involves responsibility, authority, or control over others' behavior; the other, knowledge, specialized training, or skill required to perform the work adequately.[3] In addition, many high-ranking occupations possess in high degree personal autonomy, that is, a degree of power to decide one's own patterns of work and to work toward general objectives rather than toward assigned and specific tasks. Sociologists would probably agree that these considerations have some relation to prestige, but there has been no clear demonstration of their relative importance, nor has it been shown whether identical factors can account for gradations in prestige within all occupations—business, the professions, recreational and aesthetic occupations, manual

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[2] For a summary of some of these polls, see Bernard Barber, *Social Stratification* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1957), pp. 101–8.

[3] Barber, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–27; Theodore M. Caplow, *The Sociology of Work* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954), pp. 52–56; Joseph A. Kahl, *The American Class Structure* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1957), p. 71; Cecil C. North and Paul K. Hatt (National Opinion Research Center), "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," *Opinion News*, IX (September 1, 1947), 3–13 (reprinted in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, [eds.], *Class, Status, and Power* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953], pp. 411–26).

work, and so on. Conceivably, one variable might account for differences in prestige within the professional situs[4] while another explains differences among business or recreational occupations.

Schemes for classifying occupations by general standing, rank, or prestige have generally made use of some of the intrinsic correlates of prestige, but the relative weighting of criteria has usually been implicit and vague. The census categories, for example, which are based on the nature of work, are often used as a scale of occupational rank; but the census must lump together occupations of dissimilar rank in the same category and is likely to reverse the actual order of prestige of some occupations in classifying them.[5] Schemes of this kind are useful for making gross distinctions among mass data but are not precise.[6] Another possible method is to use opinion polls, in which, as we have seen, occupations have been ranked with remarkable consistency. But what is one to do with occupations which have never been included in a poll and which may not even be known to the general public? Some progress toward solving the problem of measurement might result from greater knowledge of the correlates of prestige. If we knew to what extent various factors can account for differences in prestige among occupations, we could construct from them an index of the prestige of occupations.

To this end we obtained ratings of three variables—responsibility; training, education, and skill; and personal autonomy—for the ninety occupations used in the North-Hatt NORC study.[7] Then by correlation and regression analysis we explored how well the three variables could explain and indicate occupational prestige as measured in the NORC study.

Twenty-one graduate students in social science evaluated the ninety occupations as to the three variables. They were instructed to give each occupation a score on a 100-point scale, in which "0 represents the smallest amount, 50 represents the average, and 100 the largest amount of each characteristic." The three variables were defined as follows:

Responsibility.—Number, difficulty, and scope of decisions. The more serious the consequences of a wrong decision, the greater is the responsibility.

Training, education, and skill.—Skill and training may differ both in degree and in

[4] The concept of "situs," a group of occupations distinguished by nature of work rather than by vertical level in a hierarchy, comes from Paul K. Hatt ("Occupations and Social Stratification," *American Journal of Sociology*, LV [May, 1950], 533–43), and has been elaborated recently by Richard T. Morris and Raymond J. Murphy ("The Situs Dimension in Occupational Structure," *American Sociological Review*, XXIV [April, 1959], 231–39). The notion of situs is similar to that of the occupational "field" or "group" as discussed by vocational psychologists (e.g., Anne Roe, *The Psychology of Occupations* [New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1956], pp. 143–250). Hatt's classification of situses is used in the present research.

[5] For example, the occupation "singer in a night club," which would be placed by the census in the top category of professional and semiprofessional occupations, ranked seventy-fifth among the ninety in the NORC study, while the skilled manual occupations "electrician" and "trained machinist" ranked forty-fourth and forty-fifth. Studies of mobility often use a twofold classification of manual versus non-manual occupations to represent high and low status, but Blau's analysis of the NORC data shows that the average skilled occupation covered in this study outranks the average white-collar occupation (Peter M. Blau, "Occupational Bias and Mobility," *American Sociological Review* XXII [August, 1957], 392–99).

[6] For a discussion of occupational rating scales, see Caplow, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–58.

[7] North and Hatt, *op. cit.* In selecting the three variables for which to obtain ratings, we eliminated extrinsic aspects of occupations, such as income, for the reasons cited earlier in this paper. We combined training, education, and skill into a single variable on the ground that informal or on-the-job training in some occupations is equivalent in scope and difficulty to the formal education required in other occupations, and that skill is a main objective of either kind of training. Caplow (*op. cit.*, p. 52) mentions another intrinsic occupational characteristic which is doubtless important: whether the person manipulates symbols, tools and materials, or some combination of these. We did not include this as a variable because it did not seem susceptible to more than gross distinctions.

generality (the surgeon's knowledge of anatomy is more general and abstract than that of the butcher, even though they both cut up organisms).[8]

Personal autonomy.—How free is the person to decide how he will behave in his job? The highest possible amount will be found where the worker has very general duties and obligations, and decides for himself when, where, and how he will carry them out.

The reliability of ratings was judged satisfactory after analysis of variance showed that, for each of the three variables, the variance of occupational scores (between-class) exceeded that of different raters' scores assigned to specific occupations (within-class). Each distribution of ninety occupational scores by a single rater on a single variable was then converted to standard *z*-scores. This was for the purpose of equating the subjective rating scales employed by the twenty-one raters. Each occupation was then assigned a score, the mean of its *z*-scores, for each variable. Correlation and regression analysis was undertaken to show the relation between North-Hatt prestige scores and the three variables. Finally, separate correlations of prestige with the three variables were computed within each of six occupational situses. One purpose of the correlations within situses was to indicate indirectly whether the judges' ratings varied independently or merely reflected the halo of the occupations' general prestige; the former apparently was the case, as will be shown below.

Table 1 shows the correlations of the three variables with prestige and with each other. Our judges' ratings on the basis of three variables were highly correlated with the NORC prestige ratings. The correlations with prestige were .949, .933, and .811 for training-education-skill, responsibility, and personal autonomy, respectively. The three variables also showed high correlations with one another, but the highest of these, .915 between training-education-skill and responsibility, was less than the correlation of prestige with either of these two variables.

TABLE 1

CORRELATION MATRIX OF OCCUPATIONAL RATINGS
($N = 90$)

	Basis of Rating							
	1		2		3		4	
Basis of Rating	r	Confidence Limits*	r	Confidence Limits*	r	Confidence Limits*	r	Confidence Limits*
1 Prestige.........	—		.933	.956 .872	.949	.970 .913	.811	.887 .693
2 Responsibility...			—		.915	.950 .857	.815	.889 .699
3 Training-education-skill........					—		.852	.912 .756
4 Autonomy......							—	

* Confidence limits of 99 per cent obtained by Fisher's Z transformation.

The multiple correlation of prestige with all three variables combined was .962. The multiple correlation of prestige with the two variables of training-education-skill and responsibility was also .962, and analysis of variance showed that the correlation of prestige with personal autonomy, after the effects of the other two variables had been removed, was not significant at the .05 level. The multiple-regression equation showed β-coefficients of .612 and .406, and B-coefficients of 10.321 and 7.097, for training-education-skill and responsibility, respective-

[8] The idea of "generality" of knowledge in an occupation, and the example of surgeon vs. butcher, are adapted from Barber (*op. cit.*, p. 25).

ly: roughly a 3:2 ratio.

Table 2 shows correlations of the three variables with prestige within each six occupational situses. Among business, recreational-aesthetic, manual, and service occupations, as among the ninety occupations as a whole, training-education-skill had the highest correlation with prestige. Withing the political and professional situses, responsibility showed the highest correlation. Personal autonomy was the least correlated with prestige in every situs except recreational-aesthetic, where responsibility showed the lowest correlation of any variable within any situs (.301). Separate correlations were not computed within the agricultural and military situses, as they were represented by only four and two occupations, respectively.

TABLE 2

CORRELATIONS OF PRESTIGE WITH THREE VARIABLES WITHIN SIX OCCUPATIONAL SITUSES

		VARIABLES					
		Responsibility		Training-Education-Skill		Personal Autonomy	
OCCUPATIONAL SITUS	N	r	Confidence Limits*	r	Confidence Limits*	r	Confidence Limits*
Political	8	.942	.993 .579	.873	.985 .246	.400	....† ....
Professional	20	.822	.946 .453	.767	.927 .370	.654	.887 .157
Business	16	.884	.971 .591	.927	.982 .727	.468	....† ....
Recreational-aesthetic	8	.301	....†	.093	.989 .375	.470	....† ....
Manual	19	.829	.986 .493	.977	.994 .919	.629	.882 .095
Service	13	.902	.981 .555	.926	.986 .649	.522	....† ....

* Confidence of limits of 99 per cent obtained by Fisher's Z transformation.

† Confidence limits show r not significantly different from zero at .01 level.

With so few occupations represented in each situs, one should not attempt to draw firm substantive conclusions from the within-situs correlations. Nevertheless, this aspect of the findings is of interest for what it suggests about the method of rating. The fact that substantially different patterns appeared in the different situses indicates that the raters' judgments did not simply reflect a halo from the occupations' general prestige. It appears, instead, that each set of ratings was to some extent independent of the others and of the occupations' over-all standing—which gains credence from the fact that the deviations from the general pattern of highest correlation with training-education-skill and lowest with personal autonomy are of a kind which one might expect. It does not seem likely that they have arisen from random variability in raters' judgments. The extremely low correlation of prestige with responsibility in the recreational-aesthetic situs appears reasonable—artists and performers may need great skill, but they do not ordinarily make important decisions affecting others. One might also have expected the high correlation with responsibility in the political situs, since making decisions is the essence of politics and administration. With less confidence, the relatively low correlation with training-education-skill among the professions can be explained on purely statistical grounds. All

professions have fairly high prestige and require extended training, and "if we are drawing a sample from a group which is restricted in range with regard to either or both variables, the correlation will be relatively low."[9]

Our main finding, that training-education-skill and responsibility, in conjunction, account for much of the variance in the prestige of occupations, supports the views of North and Hatt, Kahl, Barber, and others, who explain prestige in essentially these terms. It is also consistent with Davis and Moore's theory of stratification: they maintain that the high-ranking occupations will be those which "require the greatest training or talent" (training-education-skill, in our terms) and at the same time "have the greatest functional importance for the society."[10] To have responsibility may not be the same as to have functional importance; but the two seem related in most instances, and an evaluation of an occupation's responsibility may be as close as one can come to an estimate of its functional importance.

The significance of both responsibility and training or skill can be summed up by asking the question, "How serious will the consequences be if an inept individual enters the occupation?" Bad performance will not matter much if the job is unimportant and carries little responsibility. Similarly, if work requires almost no skill, nearly everyone can do it well enough to avoid serious harm. One might tentatively advance the hypothesis that the man in the street perceives this, however dimly, when he attributes prestige to occupations: he reserves the highest prestige for occupations which stand high in both characteristics and assigns less to those high in one but low in the other, such as the recreational and aesthetic occupations, which require skill but lack responsibility. Likewise, occupational groups which are trying to raise their professional standing, such as nursing, attempt to expand both their domain of responsibility and their repertoire of skills, apparently sensing that both are necessary for maximum prestige.

If this is true, it provides a link between the general theory of stratification and the factual implications of this paper. If we confine our attention to prestige alone rather than considering all forms of occupational reward, then some of the objections that have been against Davis and Moore's theory become less valid. Occupations which do not seem to fit their theory include those which receive rewards without contributing visibly to societal welfare, such as are found in the underworld, and those which receive higher rewards than appear necessary, such as acting in the movies; neither of these is placed near the top in the prestige polls. Their main rewards are money and transitory fame or notoriety. Thus the existence of such occupations is not inconsistent with Davis and Moore's theory if the theory is taken to refer only to prestige and not to all kinds of rewards.[11]

Our findings suggest that ratings of training-education-skill and responsibility could be used to form an index of occupational prestige. Since the correlations we obtained were based on ratings by graduate students in sociology, it seems likely that similar results would be obtained if other sociologists used the same method. This is why these particular raters were used. Applying regression weights to ratings of the two variables, one could arrive at a single score for each occupation. To determine the best weighting of the two would require additional research, beyond the resources of the present study—for example, an opinion poll similar to the NORC's but covering a larger and more representative sample of occupations, on which ratings and regression analy-

[9] Quinn McNemar, *Psychological Statistics* (2d ed.; New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1955), p. 149.

[10] Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore, "Some Principles of Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, X (April, 1945), 242–49.

[11] This interpretation concerns only the assertion by Davis and Moore that occupations possessing certain characteristics will receive certain rewards. It leaves aside their assertion that the pattern of rewards is functional for the society.

sis are undertaken. The NORC list of occupations, while it covers a broad range, overrepresents some kinds of occupations, especially those ranking high, such as professions and top governmental positions. It might be found that maximum predictability of prestige would result if different weights were used for different situses.

Several advantages would inhere in an index of this type: it would be explicitly linked to stratification theory in the manner described above; it would avoid the errors of gross and overlapping classificatory schemes such as the census categories; since it would involve scoring occupations, not merely classifying or ranking them, it would permit the use of more powerful statistical techniques in research using occupational status as a variable. Moreover, raters could evaluate new or little-known occupations, given a knowledge of their duties and requirements, and arrive at predictions of the prestige the occupations, were they to become better known, would enjoy.

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SIZE OF FAMILY AND PREFERENCE FOR CHILDREN OF EACH SEX

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ABSTRACT

Preference for at least one child of each sex has a minor, but significant, influence in determining whether couples with two, three, or four children expect to have and do have an additional child. This relationship was found to persist with a number of socioeconomic and demographic controls. Its importance increases with the number of children of identical sex. The analysis is based on the data from a national probability sample of white married women in the child-bearing years.

This paper deals with the question whether the number of children Americans expect and have is influenced by their desire to have at least one child of each sex. The maintenance of every society depends on a reasonable balance of the sexes. Preference for one or the other sex and the desired ratio between the sexes probably will vary with the nature of the society, particularly with reference to the difference between male and female roles at various stages of the life-cycle and how the sex of a member affects ability to discharge certain responsibilities in the family.

In Western society, preferences for male or female children are not, to any important extent, dependent on economic considerations. The economic significance of children of either sex has declined with the disappearance of child labor, the separation of economic activity from the family, and the relative economic independence of new families of their parents. Nevertheless, it is a common observation that a majority of couples want children of each sex. Presumably, this is because boys and girls play different roles in the family apart from any economic considerations.

From one point of view, children can be regarded as consumer goods—yielding direct satisfactions which will vary according to whether they are boys or girls; hence, some value is involved in having at least one of each. For example, boys bring about relations of their parents to outside groups which differ from those effected by girls; they involve their parents in different kinds of leisure pursuits (e.g., hunting and certain sports for a boy and his father as contrasted with dolls and an interest in clothes for mother and daughter), and children of either sex permit the parents to relive vicariously their childhood experiences, or experiences they wish they had had. (The parent may derive satisfaction from vicarious participation in the childhood role of the opposite sex: the mother who really wanted to be a boy may get special satisfaction from a son's activities.) If such differential satisfactions are enjoyed by couples with any given number of children, those with children all of the same sex will be more likely than will others to have an additional child. Whether it is, in fact, the case that couples whose children are all boys or all girls are more likely to go on to have more children is reported in this paper, on the basis of data for a national sample.

PREVIOUS STUDIES

There have been some previous studies of this problem, with more limited samples. Clare and Kiser analyzed ex post facto statements by married couples in the Indianapolis Study[1] as to how important the desire for a child of each sex was in their decision to have their last child. They found that it was important to a small group at each parity. However, as the au-

[1] Jeanne E. Clare and Clyde V. Kiser, "Preference for Children of Given Sex in Relation to Fertility," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XXIX, No. 4 (October, 1951), 440–92.

thors indicate, this kind of ex post facto statement of reasons for actions is suspect as rationalization. In the Princeton American Family Study of two-child couples in large metropolitan areas, Westoff[2] used factor analysis to isolate the variables which are related to the desire for another child. He found sex preference to be important to Protestants but not to Catholics or Jews.

Results similar to Westoff's are reported by De Wolff and Meerdink[3] in a study of births in Amsterdam between 1948 and 1955. They found that the first two children of couples having a third child in those years were more likely to be of the same sex among Protestants and those professing no religion than among Catholics. In families with a third birth, the first two children were of one sex in 50 per cent of the Catholic and 52 per cent of the non-Catholic. (A considerable proportion of both Protestants and Catholics stopped at the second child.) These differences are not large, but they are statistically significant.

All these studies show that the desire to have a child of each sex is a relevant but not decisive factor determining the size of a family. Given the current norm of two, three, or four children in American families,[4] it is inevitable that this will affect only a small percentage of the families. By virtue of the nearly equal sex ratio at birth, most families will have children of both sexes in the course of having the moderate size of family they desire. On a chance basis, about 50 per cent of the two-child families, 75 per cent of the three-child families, and 87 per cent of the four-child families will have at least one child of each sex.

The data for this paper come from the Growth of American Families Study.[5] That study included 2,713 wives, chosen to constitute a national probability sample of all white wives who, in 1955, were eighteen to thirty-nine years old, married, and living with their husbands. The present investigation is limited to a subsample: those classified as fecund,[6] in their first marriage, having borne two, three, or four children to date, all still living. This involves 889 couples—521 with two children, 266 with three, and 102 with four.

Only fecund couples were studied, which seemed reasonable in an analysis of expectations of additional children. The investigation is limited to women who had been married only once, to eliminate the influence a second marriage might have on expectations of additional children, and to those who have never had a child who died, since when a child dies the parents frequently desire to replace it and there are too few such cases for proper assessment.

In analyzing preferences in size of family, the variable we have used is the expected, instead of desired, number of children. The stated desires in size do not necessarily represent a couple's probable performance; nor are expectations of size of family to be equated with the desires, intentions, or plans of a family. Many parents do not plan the size of their families; others have attempted to plan, but have been unsuccessful. Such families may not want more children and may not in-

[2] Charles F. Westoff, "The Social-Psychological Structure of Fertility," in *International Population Conference* (Vienna: International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, 1959), pp. 355–66.

[3] P. de Wolff and S. Meerdink, "La Fécondité des marriages à Amsterdam selon l'appartenance sociale et religieuse," *Population*, XII, No. 2 (1957), 289–318.

[4] For evidence on the marked consensus on the two-, three-, or four-child family, see Ronald Freedman, "Social Values about Family Size in the United States" (*International Population Conference, op. cit.*, pp. 173–83).

[5] The methodology and major findings of this study are repoted in R. Freedman, P. K. Whelpton, and A. Campbell, *Family Planning, Sterility, and Population Growth* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1959).

[6] The "fecund" wives are those in couples for whom there is no reason to suspect any physical limitation to the ability to have additional children (for a more complete operational definition, see Freedman *et al., op. cit.*, chap. ii).

tend to have more, but a realistic appraisal leads them to expect a certain number of additional children. The expectations of a couple with regard to size of family reflect not just their hopes or intentions but also a more or less realistic appraisal of their future fertility. For most couples, expectations and desires will be identical, but the minority for whom there is a discrepancy is substantial.

FINDINGS

For our subsample of 889 families, the hypothesis investigated is that, at a particular parity, couples with only boys or only girls are more likely than others (1) to expect to have additional children in the future and (2) actually to have gone on to have additional children in the past. We deal first with what people expect and then with actual behavior at each parity.

Two types of data were used to test the two parts of this hypothesis: (*a*) The sex composition of the family—whether or not the children were both (or all) of one sex—was related to the expressed expectation of additional children. This was done separately for two-child, three-child, and four-child families. The question is whether the proportion expecting additional children is larger among couples who, to date, had had just girls or just boys, or among those who already had at least one child of each sex. We are also interested in whether this relationship, if it exists, is more pronounced in larger than in smaller families. (*b*) The sex composition of the first two children of the three-child families was compared to that of completed two-child families—that is, those in which additional children were not expected. Here the question is whether couples with two children who actually went on to have three children might have been influenced by the fact that their first two children were of the same sex. This influence was measured by comparing the proportion of such couples whose first two children were of the same sex with the comparable proportion among completed two-child families. The same comparison was made for the first three children of four-child families and of the completed three-child families.

The relationship of sex of the children already born to expectations of additional children is shown in Table 1 separately for two-, three-, and four-child families. At each parity level the mothers with children of the same sex are more likely to expect additional children than are the other mothers. Among the two-child mothers, 63 per cent of those who had had only boys or only girls expected additional children, as against 59 per cent of those who had both boys and girls—a difference of four percentage points.

TABLE 1

EXPECTATIONS OF ADDITIONAL CHILDREN OF TWO-CHILD, THREE-CHILD, AND FOUR-CHILD COUPLES, BY SEX DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN ALREADY BORN

	Couples Expecting an Additional Child			
	Families with Children of Just One Sex		Families with Children of Both Sexes	
No. of Children Already Born	Per Cent	N*	Per Cent	N*
Two	63	259	59	261
Three	61	69	53	197
Four	76	17	49	85

* Total sample on which the percentage figure was based.

For mothers of three children, 61 per cent of those with children of just one sex expect additional children, compared to 53 per cent of those with children of both sexes—a difference of eight percentage points.

When mothers of four children are considered, the difference becomes much larger. Seventy-six per cent of the mothers with children of just one sex hope for additional children, as compared to 49 per cent of those families with children of both sexes—a difference of twenty-seven percentage points.

For both the two- and the three-child families the differences are small.[7] Though

[7] Tests for significance, allowing for the clustered character of the sample, show the relationships to

the difference is large for the four-child families, the number of cases is too small to yield a statistically significant difference. However, in all three cases the differences are in the expected direction and increase progressively with size of family.

A comparison was also made between the sex composition of completed two-child families and that of the first two children of those couples who had had a third child. The same comparison was made between the sex distribution of completed three-child families and that of the first three children of four-child families. In both comparisons a higher proportion of couples who actually had the additional child earlier had had children of only one sex. Among the 266 couples with three children, 55 per cent had only boys or only girls among their first two, compared with 47 per cent of the 203 couples stopping at two. Among the 102 couples with four children, 31 per cent had children of only one sex among the first three, as compared with 23 per cent among the 119 couples stopping at three.

Thus, five comparisons have been made between couples with children of both sexes and couples with children of just one sex—three comparisons of expectations to have additional children and two of the sex composition of groups of differing performance. In all five comparisons, whether the couples have children of only one sex is consistently related to expecting or having an additional child. The relationship is admittedly small, but it is consistent throughout and becomes larger as the family increases. It is reasonable to infer that this relationship demonstrates a preference for children of both sexes.

Given this small but consistent relationship between sex preferences and fertility expectations and behavior, a next step is to determine whether the relationship persists if controls are used for certain variables which are related to size of family. As control variables, four characteristics were used which, in the Growth of American Families Study, were found to have a significant relationship to size of family: number of years wife worked, education of wife, religion of wife, and duration of marriage. Since the number of cases was limited, each control variable was simply dichotomized, and the relationship between sex distribution and fertility expectations or achievements was investigated within the two categories of each control variable. The two types of comparisons made for each pair of subgroups were identical with those discussed previously, namely, (1) between those couples at each parity (two, three, or four) who do and those who do not expect to have additional children, and (2) between those couples who had completed families of two (or three) children and those who had at least one additional child. Thus, for each control variable ten comparisons were made of fertility as related to sex distribution.

The results are as follows:

1. *Years wife worked.*—This control does not change the relationship previously found between sex distribution and fertility. The differences in eight out of ten cases are in the expected direction. There is no apparent relationship between the size of the differences and the length of work experience.
2. *Education of the wife.*—This does not change the relationship. In eight out of ten comparisons the differences are in the expected direction. The amount of education has no consistent relationship with the size of the differences.
3. *Duration of marriage.*—In all ten comparisons, the differences are in the expected direction. Duration of marriage does not affect the size of differences consistently.
4. *Religion of the wife.*—This variable affects the size of the relationship but not its direction. The validity of the general findings is not altered in that the differences are in the expected direction in five out of five

be significant at about the .10 level. The numbers in our sample are so small that a relatively large percentage difference is necessary for statistical significance at the .05 level. However, the consistency of the results at all three parities makes it unlikely that the results are due to chance fluctuations in sampling.

comparisons for Protestants and in four out of five comparisons for Catholics. But the size of the differences is greater for Protestants than for Catholics in all five comparisons. It seems that a desired sex distribution is more important to Protestants than it is to Catholics. This is consistent with the findings of Westoff and of de Wolff and Meerdink.

The relationship between sex preference and fertility was investigated with another control—success in family planning—but in a different manner. For this analysis the sample was restricted to couples who said they had wanted all their children and who had never had an "accidental conception" (a conception occurring when the couple was practicing contraception to avoid a pregnancy). In four of the five comparisons made for this group, the differences are still in the expected direction and are about the same size as those for the total sample. For these couples who have planned size of family successfully, expectations and desires are most likely to be identical, so this particular test indicates that the discrepancy between expectations and desires does not affect the relationship under study.

Thus, a total of forty-four comparisons were made within control categories of various kinds. In thirty-nine of the forty-four, the difference is in the direction consistent with the hypothesis. While the overlapping samples and the interdependence of control characteristics make it improper to use a sign test to evaluate exactly the statistical significance of the pattern of differences, the cumulative evidence certainly supports the statement that the preference for children of both sexes persists in a wide variety of important subgroups in the population.

None of the evidence considered up to this point depends on statements by respondents about their reasons for having any given number of children. We have simply considered whether the failure to have a child of each sex is associated in fact with expecting or having additional children. This seems to us to be the best kind of evidence in view of the large element of rationalization and the unconscious motivations affecting a respondent's statement of reasons why she has or expects to have a family of a certain size. Nevertheless, we have examined statements by respondents as to why they wanted to have at least a certain number of children.

In the complete sample of the Growth of American Families Study, among all the respondents giving reasons for having at least a certain number of children, 10 per cent mentioned sex preference among other reasons. This is consistent with our earlier findings that sex preference is relevant for a small but significant minority. Clearly, it is not perceived as important by any large number.

For the special subsample analyzed in this paper, a further check was made by considering the reasons given by couples with three or four children who had children of only one sex and did expect to go on to a fourth or fifth child. Did such couples explicitly recognize a desire for a child of the sex they did not have? Among 42 such couples who had three children, 15 gave this reason among others for expecting to go on to a fourth child. A significant minority of the wives told us that they expected more children but did not want them. If we eliminate from the comparison these 9 couples who did not want the additional children expected, 15 out of 33—almost 50 per cent—gave this reason. Among the corresponding 13 four-child families of boys only or girls only expecting to have a fifth child, 7 gave sex preference as a reason. If we eliminate the 3 couples who did not want the additional child expected, the proportion rises to seven out of ten. Though these wives mentioned other reasons for wanting additional children, it was clear from the interviews that, for the majority, sex preference was the most important reason.

We have considered here the reasons given by only a small number of couples of the third and fourth parities because

most couples reaching these parities have children of each sex and some of the others can not or will not have additional children for a variety of other reasons.

Preference for a child of each sex appears to be a significant, if minor, influence in determining the size of a family in the United States. Such a preference exists in a variety of subgroups in the population. With the limited data available only one characteristic was found which affected the magnitude of this influence—religion. The preference apparently exists among both Catholics and Protestants, but it is less pronounced among Catholics. We may ask whether the special religious values attached to size of family and family planning for Catholics reduce the relevance of such matters.

The influence of sex preference was found to increase with size of family within the two- to four-child range considered. Although this needs confirmation with a larger sample, if it persists in replication it has interesting implications. One possible explanation is that, with increasing family size, those with children of only one sex are more and more "deviant" if they take as a reference group persons with families of similar size. Three-fourths of the couples will satisfy the preference if they have three children. Another possibility is that, within the range of two to four children desired and expected by most Americans, most of the gains derived from children can be realized with the smaller number. Those who go on to or beyond the upper end of the range may be increasingly those with special reasons, such as the desire for children of each sex.

There appears to be enough support for the idea that Americans do value having children of each sex to justify research on the differential functions of boys and girls in American family life.

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OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE AND SOCIAL MOBILITY OF SUICIDES IN NEW ZEALAND

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ABSTRACT

In this analysis victims of suicide in New Zealand are ranked by class origin and class at death. The highest rank in occupational prestige attained by the father is taken as indicating the class of the victim's family of orientation; the victim's class is indicated by the prestige rank of his occupation at death. The data indicate that upper-class fathers produce more than their proportion of suicidal sons, that suicide rates are significantly higher among persons of high prestige, and that victims of suicide, born at whatever level, freely change position between generations on the prestige scale.

This analysis of the social circulation of suicides in New Zealand includes ranking of the victims by the prestige accorded to their occupations and a description of the route followed by victims from their position at birth to their position at death, with a consideration of its implication for suicidal behavior. Our foremost concern is with the dynamics of suicide, not static conditions surrounding the suicide at the time of his death, and we shall concentrate on his social situation from birth to death. A great deal of information has been secured on the social history of the 955 persons who committed suicide in New Zealand between 1946 and 1951.

The program of research by which we obtained this information was carried out by Jack P. Gibbs in Wellington, New Zealand.[1] Data on each case were gathered in several steps: (1) Suicides were identified by inspecting all coroner's reports on deaths in the dominion in the six-year period. (2) There was an attempt in each case to record all relevant testimony included in the coroner's report. (3) All demographic and social characteristics reported on death certificates were recorded. (4) The same step was repeated with birth certificates of victims born in New Zealand. (5) Finally, as part of a project supported by the National Science Foundation, the data were assembled and prepared for analysis at the Department of Sociology, University of Oregon. The data are such that the victims' pasts can be considered from several points of view. We have selected the mobility of suicides as particularly worthy of consideration, since it is closely related to basic structural characteristics of societies and is a deteminant of the fulfilment or frustration of social expectations.

The major problem of procedure is the establishment of a measure of prestige of occupational positions. This was needed in determining the distribution of suicides as reckoned by the difference between the prestige position of their families of orientation and their position as to occupational prestige at the time of death. We began with the traditional designation of classes as "lower," "middle," and "upper." These terms were applied first to the total male working population of New Zealand and then to males who had attained or passed the age of thirty-five years. In both cases our goal was to estimate the number of persons who belonged to upper, middle, or lower classes.[2]

The scores on the Congalton scale are based on the rank order assigned by four samples of 974 interviewees to thirty occupations, selected to represent all occupa-

[1] The data were gathered in 1951–52 with the support of a Fulbright grant and under the auspices of the New Zealand Education Foundation.

[2] By the application of findings of A. A. Congalton's "Social Grading of Occupations in New Zealand" (*British Journal of Sociology*, IV [1953], 45–49) to the twenty-five occupational groups listed in the reports of the 1945 New Zealand census. The prestige scores are based on samples in Carterton, Feilding, and Wellington and on the responses of students in the Department of Psychology in Victoria University College. Census data are those compiled by the Census and Statistics Department (*Population Census, 1945: Industries and Occupations* [Wellington: Government Printer], IX, Table 6, 36–50).

tions, from the medical doctor to the road-sweeper. Congalton's scale is similar to the North-Hatt scale, the Hall-Jones scale, and the scores provided by the Taft scale.[3]

In the eyes of the interviewees the occupations in order of their prestige were: doctor, lawyer, company director, business manager, minister, public accountant, civil service head, works manager, farmer, primary-school teacher, jobbing master-builder, news reporter, commissioned policeman, commercial traveler, news agent or bookseller, fitter, routine clerk, insurance agent, carpenter, bricklayer, shop assistant, carrier, chef, tractor-driver, agricultural laborer, coal miner, railway porter, barman, wharf laborer, and road-sweeper.

By applying the Congalton scale to the occupations listed in the census reports, we estimated the total number of male workers and the number of males thirty-five or more years old on each of the three levels of prestige represented by Class I (ranks 1–9 in Congalton's scale), Class II (ranks 10–19), and Class III (ranks 20–29). (These class designations are our own, not Congalton's. Estimating the number of workers in each class on the basis of the Congalton scale was a tedious process, the results of which can be no more than tentative. For one thing, the scale does not cover all occupations listed in the census. Its application to the twenty-five occupations was made on a comparative basis, depending upon the judgment of the observer as to what occupations are comparable to those on the scale. Hence, while the process is not fully replicable, other persons employing the same procedure would probably arrive at estimates very similar to those made in Table I.

[3] Cecil C. North and Paul K. Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," *Opinion News*, IX (September 1, 1947) (cf. Logan Wilson and W. L. Kolb, *Sociological Analysis* [New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1949], pp. 464–73); John Hall and D. C. Caradog Jones, "Social Grading of Occupations," *British Journal of Sociology*, I (1950), 31–35; and Ronald Taft, "The Social Grading of Occupations in Australia," *British Journal of Sociology*, IV (1953), 181–88.

OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE OF THE VICTIMS OF SUICIDE

The occupations of the 689 male suicides of all ages were located along the Congalton scale, except that 14 without occupations or whose occupations are unknown were classed in rank 31 and a few pensioners were placed in rank 30. Those who were retired were accorded the prestige scores of the vocations they had pursued, and it was assumed that they should be included in our aggregate estimates but excluded in tests which concerned only active workers.

If we inquire whether suicides are distributed according to occupational prestige in much the same way as are all male workers, we discover that they are not (Table 1). The differences between the number of suicides observed and the number expected, from the total working population in each class, are great:[4] Class I had more than its share, while Classes II and III had less.

VICTIMS THIRTY-FIVE OR MORE YEARS OLD

The application of the Congalton scale to the occupations listed in the census for males thirty-five years of age or older leads to the results presented in Table 2 in terms of the number of active workers in each class in the designated age group. Table 2 also indicates the number of suicides which occurred in each class as compared with the number that would correspond with its proportion of the 270,000 active workers in all classes.

The 348 victims who belonged to this age-group of active workers were not distributed by classes in the statistically expected proportions. The differences in the number of suicides observed and expected in Classes I and III remain significant at a high level of confidence.[5]

It is difficult to estimate the class distribution of the male population over thirty-five years old which is retired, sick, of "independent means," or unemployed; but the

[4] Chi square, 43.41; with two degrees of freedom, $P < .001$.

[5] Chi square, 14.88; with two degrees of freedom, $P < .01$.

relation of the distribution of income to various levels of prestige makes it possible to move tentatively from estimates of the former to estimates of the latter. Data on the former are available.[6] By assuming that the per capita income of males in these categories was probably not more than two-fifths of their per capita income during employment, we placed all non-workers in the designated categories with incomes of more than £225 a year in Class I, those with incomes of £100–£225 in Class II, and all with incomes of less than £100 in Class III. It is not likely that this procedure leaves the upper class underrepresented or overestimates the population of the lower class. The comparison of the distribution by classes, thus determined, of 175 suicides among non-workers in these groups is given in Table 3.

As shown in Table 3, the upper class of older non-workers contained a larger pro-

[6] Estimated on the basis of data in the New Zealand *Population Census, 1945: Incomes* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1952), X, Table 2, 6–7.

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION BY PRESTIGE GROUPS OF CLASSES OF THE MALE WORKING POPULATION AND OF MALE SUICIDES IN NEW ZEALAND

Class	No. of Workers	Percentage of All Workers	No. of Suicides	No. Expected*
I.............	90,000	19.2	200	132
II............	130,000	27.7	171	191
III...........	250,000	53.1	318†	366
Total.....	470,000	100.0	689	689

* Based on the percentage of the population of each class as shown in the table.

† Fourteen persons with no occupation are included in this number.

TABLE 2

CLASS DISTRIBUTION OF ACTIVE MALE WORKERS THIRTY-FIVE OR MORE YEARS OLD AND OF 348 MALE SUICIDES OF CORRESPONDING AGE WHO WERE ACTIVE WORKERS AT DEATH

Class	No. of Workers	Percentage of All Workers	No. of Suicides	No. Expected*
I.............	73,000	27.0	124	94
II............	74,000	27.4	94	95
III....	123,000	45.6	130	159
Total.....	270,000	100 0	348	348

* Based on the percentage of the population in each class as shown in the table.

TABLE 3

CLASS DISTRIBUTION OF SUICIDES AMONG THE NON-WORKING MALE POPULATION ABOVE THIRTY-FIVE YEARS OF AGE

Classes	No. of Non-workers	Percentage of All Non-workers	No. of Suicides	No. Expected*
I....... ...	12,500	18.9	52	33
II.......	16,500	25.0	43	44
III...........	37,000	56.1	80	98
Total.....	66,000	100.0	175	175

* Based on the percentage of the population in the class as shown in the table.

portion of suicides than was found in the classes below. It is unlikely that these class differences are the result of chance.[7]

VERTICAL MOBILITY

The vertical mobility of suicides in New Zealand tends to be downward—sometimes sharply so—yet suicides occur in great numbers among men who are on the way up.

In the whole of New Zealand there appears a small aggregate deficit in the ranks of prestige gained and lost among the 523 male suicides thirty-five or more years old, as compared with the highest rank attained by their fathers. The 523 men fell 477 ranks below their fathers—an average loss of less than one rank per suicide. In the four major New Zealand cities—Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin—the aggregate deficit in prestige positions was 614—an average of less than 3.3 ranks per suicide.

We have no adequate data on the aggregate prestige gains and losses in the succession of generations in New Zealand, but we did obtain a 2 per cent sample, chosen at random, among registrations of deaths attributed to natural causes in 1948.[8] Of these, 149 were males thirty-five or more years old, only 56 of whom passed upward or downward from one class to another—32 up and 24 down. Ninety-three remained in the class of their fathers, among whom 50 registered no change. In this small sample the intergenerational patterns of mobility were similar to those described by Morris Janowitz in West Germany in 1955.[9]

The interclass patterns of mobility of persons who become suicides may be observed more specifically in Table 4. Of the 523 male victims thirty-five or more years old, 233 originated in upper-class families. Of these, 119 had moved downward, with the result that upper-class fathers provided their own class with two-thirds of its suicidal sons and fathered nearly two-fifths of those who became suicides in the middle class and nearly three out of ten who died by their own hands in the lower class.

TABLE 4

CLASS AT DEATH AND CLASS OF ORIGIN OF 532 MALE VICTIMS OF SUICIDE THIRTY-FIVE OR MORE YEARS OF AGE

Class at Death			Class of Origin I		Class of Origin II		Class of Origin III	
Class	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent*	No.	Per Cent*	No.	Per Cent*
I	176	33.7	119	67.6	17	9.7	40	22.7
II	137	26.2	54	39.4	36	26.3	47	34.3
III	210	40.1	60	28.6	35	16.7	115	54.7
Total	523†	100.0†	233	44.6	88	16.8	202	38.6

* Based on the number in the corresponding row of column 1.

† Totals refer both to columns 1 and 2 and to the corresponding subtotals in row 4.

Middle-class families bred only one out of six of all suicides, and only a little more than one-fourth of those who died in this manner in the middle class. Lower-class families bred 87 sons who went up, to die, 40 of them in the upper class. In all, 104 suicides moved up from their fathers' to a higher class; 149 moved down.

Many suicides are mobile to a very high degree. In the group above thirty-five years of age, 156 died after attaining an occupa-

[7] Chi square, 14.27; with two degrees of freedom, $P < .01$.

[8] The year 1948 was chosen as being near the middle of the whole period of study, 1946–51. The sample of 321 is almost exactly 2 per cent of the 15,812 deaths occurring in 1948. Of the 149 males in the sample above 35 years of age, 62.4 per cent were non-mobile, 21.5 per cent mobile upward, and 16.1 per cent mobile downward.

[9] Morris Janowitz, "Social Stratification and Mobility in West Germany," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXIV (1958), 6–24. Janowitz reports that, in 1955, persons on the middle school level were (*ibid.*, Table 9, p. 16) 58.7 per cent non-mobile, 22.1 per cent upwardly mobile, and 16.3 per cent downwardly mobile (cf. R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset [eds.] *Class, Status, and Power* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953], pp. 370–500).

tional prestige score 10 or more ranks above or below the highest attainment of their fathers. Of these, 90 moved downward and 66 upward. Here it should be observed that 60 moved down from the upper to the lower class, as compared with 18 who slipped to the middle class, and that 40 moved up from the lower to the upper class, as compared with 18 whose climb terminated in the middle class.

One may well ask whether tension in those who moved upward is not a factor in suicide, just as frustration in those who think of themselves as failures may be. If it is an influence among climbers, what are its sources?

There may be two sources of tension. The first relates to the lack of satisfying expectations and the threat of losing status; the second, to social mobility as tending to weaken social relationships.

Assuming that most fathers want their sons to exceed the parental attainments, that the sons would like to do so, and that society applauds them for doing it, those who fall far behind may suffer from a keen sense of failure. The frustration may be difficult to tolerate, particularly when a depressed status is accentuated by events which are perceived as catastrophes. On the other hand, the sons who have surpassed their fathers may feel greatly depressed by threats to their new status. As a consequence, the climbers may furnish a relatively high rate of suicides. Finally, it is suspected that both climbing and descending weaken social relationships and that weak social relationships are not conducive to a normal reaction to crisis.

MOBILITY AND CRISIS

In an effort to establish the frequency of crises preceding suicide among the climbers and the "sliders," as compared with those who maintained the status of their fathers, we matched, by age, each of 50 males who "stayed put" with (1) a man who fell 10 or more positions below his father on the Congalton scale and (2) a man who climbed at least 10 ranks above his father's highest attainment. We then examined the available data on each case to determine whether some special crisis preceded the suicidal act.

Distinguishing the crisis cases is not easy, but every case included in that category involves suicide following shifts in social or medical situations which might be regarded as an added burden. If no new difficulty confronted the victim before the suicidal act, he was not included. If he had been isolated over a long period, as was often the case, but fell a victim to suicide without any apparent change in his situation, he was not included. If he had been long depressed and not subject to any new event which would be likely to increase his depression, he was not included. Said a physician:

> This particular type of mental disease, "melancholia," is always accompanied by the urge to self-destruction, and the urge is independent of outside happenings or circumstances. The subsequent suicide is the result of the mental affliction, and not of an upset in their affairs.

Such cases we have not included. We regret that necessity precludes a description of individual cases here, and we recognize that the incompleteness of the case materials makes such an evaluation tentative at its best; but, for what it is worth, we concluded that 35 of the 50 climbers, 15 of those who "stayed put" on their father's level, and 26 of the sliders committed suicide after some precipitating event. For them the situation was a crisis. These differences are clearly significant only if our judgments are valid, but they lead us to make the comparisons which follow (Table 5).

COMPARATIVE BEHAVIOR OF CLIMBERS AND SLIDERS

The climbers and sliders, as we have indicated, were confronted with a crisis in more instances than were the non-mobile males. The differences observed in Table 5 are statistically significant.[10]

The climbers were confronted with loss of economic status more often than were the sliders or the non-mobile group.

Both climbers and sliders were confronted with a disruption of close personal ties in

[10] Chi square (crisis–no crisis differences), 16.08; with two degrees of freedom, $P < .001$.

more instances than were the non-mobile, with the sliders slightly exceeding the climbers in this respect.[11] It is difficult to determine from the cases what relationship climbing or sliding bears to the strength of social relationships. Yet differences of status between father and son may be an index of decline in their relationships in ways in which the data we have presented do not show.

It is possible that the suicide has low tolerance for frustration, whatever else enters into his behavior. He may have no major problems, as viewed by others, but may suffer attrition from small adversities. "Why did you shoot yourself?" the doctor asked one dying victim. He replied, "There is no grass; the cows are starving. The cow kicked over a bucket of milk this morning, and that was the end of everything!" But this man's annual income was probably more than £750, and the current outlook was not as bad as he pictured it. Other victims suffer from headaches or worry about a slight scab in the nose, but we have not considered a scab in the nostril as a crisis.

Low tolerance of frustration, as a possible factor in suicide, is not proposed as an individual trait, unrelated to the past of the person. More data are needed on the sociogenic factors involved in personality development in order to understand human differentials in the tolerance of disappointments such as suicides suffer.

TABLE 5

CRISIS AMONG SUICIDES IN THREE AGE-MATCHED GROUPS OF MALES ABOVE THIRTY-FIVE YEARS OF AGE

Group	Total No. of Cases	No Crisis	Crisis	Nature of Crisis: Career Crisis*	Disrupted Social Relationships†	Health Poor‡
Climbers§	50	35	15	17	11	7
Sliders§	50	26	24	8	13	5
Non-mobile	50	15	35	6	3	6
Total	150	76	74	31	27	18

* E.g., business failure, fear of business failure, loss of job.

† E.g., death of spouse or of close relative; divorce.

‡ E.g., impending surgery; diagnosis of cancer.

§ Climbers and sliders are persons who moved at least 10 ranks above or below the prestige positions of their fathers.

Nothing short of longitudinal case studies, which take account of the processes of the family conditioning of children who later, as adults, develop suicidal tendencies will give us an understanding of some of the conditions to be considered in an adequate analysis of suicidal acts. Such longitudinal studies would make it possible to observe class differences in psychogenic conditioning which could play a part in producing variations in the ability to tolerate frustration. Do upper-class children have a lower tolerance of frustration than those in the lower class? In the United States? In New Zealand? We do not know. Our data give us no answer to this question.

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[11] Our data on the marital status of the victims, which we are analyzing in a related study, may indicate the importance of non-economic expectations. For example, the average man or woman expects to marry. On this basis, if we predict a higher rate of suicide among single than among married males twenty-five to thirty-four or thirty-five or more, years old, our data sustain the prediction with a high level of confidence. The prediction holds for females twenty-five to thirty-four years old but is not sustained significantly among females above thirty-five years of age. Or, if we predict a higher rate of suicide among widows and widowers than among the married in the age range of thirty-five to sixty-four years, when bereavement is less expected than it is above the age of sixty-five, our data significantly support the prediction for both males and females below that age; but above it there are no significant differences for either sex. Comparisons are based on marital status data in *Population Census, 1945: Ages and Marital Status* (Wellington: Census Statistics Department, 1949), IV, Table 20, 40.

CONCEPTIONS OF SELF AND OTHERS[1]

LEO G. REEDER, GEORGE A. DONOHUE, AND ARTURO BIBLARZ

ABSTRACT

The Mead-Cooley interactionist framework provides a basis for the study of the genesis of self-conception. In using this framework to analyze the sources of differential self-evaluation in military groups, a direct relationship was found between self-conception, the perceived generalized other, and the actual responses of others. Further, a high degree of correspondence exists between self-conception and the perceived generalized other; this was not true for self-conception and the actual responses of others, except for persons who rated themselves low. Persons whose self-evaluation disagrees with the evaluation rendered by the group are more likely to have a greater number of reference groups.

This paper presents some findings of a study bearing on the Mead-Cooley symbolic interactionist theory. As other investigators have pointed out, it is quite difficult to make empirical tests of the theory, and, consequently, few empirical field studies are concerned with the processes of self-conception.

Miyamoto and Dornbusch summarize the Mead-Cooley theory by pointing out that: (1) the responses of others have an influence in shaping self-definitions; (2) there is a distinction between (*a*) the actual response of the other and (*b*) the subject's perception of the response of the other; (3) the self takes the role of the "generalized other," that is, of "the individual's conception of the organized process of which he is a part."[2] The theory does not specify the nature or extent of the influence of others, and, consequently, a primary task of research is its specification. With reference to the second point, there is another dimension, namely, the individual's own conception of his self based upon (*a*) and (*b*) as well as other psychological determinants. As to the third point, Mead distinguishes three aspects of the generalized other—attitudes of other individuals toward the self, toward one another, and "toward the various phases or aspects of the common social activity or set of social undertakings in which, as members of an organized society or social group, they are all engaged."[3]

The authors were interested in the relation between self-conception and the objective and perceived ratings of members of the group. The subjects of this investigation were enlisted military personnel at a small isolated base, all members of one crew but with different specialties. Nine groups, based upon specialty and ranging from five to seven members, were the source of data. A total of fifty-four participated.[4] These were men who worked together eight hours each day, who lived together on the base, and most of whom had been assigned there for several months. The method employed has a close relationship to analytical schemes frequently used in small-group research, using perceptual responses.[5]

Every member of the crew available on a given day was asked to complete a brief questionnaire, administered to entire work groups assembled in one room at a specific

[1] The authors wish to express their appreciation to Richard J. Hill and Wilfred J. Dixon for their valuable advice on the analysis of the data.

[2] S. Frank Miyamoto and Sanford Dornbusch, "A Test of the Symbolic Interactionist Hypothesis of Self-Conception," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXI, No. 5 (March, 1956), 400.

[3] *The Social Psychology of George Herbert Mead*, ed. Anselm Strauss (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), pp. 231–32.

[4] A tenth group was dropped because it consisted of three members only. Also, the total responding to the second question dropped to fifty-one as a result of incomplete information from three subjects.

[5] Perhaps the first use of the technique of "perceptual response," or asking the respondent to guess others' response to him, was by R. Tagiuri ("Relational Analysis: An Extension of Sociometric Method with Emphasis upon Social Perception," *Sociometry*, XV [February–May, 1952], 91–104).

time. In addition to the usual face-sheet data on their social background, they were asked to answer the following questions:

A. Rank the men in your work group on the following point:

"Who is the Best Leader? Who is best able to handle men and new situations?"

Be sure to rank yourself and encircle your own name. The first man you name should have the highest qualities of leadership, the second name should be the man with the next highest leadership qualities, and so on until you have listed every man in your work group. Do not omit anyone.

B. In which of the above positions do you think most of the men in your work group place you as a leader? Indicate your answer by circling one of the numbers below:

The second question was:

"Who is the best worker? Who is the most efficient and useful man to have around?"

The same instructions were used with this question as in the one above. The following variables were measured:

1. *Self-rank* (*SR*).—This variable is construed as a measure of the individual's self-conception. It is assumed that the self-rank is an expression of the individual's self-conception, which involves the three elements of symbolic interaction described above.
2. *Objective group rating* (*OGR*).—An average rank was computed for each individual based upon the rank given him by every other member of his work group. The objective group rating is one of the aspects of Mead's "generalized other"; i.e., attitudes of others toward the self.
3. *Estimated objective group rating* (*EOGR*).—This variable is based upon the individual's response to the "B" part of each ranking question. It assumes that the individual, in making an estimate of how the group ranks him, is taking the role of the generalized other.

In the analysis the military site was treated as a universe, and the nine work groups were considered as a sample in time of all work groups there. Two statistical measures of the average, the mean and the median, were used in analyzing the data, and, as indicated below, there were minor differences in the results achieved in their use.[6]

In order to separate the total group into categories of ranks, in the five-person groups persons in ranks 1 and 2 were classified as "high," rank 3 as "medium," and ranks 4 and 5 as "low." For the seven-person groups those in ranks 1 and 2 were classified "high," ranks 3 and 4 were "medium," and ranks 5, 6, and 7 were classified "low."

Two interdependent hypotheses were developed; the first states:

I. People with a high self-rating (SR) on a characteristic will have a higher group rating (OGR) and a higher mean estimated group rating (EOGR) on it than will those with a low self-rating.[7] Further, those with a high EOGR will receive a higher group rating (OGR) than those with a low EOGR.

This hypothesis would support the notion that the person's self-conception is related to the responses of others and to the individual's perception of those responses. This hypothesis does not say anything about the extent of the relationship, if any, among the variables given. The second hypothesis is concerned with this problem:

II. A person's self-rank (SR) tends to correspond with the EOGR and the OGR; e.g., if a person places himself in rank 1, he will perceive the group as giving him rank 1 and will likewise be placed in rank 1 by the group.

Where the hypothesized correspondence is not found, it would appear that other factors, in addition to EOGR and OGR, would be related to self-conception; at-

[6] There is some question as to whether the mean is an appropriate statistic to use with non-interval data (for a discussion of the limitations of the mean with different types of data, see S. S. Stevens, "Mathematics, Measurements, and Psychophysics," in *Handbook of Experimental Psychology*, ed. S. S. Stevens [New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1951], pp. 1–50.

[7] This hypothesis replicates two tested by Miyamoto and Dornbusch, *op. cit.*, pp. 402–3.

tempts should then be made to specify some of these factors.

To test the first part of Hypothesis I, each group was sorted into high, medium, and low self-raters and compared with the mean group rating (OGR) and with the mean of the individual's estimate of the group rating (EOGR) on each characteristic being measured. The results support this part of the hypothesis (Tables 1, 2). Inspection of Tables 1 and 2 shows that the high self-rankers were given a higher average rank by the group. These results provide additional support to the findings of Miyamoto and Dornbusch.[8]

TABLE 1

SELF-RANKINGS BY OBJECTIVE GROUP RATINGS OF "LEADERSHIP" AND "WORKER" CHARACTERISTICS

	Objective Group Rating			
	Mean		Median	
Self-rating	Leader-ship	Worker	Leader-ship	Worker
High	3.4	3.8	3.0	4.0
Medium	4.8	4.6	5.0	5.0
Low	6.2	5.6	7.0	6.3

TABLE 2

SELF-RANKINGS BY ESTIMATED OBJECTIVE GROUP RATINGS OF "LEADERSHIP" AND "WORKER" CHARACTERISTICS

	Estimated Objective Group Rating			
	Mean		Median	
Self rating	Leader-ship	Worker	Leader-ship	Worker
High	2 1	1 8	2.0	1.0
Medium	4.1	3 7	4.0	3.0
Low	6.4	5.0	6.0	4.5

Each person was assigned to a high, medium, or low rating group on the basis of his estimation of the group's rating of him (EOGR). Comparisons were then made with the rating given to the persons in each rating group by the work group (OGR). The second part of Hypothesis I, that those with a high EOGR would receive a higher OGR than those with a low EOGR, was supported (Table 3).

Thus, the data tested by the first hypothesis consistently support Mead's theory, insofar as they indicate a direct relationship between the three variables: self-conception, the perceived generalized other, and the actual responses of others.[9] The extent of the relationship, however, as well as its causal direction have been left unspecified. Although these data are static and one cannot make causal analyses, it is possible to investigate in more detail the extent to which a direct relationship between the three variables exists in the groups studied.

TABLE 3

ESTIMATED OBJECTIVE GROUP RATINGS BY OBJECTIVE GROUP RATINGS OF "LEADERSHIP" AND "WORKER" CHARACTERISTICS

	Objectvie Group Rating Median	
Estimated Objective Group Rating	Leadership	Worker
High	3.0	3.5
Medium	5.0	4.0
Low	6 3	7.0

Hypothesis II was designed to test another aspect of the relationship between the three variables. The general question asked was: Is there a one-to-one correspondence between self-conception (SR), the perceived generalized other (EOGR), and the actual responses of others (OGR)? The correspondence between SR and OGR was tested by comparing the distribution of persons in the high, medium, and low self-rank groups with respect to their objective group ratings (Table 4). On the "leadership" characteristic the data reveals that 40 per cent of the high self-rankers were likewise rated high by their work group, while 26 per cent of the medium self-rankers were given a medium rating, and 100 per cent of the low self-rankers were given a low rating. The hypothesis that those with self-ranks of high, middle, and low, respectively, would also have high, middle, and low objective group ranks, respectively, was supported only in

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Limitations of the data do not permit the use of tests of significance. The first hypothesis, however, was uniformly supported.

the case of the low self-rankers. It is interesting to observe that more than half of the individuals were given a low rating; on the other hand, almost half ranked themselves high.

A discrepancy revealed by the data is *that the percentage of medium self-raters* who were also rated medium by the group is less than the percentage of high self-raters who were rated medium by the group. This is probably related to the larger number of high self-raters as compared to medium self-raters and to the large percentage of low group ratings given to the medium self-raters.

With respect to the "worker" characteristic, the findings are approximately the same (Table 5). Again, only those persons with low self-ratings were given a corresponding rating by the group. On the other hand, no more than one-third of the high and the medium self-raters were given equivalent ratings by the group. As reported in the analysis above, more than half of those ranking themselves high were given a low rank by the group, and, furthermore, 61 per cent of all the subjects were given a low rating by the group.

Hypothesis II was further tested by the relationship between persons with high, middle, and low self-ranks and the perceived generalized-other rankings (EOGR). Comparisons were made between the self-ranks of persons and the estimated objective group ratings, and the hypothesis was supported (Table 6). This hypothesis may be viewed as crucial in this examination of Mead's theory, for it is here that the relationship between the self and Mead's "generalized other" is tested. The percentage congruence between the self-rank and the EOGR was 84.0, 80.0, and 92.9 for the high, medium, and low groups, respectively. Again, it will be observed that the low self-rankers had a higher percentage of corresponding rank. In contrast to the high percentage of actual low ranks given by the group in the preceding analyses, here the estimated group ranks are relatively *evenly distributed among the three cate-*

When the data were analyzed for the characteristic of "best worker," a similar pattern was revealed, lending further support to the hypothesis (Table 7). The highest percentage of correspondence between self-rank and EOGR, however, was *not in low rank category but rather in the* high rank category.

Finally, the hypothesis was examined with respect to the EOGR and OGR variables; that is, persons with a high, middle, or low estimated objective group rank will also have a corresponding high, middle, or low objective group rank. The hypothesis was not supported (Table 8). Only 43 per cent of the high EOGR group and 33.3 per cent of the middle EOGR group had corresponding OGR ranks. The low-rank EOGR group once more had the highest percentage of correspondence with the objective group rank; as in the preceding analysis, more than half the total group was ranked low.

Analysis of the ranking on the "best worker" characteristic revealed a similar pattern of relationships; 52.4 per cent of those with a high EOGR rank actually were given a low rank by the group; this is similar to the results obtained when self-rank was related to objective group rating on this characteristic (Table 5).

Hypothesis II was concerned with the general question of the correspondence between self-conception (SR), perceived generalized other (EOGR), and the actual responses of others (OGR). The data suggest a close correspondence between self-conception and the perceived generalized other. The correspondence between these two variables and the actual responses of others was close only for those who either ranked themselves low and/or perceived others as ranking them low; on the other hand, for the high- and medium-ranked groups, SR and EOGR and the actual responses of others correspond in less than 50 per cent of the cases.[10]

[10] It may be questioned whether one could expect medium self-rankers to be ranked low on the basis of chance factors alone, given the definition of

TABLE 4

SELF-RATINGS BY OBJECTIVE GROUP RATINGS OF THE "LEADERSHIP" CHARACTERISTIC

	Objective Group Ratings							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
Self-rating	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent
High...........	10	40.0	8	32.0	7	28.0	25	100.0
Medium........	1	6.7	4	26.6	10	66.6	15	100.0
Low............	..	....	..	....	14	100.0	14	100.0
Total......	11	20.4	12	22.2	31	57.4	54	100.0

TABLE 5

SELF-RATINGS BY OBJECTIVE GROUP RATINGS OF THE "WORKER" CHARACTERISTIC

	Objective Group Rating							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
Self-rating	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent
High............	8	33.3	3	12.5	13	54.1	24	100.0
Medium.........	2	13.3	5	33.3	8	53.3	15	100.0
Low.............	1	8.3	1	8.3	10	83.3	12	100.0
Total........	11	21.6	9	17.6	31	60.8	51	100.0

TABLE 6

SELF-RANK BY ESTIMATED OBJECTIVE GROUP RATING OF "LEADERSHIP" CHARACTERISTIC

	Estimated Objective Group Rating							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
Self-rank	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent
High...........	21	84.0	2	8.0	2	8.0	25	100.0
Medium........	0	0	12	80.0	3	20.0	15	100.0
Low............	0	0	1	7.1	13	92.9	14	100.0
Total.......	21	38.9	15	27.8	18	33.3	54	100.0

TABLE 7

SELF-RANK BY ESTIMATED OBJECTIVE GROUP RATING OF "WORKER" CHARACTERISTICS

	Estimated Objective Group Rating							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
Self-rank	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent
High......... ...	19	79.2	4	16.7	1	4.1	24	100.0
Medium........	2	13.3	10	66.7	3	20.0	15	100.0
Low............	..	....	3	25.0	9	75.0	12	100.0
Total.......	21	41.2	17	33.3	13	25.5	51	100.0

TABLE 8

ESTIMATED OBJECTIVE GROUP RANK BY OBJECTIVE GROUP RANK OF "LEADERSHIP" CHARACTERISTIC

	Objective Group Rank							
Estimated Objective Group Rank	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent
High...........	9	43.0	6	28.5	6	28.5	21	100.0
Medium........	1	6.7	5	33.3	9	60.0	15	100.0
Low............	1	5.5	1	5.5	16	89.0	18	100.0
Total.......	11	20.4	12	22.2	31	57.4	54	100.0

The relationship between these findings and the theoretical framework from which the hypotheses were derived can now be assessed. The two major theoretical propositions involved are: (1) that the responses of others have an influence in shaping one's self-definition and (2) that this self-definition is derived chiefly from the perception of the "generalized other." The second of these propositions was consistently supported by the data as shown by the findings in Tables 2, 6, and 7. The first proposition is supported by the findings with respect to Hypothesis I (Tables 1, 3). Thus, it was found that there is a direct relationship between self-conception and the perceived generalized other, on the one hand, and actual responses of others, on the other. Even though this relationship exists, a one-to-one correspondence was found only in the case of low self-rankers and those who expected to be rated low by the group, as shown by the findings for Hypothesis II (Tables 4, 8).

The self-conception of persons who do not think highly of themselves thus appears to be determined largely by the perceived and actual responses of others. For those who think highly of themselves, additional variables are necessary to explain self-conception. Several alternative explanations may be considered.[11]

We can speculate, for example, that the subjects who have high self-rankings are operating with values derived from groups other than the one with which we are here concerned, while those with low self-rankings may judge their performance primarily on the basis of the values of this particular group. Such characteristics as age, urban or rural background, education, and the socioeconomic status of parents may be significant variables. Persons reared in a rural setting, for instance, may have fewer groups of significant others from which to derive their self-conceptions, and these may show them a more consistent conception of themselves than is the case for the city-dweller.[12] The latter may be able to select one of several alternative self-conceptions and ignore the others; having experienced the degradation of one group's values by another group, he is familiar with the possibility of legitimately ignoring the values of a particular group. Conceivably, the urban person's conception of himself may be independent of his group at a given time. The rural person, being less likely to feel that he can legitimately ignore the values of a group, may more easily develop a self-conception which reflects the actual response of the group with whom he happens to be in extended and intimate contact. This, of course, requires the test of empirical verification, and additional analyses of the data were made.

Given the above considerations, the general hypothesis was developed that persons whose self-rating disagrees with the objective group rating are likely to have recourse to a greater number of reference groups. Consequently, certain variables—age, marital status, urban-rural background, education, and military rank—were used to construct an index of significant reference groups, differential weights being assigned to each variable. The variables selected were assumed to be prob-

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were operating, of those fifteen persons whose self-ranking was medium, 6.4 would be expected to have received low OGR rankings. The actual number of such persons was ten. Furthermore, eight of these ten persons had a discrepancy of two or more ranks between their SR and OGR statuses. No test of significance was made because of the limitations of sample size. The findings here can only be considered suggestive.

[11] R. Tagiuri, J. S. Bruner, and R. R. Blake suggest the possibility that congruency between SR and OGR is a function of mutuality of feelings ("On the Relation between Feelings and Perception of Feelings among Members of Small Groups," in E. E. Maccoby, T. M. Newcomb, and E. L. Hartley [eds.], *Readings in Social Psychology* [3d ed.; New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1958], pp. 110–16).

[12] Some support for our speculations on participation in membership groups and urban-rural background is presented by Basil Zimmer ("Farm Background and Urban Participation," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXI, No. 5 [March, 1956], 470–75).

ably the most important for reference groups. The weighting scheme was as follows:

Education: less than high school, 0; some high school, 2; some college, 3
Marital status: single, 0; divorced or married, 1
Urban or rural background: home in area with population of 10,000 or lower, 0; over 10,000, 3
Age: under 25 years, 0; 25 years and over, 2
Military rank: private, private first class, corporal, 0; sergeant, sergeant first class, master sergeant, 3

Each individual's score was summed, and this was called his "index score"; those with a high score were assumed to have more significant reference groups than persons with a lower score. It was assumed that the greater a person's participation in various forms of the social organization, the greater the likelihood of his adopting a larger number of significant reference groups. College education, urban background, and high military rank were treated as more or less equivalent sources of strong reference groups from which the individual could obtain a legitimized self-conception that would withstand the "attacks" of his immediate associates at work. A college education, even when it does not involve the experience of city life, provides the possibility of identifying one's self with a group of superior status and, in general, presents a wide variety of reference groups through actual or ideal contact or both. Of military rank it was assumed that, for those who had reached the three highest grades, the rank represented to them status conferred by a reference group with great moral authority, and those who achieve such status could adopt the view that their work groups had relatively less moral authority in comparison with the entire military service.

The next procedure was to divide the sample arbitrarily into two groups based upon their index scores, one with a large number of reference groups and the other with few. The groups were then analyzed to determine if there was a significant relationship between a high score on the index of reference groups and the agreement or disagreement between self-ratings and objective group ratings. A significant relationship was found (Table 9). This supports the general hypothesis that persons whose self-rating disagrees with the rating assigned to them by the group (OGR) are more likely to have a greater number of reference groups.

TABLE 9

RELATIONSHIP OF REFERENCE-GROUP INDEX SCORES AND AGREEMENT-DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN SELF-RATING AND GROUP RATING

Reference Group Index Score	Agree	Disagree	*N*
Low	19	9	28
High	9	17	26
N	28	26	54

$\chi^2 = 6.01; P < .02.$

In conclusion, it should be noted that this study tests only a partial aspect of the symbolic-interactionist frame of reference. Further research on the role of number type, of groups, and of personal factors should be encouraged, to define the various conditions under which self-conception may vary. Finally, empirical tests of segments of more comprehensive or dynamic frames are possible in a systematic fashion and may be the most feasible, if not the only, way in which validation of sociological theory may occur.

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METROPOLITAN GROWTH: AN INTERNATIONAL STUDY[1]

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ABSTRACT

The comparative study of urbanization has been hampered by a lack of comparable units of observation. The delineation of standardized "metropolitan areas" throughout the world permits the study of recent growth in the largest agglomerations in seventy-eight countries and territories. Higher rates of metropolitan growth are found in the underdeveloped areas, lower rates of growth in the industrialized portion of the world. Metropolitan areas are capturing a very high proportion of the total increase accruing to the industrialized nations.

This paper reports a study of metropolitan growth on an international basis, in terms of world regions and countries and territories rather than individual urban centers. Prior research has identified a number of correlates of urbanization and has made it apparent that the degree of urbanization in a country is closely associated with the level of its industrialization. Thus despite the fact that cities are found in virtually all inhabited areas of the world, only the highly industrialized nations tend to have high proportions of their populations living in cities. This much is known; but urban *growth* on an international scale has yet to be studied in a satisfactory way. This paper is an effort toward filling the gap in the literature.

Up to this time our knowledge of international variation in rates of urban growth has been derived from the examination of the recent experience of a few scattered nations, each of which is likely to employ somewhat different limits of urban territory for census purposes.[2] The problem of comparability of urban boundaries provided the impetus for a large-scale project by International Urban Research, University of California (Berkeley), wherein comparable Metropolitan Areas (M.A.'s) were delimited throughout the world. The completion of this work means that a truly international study of urban growth using a standardized series of units becomes possible for the first time.

THE DELIMITATION OF METROPOLITAN AREAS

The delimitation of M.A.'s began in each country or territory with the listing of all administratively defined cities or continuous urban areas of fifty thousand or more inhabitants. These localities were designated as "principal cities." Administrative territorial units surrounding each principal city were then considered with respect to the percentage of the economically active population engaged in agriculture and the distance from the city. To be included in the M.A., a territorial unit had to:

1. Touch upon the principal city or a territorial unit already included, *and*
2. Have at least 65 per cent of its economically active population engaged in non-agricultural industries, *and*
3. Be close enough to the principal city to make commuting feasible.

Where lack of data precluded the application of the non-agricultural rule, density was substituted as the criterion. To qualify for inclusion in the M.A. under this substitute criterion, a territorial unit had to have a density not less than one-half that of the principal city (or the next inner ring of units) *or* not less than twice that of the next outer ring of units.

If an area established by these criteria did not contain at least one hundred thousand people, it was dropped from the list. Thus, each area had to have a principal city or continuous urban area of not less than fifty thousand and a total population of not less than one hundred thousand.

Problems too numerous to be discussed in

[1] The research reported in this paper was carried out under the auspices of International Urban Research, University of California (Berkeley).

[2] See *Report on the World Social Situation* (New York: United Nations, 1957), chap. vii.

detail were encountered in attempting to apply these criteria.[3] For one thing, because of a paucity of relevant and standardized data from country to country, the criteria had to be simple, and the delimitations, as a consequence, are somewhat crude. The criterion relating to distance from the principal city is not rigorous, since it rests not on the fact of commuting but of its feasibility, which cannot be judged in terms of absolute distance alone. Other considerations, such as the nature of the transportation routes and the technological level of the country, had to be taken into account. Another problem was posed by the character of the territorial units used in establishing the boundaries of the M.A.'s: they varied in size from place to place and in many cases were far too large to provide anything but a gross delimitation.

Although the boundaries of the M.A.'s in particular instances may not be what they should, the areas are sufficiently standardized to insure far more comparability than that provided by administrative limits of cities.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The international character of the study, which gives it such breadth, also results in some limitations in coverage. In all cases, of course, the inclusion of a country or territory was ultimately governed by the availability of data. To obtain wide coverage, we have supplemented census data with estimates, but only when derived from an official source and based on some type of registration system. Rates of growth for 78 per cent of the countries and territories are based on census data for both the initial and terminal years of the growth period.

Area coverage.—Investigation by International Urban Research revealed that around the middle of this century there were one hundred and five countries and territories with at least one point of concentration which qualified as an M.A. Of this total we have been able to secure growth data for between sixty-eight and seventy-eight countries and territories, the number varying according to the independent variable and the index of growth. This group accounts for between 867 and 902 (81 and 85 per cent) of the world's 1,064 individual M.A.'s, and these places contain between 84 and 88 per cent of the world's metropolitan population.[4]

Beyond an evaluation of coverage in strictly numerical terms, there are three characteristics of the data as a global sample which should be noted. First, mainland China accounts for 103 (64 per cent) of the M.A.'s that were not included. Second, in thirteen of the seventy-eight countries, or 17 per cent, the administrative limits of cities of over one hundred thousand inhabitants had to be accepted as metropolitan boundaries because of the absence of data required for delimitation. Third, while the excluded M.A.'s are concentrated in the less industrialized countries of the world, the bias is made less serious by the fact that many of these countries are included.

Time coverage.—Nations do not use common census dates or identical intervals between censuses. In the United States we are accustomed to a decennial population census, conducted in the years ending in "0," for example, 1930, 1940, and 1950. Certain other countries do not observe this regular periodicity. In a number of instances—notably in the less industrialized areas—neither recent census data nor reliable official estimates were available. In others, only a single recent census has been conducted. Of necessity, such areas were eliminated from consideration. With the exception of mainland China, these excluded countries and territories are rather small and in each case contain only a few M.A.'s.

In general, the research covers the two

[3] For an extended treatment of these problems and a more complete description of the delimitation methods, see International Urban Research, *The World's Metropolitan Areas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959).

[4] Reports of the 1959 census of the U.S.S.R. have increased the total of the world's M.A.'s and cities of over ten thousand population beyond the number reported in *The World's Metropolitan Areas*, *op. cit.*

most recent censuses in each of seventy-eight countries and territories. It must be pointed out that the use of recent figures does not guarantee equality in the intercensal interval. The two latest censuses in England and Wales, for example, were those of 1931 and 1951; this results in a twenty-year interval. In other instances, however, the intercensal period covers as little as five years.[5]

DEPENDENT VARIABLES: INDEXES OF METROPOLITAN GROWTH

Our interest centers upon the growth of metropolitan populations, without regard for the growth of the constituent parts of the M.A.'s (e.g., cities vs. rings) and without any reference to the demographic components of that growth (natural increase vs. net migration). In addition, the present report focuses exclusively upon the aggregate metropolitan growth in regions, countries, and territories. No attention is given to the growth of individual M.A.'s or to variation within countries and territories.

Average annual percentage growth of metropolitan population.—A study of urban growth on an international scale is immediately confronted with two salient difficulties: censuses are conducted at different times in different countries, and the time interval between censuses varies considerably from nation to nation. This makes it necessary, for purposes of comparability, to convert all data on growth to *annual* terms.[6]

Ratio of metropolitan to total growth.—The growth of parts of a nation is likely to be affected by total national increase, and it is well known that nations around the world currently exhibit considerable variation with respect to change in size of population. For the most part, these differences are attributable to variations in natural increase, since international migration in recent years has had a minor effect upon total growth in all but a handful of countries. Regardless of the source, however, variation in rates of national growth should be taken into account in a comparative investigatio of rates of increase in metropolitan popul tion.[7]

Percentage of total growth claimed b M.A.'s.—The third index employed her is the percentage of the increase in the tot population which occurred in M.A.'s.[8]

[5] Details concerning the scope of the study are shown in the Appendix.

[6] The first index is thus the average annual pe centage growth of metropolitan population, con puted according to the following formula:

$$r_m = \frac{(P_2^m - P_1^m)/y}{(P_2^m + P_1^m)/2} \times 100\,, \quad (1)$$

where P_1^m = population in Metropolitan Areas the beginning of the intercensus period, P_2^m = pop ulation in M.A.'s at the end of the intercensal pe riod, and y = the number of years in the inte censal period. This formula yields rates that a closely comparable to the more familiar ones use by demographers (see Carl Hammer and Natali Rogoff, "Relative Merits of Various Formulas fo Rates of Growth" [mimeographed; New York Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia Uni versity, n.d.]).

[7] The simplest and most straightforward mean of accomplishing this is to express metropolita growth as a ratio to total growth in terms of th formula:

$$r_m / r_t\,, \quad (2)$$

where r_m = the average annual percentage growt of metropolitan population as defined in n. 6 (1) and r_t = average annual percentage growth of th total population during the same period, approxi mated in the same way.

A ratio in excess of unity for a given region country, or territory indicates that metropolita growth is proceeding at a higher rate than tha experienced by the total population. Similarly, ratio of less than unity indicates that the resident of M.A.'s are increasing more slowly than is th total population. The ratio has no meaning, o course, in those few cases in which one or th other of the two populations is declining numeri cally. Four nations (Czechoslovakia, Ireland, Aus tria, and East Germany) are therefore omitted While the metropolitan population has been in creasing in both Czechoslovakia and Ireland, th total population decreased during the same period Austria's metropolitan population has decline while the country as a whole has continued t grow. Finally, both metropolitan and total popula tion have declined in East Germany.

[8] This index is based on the formula:

$$[(P_2^m - P_1^m) / (P_2^t - P_1^t)] \times 100\,. \quad (3)$$

The superscripts "*m*" and "*t*" refer to the metro-

Excess growth claimed by M.A.'s.—In the absence of any difference in the growth rates of metropolitan and non-metropolitan populations, we would find that the M.A.'s have claimed (*a*) a proportion of total growth exactly equal to (*b*) the proportion of the total population living in them at the start of the growth period. The ratio of the former to the latter thus provides a fourth index of metropolitan growth, one that controls the initial degree of metropolitanization.[9] To the extent that it exceeds unity (1.00), the M.A.'s claimed a disproportionate share of the increase in the total population.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

In keeping with past studies and observations of the historical course of urbanization, we have selected industrialization and the degree of metropolitanization (percentage of the total population residing in M.A.'s) as variables that are probably closely linked to an increase in the populations of M.A.'s. Although the two variables have been treated separately in certain parts of the research, they are actually part of an over-all configuration. Industrialization creates a large non-agricultural population through advances in per capita production and in efficiency of transportation, and it requires the concentration of large numbers to operate instruments of production. With industrialization, the degree of metropolitanization tends to increase, and, as a consequence, the M.A.'s have an even smaller proportion of the total population to draw upon as a source of migrants, with less and less chance to maintain high rates of growth.[10] Thus, both industrialization and the degree of metropolitanization appear to be crucial, because the former stimulates rapid metropolitan growth and the latter operates as an upper limit at the higher ranges.

Per capita consumption of energy.—Experimentation with a variety of possible measures led to the choice of annual per capita consumption of energy as the most feasible single indicator of levels of industrialization. It is one of the few measures for which data are available at several points in time for a large number of countries and territories. In addition to permitting wider coverage, per capita consumption of energy proved to be highly correlated with several other possible indicators of industrialization.[11]

Degree of metropolitanization.—The degree of metropolitanization completes the set of independent variables. As indicated earlier, it is expressed as the proportion of the total population residing in M.A.'s at the start of the growth period. Apart from questions concerning the adequacy of the M.A. delimitations, it should be noted that

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politan and the total populations, respectively, and the subscripts "1" and "2" refer to the initial and terminal dates of the intercensus period. As in the preceding case, the formula is not applicable when the metropolitan population and/or the total population experienced absolute decreases during the study period.

[9] The ratio is derived from the formula:

$$\frac{(P_2^m - P_1^m) \,/\, (P_2^t - P_1^t)}{P_1^m / P_1^t}. \qquad (4)$$

By expressing the actual proportion of total growth claimed by M.A.'s as a ratio of the expected proportion, this measure indicates the extent to which actual growth departs from the pattern that would be predicted solely on the basis of the pre-existing distribution of population. Like the two preceding indexes, this ratio is not applicable to countries and territories in which the metropolitan population and/or the total population decreased over the growth period.

[10] Kingsley Davis and Hilda Hertz Golden, "Urbanization and the Development of Pre-industrial Areas," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, III (October, 1954), 11.

[11] Statistics on consumption of energy were drawn from a series of United Nations *Statistical Yearbooks;* specifically, estimated consumption of commercial sources of energy was expressed in terms of thousands of metric tons of coal per capita (another source and a different measure were used for regions; see Table 1, col. 2). In most cases it was possible to obtain such information for each country and territory at some year close to the beginning of the study period. These statistics have been used with the full realization that they are undoubtedly far from reliable in any absolute sense; however, they appear to offer the best available measure of industrialization.

this figure does not represent the total urban population. Because of the minimum limit on the size of the M.A.'s, small urban places (populations less than fifty thousand) are not included unless they lie within the metropolitan boundary of a larger city. However, since it is known that the proportion of the total population in M.A.'s bears a close relationship to that in urban places of two thousand inhabitants and over,[12] the results would have been much the same had another index of urbanization been used.

product of variations in the growth of total population in the regions. Column 5 reveals that the ratio of metropolitan to total growth tends to vary inversely with the level of consumption of energy. In other words, the higher the level of industrialization, the lower the ratio of metropolitan to total growth. The metropolitan population of Oceania, for example, increased at about the same rate as did its total population. The metropolitan populations of Asia and Africa, on the other hand, are growing roughly two and one-half times as fast as is the total population.

TABLE 1

METROPOLITAN GROWTH IN WORLD REGIONS, CIRCA 1940–CIRCA 1952 BY 1937 LEVEL OF PER CAPITA ENERGY CONSUMPTION

			Indexes of Metropolitan Growth‡			
Regions*	Per Capita Energy Consumption (Kilowatt Hours), 1937†	Degree of Metropolitanization, circa 1940	Average Annual Percentage Growth of Metropolitan Population	Ratio of Metropolitan Growth to Total Growth	Percentage of Total Growth Claimed by Metropolitan Areas	Excess Growth of the Metropolitan Population
North America....	10,074	51.6	2.1	1.40	77.2	1.50
Oceania...........	3,543	53.3	2.4	1.00	55.0	1.03
Europe...........	3,117	33.7	1.1	1.57	55.1	1.64
U.S.S.R..........	1,873	17.7	1.9	3.80	84.7	4.79
South America....	758	17.7	3.7	1.68	37.7	2.13
Middle America...	702	16.0	4.3	1.79	32.1	2.01
Africa............	686	9.0	3.9	2.44	23.2	2.58
Asia..............	286	10.5	3.8	2.53	24.2	2.30
All regions......	1,676	21.4	2.0	1.67	39.1	1.83

* See Appendix for nations and territories included in each of the regions.

† Source: Nathaniel B. Guyol, *Energy Resources of the World* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of State, 1949), pp. 90–91 Table 43.

‡ Source: International Urban Research, University of California (Berkeley).

REGIONAL PATTERNS

Level of industrialization and indexes of growth by regions.—The major regions of the world exhibit considerable variation with respect to metropolitan growth. Table 1 presents an array of regions ordered according to level of industrialization (per capita energy consumption, col. 2). It is immediately evident that the average annual percentage growth of metropolitan populations tends to be highest in the less industrialized regions of the world (col. 4). This pattern, however, could be simply the

The third index of growth reveals an equally striking pattern. Column 6 suggests rather clearly that the M.A.'s in the most highly industrialized regions are capturing most of the growth accruing to their nations: in North America, for example, fully three-fourths of the total increase in recent years has been claimed by them. At the other extreme, those of Asia and Africa accounted for only about one-fourth of the over-all growth in these regions, even though the metropolitan populations of these less industrialized regions increased at rates approaching 4 per cent per annum. The situation is clarified, however, when we consider the excess growth claimed by the M.A.'s

[12] Jack P. Gibbs and Kingsley Davis, "Conventional versus Metropolitan Data in the International Study of Urbanization," *American Sociological Review*, XXIII (October, 1958), 509.

(col. 7). In the less industrialized regions, the M.A.'s claimed a proportion of over-all growth that was far greater than the proportion of the total population living in them at the start of the period.

To sum up the regional patterns exhibited in Table 1: recent metropolitan growth tends to be inversely related to industrialization, and this is true even when the effect of variation in total growth is removed. Second, while the M.A.'s in regions ranking highest in industrialization claimed large shares of over-all growth, those in the less industrialized regions claimed highly disproportionate shares of total increase relative to their initial positions. Third, the U.S.S.R. stands out as a deviant case: its annual rate of metropolitan growth is lower than would be expected on the basis of energy consumption, but, at the same time, because of a slow rate of increase in total population between 1939 and 1959 (within the 1959 boundaries), the remaining three indexes of metropolitan growth are higher for the U.S.S.R. than for any of the other regions. This probably reflects, more than anything else, the demographic impact of World War II, although other factors may be important, including the very rapid rate of Russian industrialization and the highly centralized control over location of both industry and population.

The direction and the extent of relationships considered above are indicated in the following Spearman rank-order correlations derived from the data in Table 1:

rho (cols. 2, 4)	−.71
rho (cols. 2, 5)	−.74
rho (cols. 2, 6)	+.81
rho (cols. 2, 7)	−.69

These findings, however, must be regarded as merely suggesting the general direction of relationships between industrialization and metropolitan growth.

Degree of metropolitanization and indexes of growth by regions.—As one would expect on the basis of the direct relationship between industrialization and initial level of metropolitanization, the latter is related to the various indexes of metropolitan growth by regions in much the same way as is energy consumption. The degree of metropolitanization varies inversely with the growth indexes in columns 4, 5, and 7 of Table 1, but it varies directly with the percentage of total growth claimed by M.A.'s (col. 6) and with the U.S.S.R., again the outstanding deviant. The magnitude and direction of these relationships are shown below in the form of rank-order coefficients of correlation:

rho (cols. 3, 4)	−.64
rho (cols. 3, 5)	−.83
rho (cols. 3, 6)	+.69
rho (cols. 3, 7)	−.81

As in the case of consumption of energy, however, these findings only suggest the direction of relationships that should hold between the degree of metropolitanization and indexes of growth among countries and territories.

COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES

With regard to national units, Davis and Golden have succinctly summarized the interrelationships of industrialization, level of urbanization, and rate of urbanization:

> With the rise and spread of industrialism in the nineteenth century, the European peoples . . . rapidly and markedly increased their *degree* of urbanization. . . . As the great transformation has been completed in the most advanced countries, as these countries have achieved a high degree of urbanization, *the rate of growth* of their cities has begun to slacken. . . . But at the same time that this has been happening in industrial areas, the rate of urbanization has been increasing in most underdeveloped regions.[13]

These remarks, it must be noted, were based upon the observation of trends in a small number of countries, all of which employed somewhat different definitions of "urban." It is of considerable interest, therefore, to inquire whether or not the same patterns are revealed when a standardized urban unit is utilized and a large number of countries is considered.

[13] Davis and Golden, *op. cit.*, p. 11 (italics ours).

Level of industrialization and indexes of metropolitan growth.—If we accept per capita consumption of energy as a valid index of industrialization, Table 2 is quite instructive.[14] It demonstrates, first of all, that the Davis-Golden generalization holds true when standardized urban units in a large number of countries are considered. Second, it indicates that the inferences drawn from the examination of differences between regions are borne out when variation among countries and territories is the subject of observation.

Examination of the first panel of Table 2 suggests a clear tendency toward an inverse relationship between level of industrialization and rate of metropolitan growth. Countries and territories with the very lowest consumption of energy are likely to exhibit the highest rates of growth, and those characterized by high per capita consumption of energy appear to be undergoing the least rapid expansion of metropolitan population. These tendencies are revealed even more clearly in the second part of Table 2, where ratios of metropolitan to national growth are shown. When the compounding factor, total rate of growth, is removed, the inverse relationship between industrialization and metropolitan growth emerges more clearly. Thus, fifteen of the eighteen low-energy countries and territories are experiencing a rate of metropolitan growth at least 80 per cent above that of their total

[14] Six of the seventy-eight countries and territories could not be included in this analysis because data on consumption of energy could not be secured; the countries were Northern Ireland, Scotland, Panama, Libya, Ryukyu Islands, and Kashmir.

TABLE 2

METROPOLITAN GROWTH IN COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES, CIRCA 1940–CIRCA 1952, BY LEVELS OF PER CAPITA ENERGY CONSUMPTION AT THE BEGINNING OF THE GROWTH PERIOD

	PER CAPITA ENERGY CONSUMPTION					
INDEX OF METROPOLITAN GROWTH	Very Low (0.01–0.08)	Below Average (0.08–0.27)	Above Average (0.28–1.23)	Very High (1.62–6.77)	No Data	Total
Average annual percentage growth of metropolitan population:						
Very high (4.2–10.3)	7	8	3	0	1	19
Above average (2.9–4.1)	6	5	4	4	1	20
Below average (1.6–2.0)	5	1	7	6	1	20
Very low (−0.6–1.6)	0	4	4	8	3	19
Metropolitan growth as a ratio of national growth:						
Very high (2.3–8.6)	8	6	3	1	1	19
Above average (1.8–2.3)	7	4	6	1	0	18
Below average (1.5–1.8)	2	5	4	7	1	19
Very low (0.7–1.5)	1	3	3	7	4	18
Not applicable	0	0	2	2	0	4
Percentage of national growth claimed by Metropolitan Areas:						
Very high (51 and over)	0	4	4	9	2	19
Above average (34–50)	1	2	8	6	1	18
Below average (19–33)	6	8	3	1	1	19
Very low (3–18)	11	4	1	0	2	18
Not applicable	0	0	2	2	0	4
Excess growth claimed by Metropolitan Areas:						
Very high (2.73–23.25)	9	6	2	1	1	19
Above average (2.01–2.64)	6	4	8	1	0	19
Below average (1.56–1.99)	2	5	3	7	1	18
Very low (0.78–1.53)	1	3	3	7	4	18
Not applicable	0	0	2	2	0	4
Total	18	18	18	18	6	78

population, while this is the case for only two of the sixteen high-energy cases. The most clear-cut differences, however, are shown in the third part of Table 2. Here the index is the percentage of total growth claimed by M.A.'s, and a direct relationship is clearly present. In other words, the higher the level of energy consumption, the greater the proportion of total increase that is accounted for by metropolitan areas. For example, in none of the eighteen low-energy countries and territories do the M.A.'s claim more than 50 per cent of the national growth. Conversely, only one of the high-energy cases fails to claim at least one-fifth of total growth. The fourth panel of Table 2 shows that, while the M.A.'s in less industrialized parts of the world claim only a small share of total growth, the amount claimed is far more disproportionate than is the case for M.A.'s in countries and territories with high levels of energy consumption.

As further evidence of the direction of these relationships together with an indication of their extent, we may consider the following series of Pearsonian correlation coefficients between per capita energy consumption and the four indexes of metropolitan growth:

Percentage annual growth of metropolitan population	−.41
Metropolitan growth as a ratio to total growth	−.25
Percentage of total growth claimed by M.A.'s	+.48
Excess growth claimed by M.A.'s	−.20

Although the values of these correlations are considerably lower than are corresponding ones for regions, the direction of the relationship is the same in each case.

These findings suggest that the consumption of energy is only a moderately good predictor of metropolitan growth. However, the coefficients suggest that, on the whole, countries and territories with high consumption of energy tend to exhibit low rates of increase in metropolitan population when compared to other parts of the world. And, while the M.A.'s of these high-energy countries and territories are capturing major shares of the national increase, the excess growth is considerably less than that claimed by M.A.'s in low-energy nations. What are the mechanisms underlying these broad patterns?

The first clue comes from the realization that the *degree* of metropolitanization varies directly with consumption of energy. In other words, the greater the degree of industrialization, the higher the proportion of the national population that will be found in Metropolitan Areas. The Pearsonian correlation between per capita energy consumption and percentage of total population in M.A.'s is +.66, indicating a fairly strong association. Table 3 shows this relationship in cross-tabular form. It can be readily seen that countries and territories with higher consumption of energy were already heavily metropolitanized at the beginning of the growth period. This fundamental fact apparently has an important bearing upon the relationships previously observed.

TABLE 3

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEGREE OF METROPOLITANIZATION AND PER CAPITA ENERGY CONSUMPTION AMONG COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES, CIRCA 1940

Degree of Metropolitanization*	Per Capita Energy Consumption: Very Low (0.01–0.08)	Below Average (0.08–0.27)	Above Average (0.28–1.23)	Very High (1.62–6.77)	No Data	Total
Very high (over 30)	0	1	4	12	2	19
Above average (16–30)	1	4	9	5	1	20
Below average (9–15)	3	10	4	1	2	20
Very low (0–8)	14	3	1	0	1	19
Total	18	18	18	18	6	78

* Percentage of total population residing in Metropolitan Areas at initial date.

Degree of metropolitanization and indexes of metropolitan growth.—Table 4 presents a classification of individual countries and territories around the world according to degree of metropolitanization at the initial date. Examination of the four indexes of growth reveals the expected pattern. The higher the initial level of metropolitanization, the lower the rate of population growth in M.A.'s (first panel). This relationship is seen even more clearly in the second panel, where metropolitan growth is expressed as a ratio to total increase. However, the third panel plainly demonstrates that M.A.'s have claimed most of the total growth only in those countries and territories with high initial levels of metropolitanization. On the other hand, as the fourth panel shows, these M.A.'s did not claim as disproportionate a share of total growth as did those in countries and territories starting the growth period at low levels of metropolitanization.

As further evidence of the direction and extent of these relationships, we may consider the following series of product-moment correlations between the various indexes of growth and the initial level of metropolitanization:

Percentage annual growth of metropolitan population	−.51
Metropolitan growth as a ratio to national growth	−.46
Percentage of national growth claimed by M.A.'s	+.68
Excess growth claimed by M.A.'s	−.35

All the data point to the same general conclusion. The previously observed association between metropolitan growth and level of

TABLE 4

METROPOLITAN GROWTH IN COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES, CIRCA 1940–CIRCA 1952, BY DEGREE OF METROPOLITANIZATION AT THE BEGINNING OF THE GROWTH PERIOD

	Degree of Metropolitanization*				
Index of Metropolitan Growth	Very Low (0–8)	Below Average (9–15)	Above Average (16–30)	Very High (Over 30)	Total
Average annual percentage growth of metropolitan population:					
Very high (4.2–10.3)	8	9	2	0	19
Above average (2.9–4.1)	7	4	5	4	20
Below average (1.6–2.9)	4	4	7	5	20
Very low (−0.6–1.6)	0	3	6	10	19
Metropolitan growth as a ratio to national growth:					
Very high (2 3–8.6)	9	6	3	1	19
Above average (1.8–2.3)	8	5	4	1	18
Below average (1.5–1.8)	2	5	9	3	19
Very low (0.7–1.5)	0	3	3	12	18
Not applicable	0	1	1	2	4
Percentage of national growth claimed by Metropolitan Areas:					
Very high (51 and over)	0	2	5	12	19
Above average (34–50)	0	4	9	5	18
Below average (19–33)	5	9	5	0	19
Very low (3–8)	14	4	0	0	18
Not applicable	0	1	1	2	4
Excess growth claimed by Metropolitan Areas:					
Very high (2.73–23.25)	10	6	3	0	19
Above average (2.01–2.64)	7	6	4	2	19
Below average (1.56–1.99)	2	4	9	3	18
Very low (0.78–1.53)	0	3	3	12	18
Not applicable	0	1	1	2	4
Total	19	20	20	19	78

* Percentage of the total population residing in Metropolitan Areas at initial date.

industrialization appears to stem from a joint association of the two variables with initial level of metropolitanization. The greater the industrialization, the higher the degree of metropolitanization; the higher the degree of metropolitanization, in turn, the lower the rate of metropolitan growth and the greater the proportion of the national increase that accrues to Metropolitan Areas.

The explanation underlying the observed associations does not appear to be too complex. In fact, it has already been clearly stated by Davis and Golden:

> As the proportion of the population living in cities becomes greater and greater, the chance of maintaining the *rate* of increase in that proportion becomes less and less. . . . As the rural proportion declines to a small fraction of the total population, the cities have an even smaller pool of people to draw on for the maintenance of growth rates.[15]

IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH

Although the findings of the research lend support to past observations on urban growth, they cannot be regarded as conclusive in any sense. It is obvious that the presumed determinants of metropolitan growth do not explain much of the variation by countries and territories. But the conclusion that many other crucial factors remain to be taken into account is not entirely warranted because of certain questions regarding the adequacy of the data utilized in the study. For one thing, while the indexes of growth are based on the most comparable urban units in existence (i.e., Metropolitan Areas), the fact that they relate to the experiences of countries and territories at widely different points in time is an outstanding defect, and this is particularly apparent when we consider the possibility of a differential effect of World War II on the various countries and territories. With the forthcoming (1960) series of national censuses it will be possible to consider indexes of growth that are far more comparable in time than those utilized in the present study. In the case of the measure of industrialization, per capita energy consumption, the statistics obviously leave much to be desired as to standardization and reliability. With continued improvements in world-wide statistics, it will eventually be possible to consider alternative measures which are more adequate in these respects than are the presently available data on consumption of energy.

The failure to account for an appreciable amount of the variation in metropolitan growth suggests that subsequent research should take different directions. For one thing, future investigations should go beyond the tactics used here, wherein supposed growth determinants are considered only at the beginning of the period, and take into account change in the determinants during the period. Because of the problem of obtaining comparable data over time for countries and territories, we were not able to take this second step, but change in growth determinants will doubtless have to be considered if a high degree of predictive power is to be achieved. Future research might also turn to individual metropolitan agglomerations as units of analysis; this seems especially desirable in view of the growth variations to be found within individual nations and territories.

Speculation about the future course of urban and metropolitan growth is obviously hazardous. In view of our own failure to explain recent metropolitan growth, we are hardly in a position to forecast future developments with confidence. However, there are reasons to believe that the growth of metropolitan populations will continue at high rates in the presently less industrialized areas, if only because a large number of countries and territories have yet to reach levels of industrialization and metropolitanization which set limits upon metropolitan growth.

In the process of their industrialization, the nations of Western Europe experienced rapid urban growth at a time when the world still offered "open spaces." Surplus agricul-

[15] Davis and Golden, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

turalists flowed into the cities and out to the New World. But there are no longer new worlds to siphon off the growth of population in the less industrialized countries. It is not unduly oversimplifying the situation to say that the only destinations for the displaced agriculturalists in these countries today are their own cities, whether or not the latter are being transformed into industrial centers. These considerations only point to the need for further study of urban and metropolitan growth from an international perspective.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

APPENDIX

Countries and territories considered in this study are listed below within major regions. Two numbers follow the name of each country or territory; the first number indicates the initial year of the growth period, and the second indicates the terminal year. Where estimates of the population of Metropolitan Areas have been used rather than census data, "*e*" follows the year to which the estimates pertain. In cases where it was necessary to accept the administrative boundaries of cities as demarcating M.A.'s, the word "cities" follows the terminal year of the growth period.

Of the one hundred and five countries and territories initially considered, twenty-three were excluded because it was not possible to secure the types of data necessary to compute growth rates. These are: Ethiopia and Eritrea, Nigeria, Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Sudan, Haiti, British West Indies, Bolivia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Uruguay, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Mainland China, Iran, Jordan, North Korea, Kuwait, Lebanon, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Syria, North Vietnam, and South Vietnam. Four other places (Aden Colony, Hong Kong, Macau, and Singapore) were excluded because in each case the metropolitan population is identical with the total population.

Africa.—Algeria, 48–54; Angola, 40–50; Belgian Congo, 40*e*–53*e*; Egypt, 37–47; French West Africa, 46*e*–55; Ghana, 31–48; Kenya 48–56*e*; Libya, 36–54; Madagascar, 36*e*–51*e*, cities; Morocco, 36*e*–51*e*, cities; Tanganyika, 52–57; Tunisia, 46–56*e*; Union of South Africa, 46–51.

North America.—Canada, 51–56; United States, 40–50.

Middle America.—Costa Rica, 27–50; Cuba, 43–53; Dominican Republic, 35–50; El Salvador, 30–50; Guatemala, 40–50; Honduras, 40–50; Mexico, 40–50; Nicaragua, 40–50; Panama, 40–50; Puerto Rico, 40–50.

South America.—Argentina, 14–47; Brazil, 40–50; British Guiana, 31–46; Chile, 40–52; Colombia, 38–51; Peru, 40–55*e*; Venezuela, 41–50.

Asia.—Burma, 31–53, cities; Ceylon, 46–53; India, 41–51; Indonesia, 30–56*e*, cities; Iraq, 47–51, cities; Israel, 51*e*–56*e*; Japan, 50–55; Kashmir (including Jammu), 31–41; Malaya, 47–57; Pakistan, 31–51; Philippines, 39–48; Ryukyu Islands, 50–55; South Korea, 49–55, cities; Taiwan, 40–58, cities; Thailand, 37–47; Turkey, 50–55.

Europe.—Austria, 34–51; Belgium, 47–56*e*; Bulgaria, 46–56, cities; Czechoslovakia, 30–50, cities; Denmark, 50–55; East Germany, 50–55*e*; England and Wales, 31–51; Finland, 40–50; France, 36–54; Greece, 40–51; Hungary, 30–49, cities; Ireland (Eire), 51–56; Italy, 36–51; Malta and Gozo, 31–48; Netherlands, 47–55*e*; Northern Ireland, 37–51; Norway, 30–50; Poland, 50–56*e*; Portugal, 40–50; Romania, 48–56, cities; Scotland, 31–51; Spain, 40–50; Sweden, 40–50; Switzerland, 41–50; West Germany, 50–56*e*; Yugoslavia, 48–53, cities.

Oceania.—Australia, 47–54; Hawaii, 40–50; New Zealand, 51–56.

U.S.S.R.—39–59, cities.

GRADUATE SCHOOLS AND THE PRODUCTIVITY OF THEIR GRADUATES

LELAND J. AXELSON

ABSTRACT

It is generally assumed that the larger colleges and universities are more adequately prepared to train students in empirical research methods and techniques. When size of institution is determined by the average number of Ph.D.'s granted per year, empirical data support the hypothesis that greater productivity will be found among sociologists receiving their degrees from the larger schools. The findings indicate that publication by sociologists from Catholic institutions is virtually non-existent in the major sociological journals. Evidence that the more productive sociologists are the products of midwestern colleges and universities is found.

A recent paper demonstrated that, when productivity is measured in terms of the publication of an article or book, the most productive years within the profession of sociology immediately follow the receipt of the Ph.D. degree.[1] This report is an extension and a continuation of the previous inquiry and investigates the relationship between size and location of a graduate school and the productivity of its graduates.

It is generally assumed that the larger colleges and universities are more adequately prepared to train students in empirical research methods and techniques. Wilson hypothesizes that the training a student acquires at one university is superior to that received at another because, within the lesser universities, "student competition sets a slower pace and research facilities are more limited."[2] Payne and Spieth exhibit support for this premise by noting that, because of their shortage of adequate research facilities, the small colleges attract few, if any, specialists in research.[3] Woodburne not only believes that the traditional training for the doctorate develops persons unsuited to the needs of the liberal-arts college, but he further suggests that the variation "between college and university" is real in both teaching and research, and calls for teachers and scholars of differing interests and abilities.[4] If the small colleges and universities are indeed teacher-oriented, we should expect their graduates to be less disposed to do research.

Although important questions have been raised concerning the correlation between teaching and research,[5] it is assumed for the purposes of this inquiry that techniques of empirical research and reporting are acquired primarily through the association and the critical interaction between master investigator and student rather than through classroom instruction. Since the relationship between the size of an educational institution and the training received there has never been adequately tested, the purpose here is to determine whether or not the size of graduate school has any noticeable relationship to the amount of subsequent publication. It is hypothesized that greater productivity will be found among sociologists receiving their doctorates from the larger colleges and universities. Data are also presented to test the common assumption that the northeast-

[1] Leland J. Axelson, "Differences in Productivity of Doctorates in Sociology," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, XXXIII (October, 1959), 49–55. (Read before the American Sociological Society, Seattle, Washington, 1958.)

[2] Logan Wilson, *The Academic Man: A Study in the Sociology of a Profession* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1942), p. 29.

[3] Fernandus Payne and Evelyn Wilkinson Spieth, *An Open Letter to College Teachers* (Bloomington, Ind.: Principia Press, 1935), p. 23.

[4] Lloyd S. Woodburne, *Faculty Personnel Policies in Higher Education* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950), pp. 64–65.

[5] Payne and Spieth, *op. cit.*, p. 23 (see also William H. Pyle, "The Graduate School," *Journal of Higher Education*, XVII [March, 1946], 144).

ern region of the United States contains colleges and universities from which graduate the more productive sociologists.

The data for this report are a part of a more extensive inquiry concerning the study of departments of sociology based upon the productivity of their graduates.[6] The population for the study was accumulated from two sources: first, the *Directory of Members of the American Sociological Society*, August, 1956, and, second, the annual listings of doctorates in sociology reported by the *American Journal of Sociology.* The total population of the study consisted of 1,669 individuals who received their doctorates in sociology from 1936[7] through 1956 and who obtained their degrees from one of the sixty-five departments included in the study.[8]

Three journals with prestige in the field of sociology were chosen as a sample of the productivity of these sociologists. They were selected for their high professional status and their wide coverage of the several fields of interest of the discipline. While other journals of high prestige were considered, they were most often excluded because of their too recent establishment or because they represented a specialized area of interest. The journals chosen were the *American Sociological Review*, the *American Journal of Sociology*, and *Social Forces*. It is assumed here that articles submitted to these three journals are judged by reputable members of the profession; that, if the article is published, at least a portion of the profession believes the standards of the discipline have been attained; and, finally, that sociologists will first submit their most scholarly works to publications of high prestige.

In recording the contributions of the individuals comprising the sampled population, a credit of 1 was given for single authorship of an article. In the case of dual authorship, it was assumed that each contributed equally to the publication, and each received credit for ½ article. No attempt was made to determine a senior author or to adjust credit if the situation was known to exist. Articles with three or more authors were not utilized in this research, nor was credit given for book reviews or research notes or for an article published before the year the individual received his Ph.D. degree.

Because the doctors of sociology comprising the sample received their degrees over an extended period of time, the term "Ph.D.-year" is used. It represents the number of years the individual has held the degree and eqates each person's time available for publication. The maximum number of Ph.D.-years possible to any one individual in the sample was twenty-one; the minimum, two.

The size of the institution was determined by computing the average number of doctor's degrees granted in sociology per year. For each school the procedure was to divide the number of doctorates awarded in sociology by the total number of years elapsing between granting of the first and last degrees. This method was used because not all of the colleges and universities had been awarding Ph.D.'s in sociology during the full twenty-one years studied.

The graduates of colleges and universities which grant three or more doctorates in sociology per year average 0.0729 articles per Ph.D.-year in the three selected journals. The rate of productivity is 0.0362 articles per Ph.D-year for the graduates of institu-

[6] Leland J. Axelson, "A Study of the Differences in Productivity of Ph.D. Graduates of Sociology from Selected Academic Institutions in the United States" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Washington State University, 1958). I am indebted to William L. Nicholls, II, for important portions of the research design used in this inquiry. See his work, "A Study To Determine Differences in the Publication of Significant Sociological Material between the Alumni of American Graduate Departments of Sociology" (unpublished Honors thesis, Bucknell University, 1952).

[7] Because 1936 is the earliest year that it was possible to get a reasonably complete list of graduating sociologists with their Ph.D. degree, it was chosen as the initial year in the selection of the population.

[8] The limitations of excluding an unknown number of doctorates and departments of sociology are recognized by the writer.

tions granting fewer than one doctorate in sociology per year and 0.0638 articles per Ph.D.-year for the institutions granting more than one but fewer than three doctorates. These data indicate that the major difference in the productivity of graduates from colleges and universities of various sizes seems to be between those schools graduating more than one Ph.D. per year and those graduating fewer than one.

To test the hypothesis further, the colleges and universities were placed into categories representing increasing intervals of one Ph.D. granted per year. The graduates of institutions which granted 4.00 or more degrees per year[9] are approximately two and a half times as productive as those from institutions granting an average of less than one doctorate per year. The publication rate of the former is 0.0973 articles per Ph.D.-year; of the latter, 0.0362 articles. The rate of publication for graduates of schools granting between one and two, and two and three doctorates per year is practically identical: 0.0692 and 0.0673 articles per Ph.D.-year. The doctors from schools granting between three and four doctorates per year published a suprisingly low 0.0410 articles per Ph.D.-year.

An attempt was made to determine why the individuals coming from the colleges and universities that were graduating an average of 3.00–3.99 Ph-D.'s per year were not publishing as much or more than the graduates of institutions averaging between 1.00–2.99 new Ph.D.'s per year. This was accomplished by eliminating the schools, together with their Ph.D. graduates and publications, controlled by the teaching orders of the Roman Catholic church. Possibly the graduates of these institutions publish in sociological journals sponsored by their own colleges and universities, and a representative sample of their publishing habits may not have been obtained. This manipulation of the data increased the productivity of the graduates of schools granting 3.00–3.99 Ph.D.'s per year to 0.0505 articles per Ph.D.-year. The increase of 23 per cent is striking but still insufficient to explain fully why these sociologists are producing less than the sociologists graduating from smaller colleges and universities.

Table 1 demonstrates fairly conclusively that the productivity of doctors in sociology increases in relation to the size of their alma mater. The graduates of schools producing fewer than one doctor in sociology per year are the least productive, those coming from schools granting more than one Ph.D. per year but less than four are moderately productive, and the universities granting more than four doctorates per year are the most productive.

The sixty-five colleges and universities were arranged in descending order with respect to the number of articles per Ph.D.-year published by their graduates. The ten with the more productive graduates are shown in Table 2. The rate of publication was 0.3043 articles per Ph.D.-year for the institution with the most productive alumni and 0.0915 for the tenth-place school. Only 477 (28.4 per cent) of the total sample of 1,669 Ph.D.'s published in the three journals during the period investigated. Sociologists representing twenty-two (33.8 per cent) of the sixty-five schools also failed to publish here. Though the findings indicate that the more productive sociologists come from larger colleges and universities, Table 2 shows that smaller institutions often graduate individuals who contribute regularly to these journals.

To determine whether or not the graduates of a given department tend to overpublish in a particular journal and thus create a bias in favor of their department, the rankings were recalculated by eliminating, in turn, the articles published in each of the three journals. It was assumed that, if publication by the graduates of these schools had been random, the rank position of a given school would not change materially. For the schools included in Table 2, the greatest change in relative position was five

[9] Only four of the sixty-five institutions in the study granted an average of more than four doctorates in sociology per year, and these graduated 566 of the 1,669 Ph.D.'s involved.

places, the average change being 3.10. None of the schools included in the upper rankings lost their favored position when compared to the total number of institutions involved. It was concluded that each of these journals is a relatively unbiased measure of the publication habits of the graduates of the departments analyszed and that the shifting of rank that did occur is probably due to individual variations in choice of journal.

In the general American public, and particularly in the ranks of the academic profession, it is thought that the northeastern colleges and universities of the United States offer the best education. This belief is carried so far in some quarters as to preclude the acceptance of an application for a staff opening by a graduate of some other institution. When the country is divided into the generally accepted regions, it is found that the graduates of the midwestern schools are the most productive. No significant difference in productivity among the graduates of colleges and universities in the other regions was found (Table 3).

Historically, the field of sociology in the United States had its beginnings in the institutions of the Midwest. The impact their

TABLE 1

PRODUCTIVITY OF GRADUATES FROM NON-CATHOLIC INSTITUTIONS

Graduates per Year	No. of Ph.D. Graduates	Ph.D.-Years Available	Total Articles	Articles per Ph.D.-Year
0.99 or less.....	162	1,370	50.0	0.0365
1.00–1.99......	264	2.083	150.5	.0723
2.00–2.99.....	244	2,000	134.5	.0673
3.00–3.99......	350	3,209	162.0	.0505
4.00 or more....	566	5.205	506.5	0.0973
Total.........	1,586	13,867	1,003.5	

TABLE 2

RANKING OF SCHOOLS BY AVERAGE NUMBER OF ARTICLES PER PH.D.-YEAR*

School	Rank	No. of Ph.D. Graduates	Average No. Degrees per Year	Articles per Ph.D.-Year	Percentage of Graduates Publishing
A.......	1	5	0.71	0.3043	60.0
B.......	2	12	1.71	.2000	50.0
C.......	3	219	10.95	.1436	51.6
D.......	4	32	1.60	.1331	43.7
E.......	5	14	1.40	.1250	28.6
F.......	6	107	5.35	.1072	39.3
G.......	7	72	3.60	.1013	45.8
H......	8	27	1.69	.1000	33.3
I........	9	52	2.60	.0980	42.3
J.......	10	15	1.00	0.0915	13.3

* Institutions granting fewer than a total of five doctorates are not included because it is believed they were not pursuing an active doctorate program during the period being studied. The names of the institutions are withheld for obvious reasons.

TABLE 3

PRODUCTIVITY OF GRADUATES BY REGION

Region	Total Ph.D. Graduates	Ph.D.-Years Available	Total Articles	Articles per Ph.D.-Year
Midwest........	601	5,092	512.5	0.1006
West...........	179	1,266	67.5	.0533
South..........	262	2,388	125.5	.0526
Northeast.......	627	5,987	299.0	0.0499
Total.........	1,669	14,733	1,004.5	

graduates made upon sociology was undoubtedly tremendous, considering the small number of individuals involved. However, the dominance of the midwestern graduates should diminish in the future years as strong departments are developed in other parts of the country.

Another interpretation of these data is that we have simply identified superior systems of selecting potential publishers rather than superior programs of training in the institutions consistently graduating high producers. An inquiry to discover whether or not the potentially high publishers are attracted to, and do enrol in, certain "superior" schools seems justified. At present we seem to also lack information about the "grapevine" of communication among graduate students and its relationship, if any, to the ability of a graduate school to gain access to a particular variety of talent. Furthermore, graduate schools must have various unstated requirements and qualifications which bias their selection of students and result in the attraction of the special type of academic talent suited to their particular program. A study of this breadth should provide a more comprehensive understanding of the chain of events which terminates in the graduation of productive Ph.D.'s.

Future investigation into this area should take into account certain factors which may have affected the findings of this study. For example, specialization by some departments may orient their graduates toward publishing exclusively in specialized journals. Also a wider sample and a broader definition of productivity seems needed. Other variables may well be active in this sociocultural process which will come to the minds of others exploring this particular aspect of the sociology of education.

WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

BLAU'S "A THEORY OF SOCIAL INTEGRATION"

May 18, 1960

To the Editor:

Peter Blau's stimulating study of reciprocity[1] is an important addition to Simmel's essay on "Sociability." It does not, however, present us with a "theory of social integration," as the title would have us believe. It is an analysis of *one* process of social interaction.

Blau argues as if the only criterion of integration were that "people like each other" and, implicitly, that the only aim of a new member of a group is to be liked by and to like others. This, I suggest, is by no means a sufficient description of all groups nor of the motives of all their members. In fact, his description would seem to fit best those types of personalities which Riesman has called "other-directed"—in plain English, operators. The groups in which the process he describes would be the dominant one would be mainly informal gatherings, therapy groups, etc.

It is the "other-directed" person within the academy, to use Blau's example, who, when asked to comment upon a colleague's paper, will be concerned with whether he is to gain his colleague's respect by criticizing his work or his affection by flattering him. Blau does not seem to entertain the possibility that "social integration" is achieved when the reader of the paper is sufficiently motivated to spend his time criticizing it because he desires to live up to the normative expectations of the scientific community. When attention is focused primarily on personal considerations rather than on scientific significance, then this is subversive of the very institutionalization of science and hence contributes to the disintegration, rather than the integration, of the scientific community. This is not to deny, but rather to emphasize, that there is tension between the norms of reciprocity and the norms of the community, the resolution of which presents a problem of social integration.

A person entering a group not only has a "face" that he wants to "save"; he also has a conscience to live up to, or a contribution to make, or a message to convey. The message—whether conflicting or agreeing with the group's previous ideas—may be as important, if not more so, as the skilful game of exchange of "unlikeable" and "likeable" qualities. It is perhaps no accident that Blau speaks of "competitors," a person's "credit," etc. He deals primarily with the personality of the "marketer."

The type of social integration which Blau describes may actually be disintegrating. For example, if a captain of a ship were to integrate with his men in the manner described by Blau, the chances are high that his ship would sink sooner or later. Approachability cannot be a criterion of integration, since the lack of it may be a prerequisite for the adequate functioning of a social system.

On balance, it would seem that Blau offers a model for the investigation of groups that are only superficially integrated: cocktail parties, for example. If enduring groups should depend only on the process here outlined, they would exhibit strong signs of *anomie*—the very opposite of what Blau intends to deal with. It is only where bonds are weak, and are to remain weak, that the relationship between two colleagues can be defined in terms of refraining from criticizing for fear of losing favor. My friend, Peter Blau, I'm sure, will read my communication in this spirit.

ROSE COSER

McLean Hospital
Belmont 79, Massachusetts

[1] "A Theory of Social Integration," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXV, No. 6 (May, 1960), 545–56.

REJOINDER

May 27, 1960

'o the Editor:

In part, the issue Rose Coser raises is a erminological one. Durkheim uses the erm "social integration" very broadly. I ıse it much more narrowly, to refer neither o the coherence and constraining force of he common values nor to the social solilarity of a community but to the individıal's acceptance by the other members of ı group, the social ties that unite him with he rest. Another term could have, and erhaps should have, been used for the soial processes through which these social onds are established.

Underlying this terminological question, ıowever, is the substantive issue of the ignificance of social attraction and conern with social acceptance. I fully agree hat preoccupation with social acceptance t the expense of making contribution to he objectives of the group would spell disntegration (and tried to indicate this in he paper, e.g., p. 555), but so does an exlusive devotion to instrumental problems in disregard of the implications of conduct for social bonds; hence the dilemma. Maintaining bonds of social attraction is a continuing problem in enduring groups as well as in short-lived ones, precisely because group members, in response to other demands, recurrently act in disregard of their social relationships and, consequently, must again cement them. Even an old friend like Rose graciously closes her criticism of my paper by reaffirming our social ties.

Beneath these two issues there still appears to be a third, moral one. I am accused of dealing with the "marketer." To treat people's friendly gestures and substantive contributions as mere commodities that are exchanged for social acceptance or control seems somehow indecent. I may be wrong, of course, but I do think that such exchange processes underlie the social interaction not only of manipulators, who use deliberate deception, but also of people who do not—nice people like us.

PETER M. BLAU
University of Chicago

NEWS AND NOTES

The *Journal* deeply regrets the passing of three distinguished colleagues:

Dr. Howard Becker, president of the American Sociological Association and professor at the University of Wisconsin, died suddenly on June 8 of a stroke, at the age of sixty, in Madison, Wisconsin. Professor Becker gave the major address at the recent meetings of the Midwest Sociological Society and was to have given the presidential address at the annual meetings of the Association.

Dr. Clyde K. M. Kluckhohn, professor of anthropology at Harvard University and former director of the Russian Research Center at Harvard, died on July 30 in Santa Fe, New Mexico, at the age of fifty-five.

The death of Samuel A. Stouffer, professor of sociology and director of the Laboratory of Social Relations, Harvard University, at the age of sixty-nine, terminated the career of an outstanding sociologist as he was beginning another major research undertaking with the Population Council.

Memorial tributes to Professors Becker, Kluckhohn, and Stouffer will appear in a future issue.

Arizona State University.—Reynold J. Ruppe, of the State University of Iowa, joined the department in September as chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and associate professor of anthropology.

Ray Jeffery, associate professor of sociology, received a Social Science Research Council grant to attend the Summer Training Institute on the Administration of Criminal Justice held at the University of Wisconsin. He is conducting a research project on law and social class in the Phoenix area.

Carolyn K. Staats, assistant professor of sociology and psychology, is conducting a research project on psychological processes in language communication with funds supplied by the Office of Naval Research. In addition, she, Arthur Staats, and Richard Schutz have been awarded a grant by the National Institute of Mental Health for research on the social reinforcers involved in developing personality traits.

Bard College.—Ira L. Reiss of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology has been awarded a two-year research grant from the National Institute of Mental Health to continue his study of sexual standards.

Brooklyn College.—Alfred McClung Lee, who spent the year 1957–58 at the Catholic University of Milan, will return to Italy during 1960–61 as Fulbright Senior Lecturer at the University of Rome.

Samuel Koenig was recently promoted to the rank of full professor.

Rex D. Hopper has been appointed chairman of the College Area Studies Committee, which, under a $65,000 grant from the Carnegie Corporation, is developing a program of teaching and research in area studies.

Brown University.—Sidney Goldstein has been promoted to professor of sociology, Dennis H. Wrong has been advanced to associate professor, and Dwight B. Heath has been promoted to assistant professor of anthropology.

William R. Rosengren has been appointed lecturer in sociology. He continues as research sociologist at the Bradley Hospital, a psychiatric institution for children.

Igor Kopytoff, who received his Ph.D. from Northwestern University, has joined the department as instructor in anthropology.

J. Louis Giddings spent the summer in Alaska, continuing his archeological explorations of the beach ridges on Kotzebue Sound. His research is supported by a grant of the National Science Foundation.

Harold W. Pfautz serves as consultant to the Butler Health Center, where he is co-director of a demonstration project involving the establishment of a day-care rehabilitation center for emotionally disturbed adolescents. The project is supported by the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation of the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Robert O. Schulze is continuing his study of the changing role of "old families" in community power structure.

The department has received three separate grants from the Small Business Administration. During the summer Kurt B. Mayer and

Sidney Goldstein completed a two-year field study of problems of small-business growth and survival. Surinder K. Mehta is continuing his investigation of the effects of suburbanization on the size and growth of business establishments. Basil G. Zimmer has begun a field study of the effects of displacement and relocation on small businesses.

Under the sponsorship of the Rhode Island Division on Aging, Dr. Goldstein and Dr. Zimmer have carried out an investigation of the adjustment problems of aged persons displaced by highway construction.

Dr. Zimmer has been awarded a grant by the Office of Education of the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for a three-year study of resistances to reorganization of school districts and local governments in metropolitan areas. Amos H. Hawley of the University of Michigan is co-director of this project.

University of Chicago.—Professor S. N. Eisenstadt of Hebrew University will be a visiting professor in the Department of Sociology in the fall.

Robert LeVine, formerly of Northwestern University, joined the Committee on Human Development in July as assistant professor of anthropology.

Donald J. Bogue, who spent the past year in India, has returned to the campus.

Leo A. Goodman has returned from England and will teach at Columbia University for the current academic year.

Jack Sawyer has joined the department as assistant professor.

Mayer N. Zald of the University of Michigan joins the department as instructor.

A new issue of *Studies in Public Communication*, No. 3, the journal of the former Committee on Communication at the University of Chicago, appears in September. This will be the final issue under the editorial direction of those associated with the communication program at the University and the first to be published under the auspices of the recently established Newhouse Communications Center at Syracuse University. The issue is edited by Edward C. Uliassi, with an editorial board including Elihu Katz (chairman), Lester Asheim, W. C. Clark, Philip Ennis, and John Malone.

City College of New York.—Robert Bierstedt has resigned in order to accept the all-university chairmanship at New York University this fall. Milton Barron has been elected chairman.

The following staff members will be on leave of absence during 1960–61: Burt Aginsky, to continue his anthropological research on lateralization; Warren Brown, who has accepted a State Department assignment in Africa; Eliot Freidson, who will prepare a memorandum on the relation of organizational theory to the administration of medical care and initiate a study of the effect of informal organization on physicians' behavior; Bernard Rosenberg, who has a Fulbright award to lecture in Argentina.

New full-time staff members for 1960–61 are Sol Chaneles, formerly instructor at Dartmouth and Brooklyn Colleges; Murray Gendell; Muriel Hammer; Martin Haskell, formerly placement director of the Berkshire Farm for Boys; and Baidya Varma, who is on leave of absence from Hofstra College.

New Fellows in the Social Research Laboratory are Murray Danzger, sociology; Samuel Goldstein, social work; and Robert Le Jeune, sociology.

"Handbook of Latin American Studies."—John V. D. Saunders, assistant professor of sociology at the Louisiana State University, will join T. Lynn Smith, graduate research professor at the University of Florida, in preparing the manuscript for future sociology sections of the *Handbook of Latin American Studies.*

The *Handbook,* a publication prepared in the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress with the assistance of approximately sixty specialists from universities and colleges principally in the United States, is the outstanding United States guide to the current publications and scholarly activities within the social sciences and humanities as they relate to Latin America.

Dr. Smith has prepared the sociology section since its entrance into the *Handbook* as a separate disciplinary section in 1952. The *Handbook* itself is available on purchase through the University of Florida Press, Gainesville, Florida.

Human Betterment Association of America, Inc.—In order to stimulate thinking and en-

courage research on responsible parenthood as related to mental deficiency and on the attitudes of the "hard core" families toward birth control and voluntary sterilization, the Association is offering an award for the best thesis submitted by graduate students in departments of psychology and sociology and schools of social work. In each department the first prize will be $200 and the second $100. Students may work singly or in groups of no more than four. The contest will continue through the school year 1960–61 and may be extended subject to the decision of the judges. The judges are Sophie Cambria, Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy, and Harold Michel-Smith.

Further information may be had from the Human Betterment Association of America, Inc., 105 West 55th Street, New York 19, New York.

"Journal of Communication."—The *Journal*, of which Wayne N. Thompson is editor, is a quarterly, and publishes articles two to four thousand words in length on all aspects of human communication. The official organ of the National Society for the Study of Communication, it carries out the interdisciplinary approach of that organization. The preference is for research articles, but mature discussions of theoretical aspects of communication and thoughtful summaries of experience in a given portion of the whole also are acceptable. The goal is to bring together significant research on communication from all academic disciplines and from all research areas. In 1960, the decennial year for the Society, the *Journal* is featuring a series of articles summarizing the last ten years in the various phases of communication and assessing the present situation. Manuscripts, which should be submitted typed double-spaced and in duplicate, should be sent to Dr. Thompson at the University of Illinois, Navy Pier, Chicago 11, Illinois.

University of Kansas.—The department announces a major reorganization of the curriculum in anthropology, a change designed to meet the needs of undergraduates majoring in other fields who wish to do supplementary work in anthropology, undergraduates who wish to major in anthropology as part of a liberal education, undergraduates who wish to major in anthropology as preparation for post-graduate professional training, and graduate students working toward higher degrees in anthropology or wishing to pursue a minor program in this field. With an expanded staff, emphasis is being placed upon archeology and physical and cultural anthropology.

E. Jackson Baur, with a grant from the University General Research Fund, is continuing his investigation into the sociological influence of student academic achievement at the University.

E. Gordon Ericksen has been appointed full professor. He has been studying differential human fertility in Costa Rica.

Carlyle S. Smith was made a full professor of anthropology. During the summer, he carried on archeological field work in the valleys of the Yonne and Cher rivers of Central France in search of specimens pertaining to the survival into the nineteenth century of flint-chipping techniques reminiscent of the Stone Age.

Ray P. Cuzzort carried out research during the summer for the North Kansas City Development Company on the ecology of shopping centers.

Charles A. Valentine is on leave of absence this year. The recipient of an Andrew Mellon postdoctoral fellowship for advanced study at the University of Pittsburgh, he will analyze and write up his data on the role of religion in the over-all process of social and cultural change in the lives of the Lakalai people of New Britain.

William M. Bass joined the staff as instructor in physical anthropology. He comes from the University of Pennsylvania, where he was senior anthropometrist at the Philadelphia Center for Research in Child Growth.

Everett C. Hughes of the University of Chicago will return to the campus in the second semester to complete his tenure as Rose Morgan Visiting Professor. He will teach seminars in the sociology of the professions and in race relations.

Teaching assistants added to the staff this year are Marvin Munsell, anthropology, and Jack Gibson, William R. Gordon, and Joanna Challman, sociology. Graduate research assistants are Ann Linhardt Funk, Albert D. Klassen, Jr., Merlyn Mathews, and Patricia Beers.

For outstanding undergraduate work in sociology, Barbara K. Foley and Davis Sutherland were awarded the Seba and Kay Ruth

Eldridge scholarships for the academic year 1960–61.

Louisiana State University.—A Graduate Program in Latin American Studies has been instituted at the University. The program offers the M.A. degree with a thesis or a nonthesis option in the following areas of concentration: anthropology, finance and economics, geography, government, history, sociology, and Latin American literature. The program is intended to prepare the student for a nonacademic career in government, business, or foreign service or to equip him to continue his graduate work in his chosen area of concentration. Inquiries should be addressed to Graduate Program in Latin American Studies, 150 Himes Hall, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge 3, Louisiana.

McMaster University (Hamilton, Ontario).—Frank G. Vallee has been appointed associate professor. He spent the summer at Baker Lake, Keewatin District, North West Territories. continuing his research on the Eskimo in that area.

Peter C. Pineo spent the summer at the Family Study Center, University of Chicago, working on a monograph with E. W. Burgess.

Frank E. Jones is directing a study of variations in the social organization of two wards in a provincial mental hospital. Rodney Crook, a doctoral candidate at Princeton University, is serving as Professor Jones's full-time assistant on this study. He will also teach an extension course for the department.

Myer Katz of McGill University and Bernard Meltzer of Central Michigan University gave courses in the summer school.

University of Notre Dame.—The Ford Foundation has provided a grant of $5,000 to the Department of Sociology for research in the systematic development of new concepts and practices for prevention of delinquency. Research will be carried on by Frank Fahey, an instructor in the department, and Gordon J. DiRenzo, a graduate assistant. It will be directed by John J. Kane, head of the department.

The Student Government of Notre Dame will sponsor a Symposium on Power in American Society on October 25, 1960, under the direction of William V. D'Antonio of the Department of Sociology. Featured speakers in the symposium will be Robert Dahl of Yale University, Peter Drucker of New York University, and Delbert C. Miller of Indiana University.

Ohio State University.—During 1959 the Department of Sociology and Anthropology granted its one hundredth doctoral degree in sociology.

Byron Munson, formerly of the Department of Sociology at North Texas, has become supervisor, Office of Community Development, Engineering Experiment Station. He also holds the rank of associate professor of sociology.

Saad Nagi, a recent staff addition, is assistant professor of sociology and anthropology and research director of the Rehabilitation Center, Ohio State University Medical Center.

The department has several faculty members on the research staff of the Columbus Psychiatric Institute: Simon Dinitz is research associate and associate professor of sociology and anthropology; Mark Lefton is assistant professor of sociology and psychiatry; and Howard Ehrlich is assistant professor of psychiatry. Dr. Lefton and Dr. Dinitz recently received substantial grants from the National Institute of Mental Health for studies of the social structure of the mental hospital and the outcome of mental-hospital patients.

John Evans is research associate in the Operations Research Group of the Engineering Experiment Station.

Ray Mangus and Merton Oyler continue to hold joint appointments in sociology and anthropology and in rural sociology.

New staff additions include E. L. Quarantelli, coming from Harpur College to teach social psychology; Louanna Pettay, Indiana, anthropology; Thomas Eynon, criminology; and Margaret Helfrich, University of Pittsburgh.

Roscoe Hinkle has been appointed associate professor.

Walter Reckless is continuing his research in delinquency. This work has been supported by the Development Fund at the University for the last five years.

University of Pennsylvania.—Richard D. Lambert has been appointed chairman of the Committee on South Asia of the Association for Asian Studies.

Otto Pollak has received a three-year grant from the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund in support of a family diagnosis project.

Marvin Wolfgang has been elected president of the Pennsylvania Prison Society.

Leonard Savitz, who received his Ph.D. degree in February, has joined the staff of Temple University.

E. Digby Baltzell taught at the summer session of the University of California at Berkeley.

Academy of Psychoanalysis.—Frances S. Arkin, M.D., who was one of the founders of the first psychoanalytic institute in this country to be connected with a medical school, was elected president of the Academy of Psychoanalysis for 1960–61. Other recently elected officers are: president-elect, Roy R. Grinker, M.D.; secretary, Joseph H. Merin, M.D.; treasurer, John L. Schimel, M.D.; and the following trustees, who will serve three-year terms: Donald D. Jackson, M.D., May E. Romm, M.D., and Leon Salzman, M.D. The other officers of the Academy are: past president, John A. P. Millet, M.D.; trustees, Nathan W. Ackerman, M.D., Ralph M. Crowley, M.D., Alexander Reid Martin, M.D., Leon J. Saul, M.D., and Natalie Shainees, M.D.

The scientific sessions of the midwinter meeting of the Academy will be held December 10 and 11, 1960, at the Hotel Biltmore in New York City. The theme of the first day's meeting will be "The Role of Values in the Psychoanalytic Process." The second day's meeting will be devoted to a series of papers by members of the Academy.

Inquiries may be addressed to Joseph H. Merin, M.D., Secretary, The Academy of Psychoanalysis, 125 East 65th Street, New York 21, New York.

Social Science Research Council.—The Council's annual announcement describing fellowships and grants to be awarded in 1960–61 will be ready for distribution in early September. It will list the following programs which are to be continued without major changes: research training fellowships, predoctoral and postdoctoral; faculty research fellowships; grants-in-aid of research; fellowships in political theory and legal philosophy; grants for research on American governmental and legal processes and on national security policy.

International conference travel grants will be offered to American social scientists for travel to certain meetings abroad, a list of which will be announced later.

Under joint sponsorship with the American Council of Learned Societies, grants will be offered to mature scholars for research in the social sciences and humanities on certain foreign areas. Grants for research on Africa south of the Sahara, on contemporary China, on Latin America, and on the Near and Middle East (including North Africa) will be administered by the Research Council, while those for Asian studies and for Slavic and East European studies will be administered by the Council of Learned Societies.

Applications for some categories of awards will be due not later than November 1.

Inquiries and requests for the detailed announcement when issued may be addressed to the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.

Society for the Scientific Study of Religion.—Major methodological problems in the study of religion by behavioral sciences will be the major theme of the twentieth meeting of the Society, October 28–29, in New York City. Professor I. H. Randall of Columbia University will deliver the major address Friday evening, October 28, on "The Scientific Study of Religion as Theory and as Practice." A panel of discussants, representing several behavioral sciences, will comment on his address; the panel includes anthropologist Otto Klineberg of Columbia University, psychologist Solomon Asch of Swarthmore College, sociologist Talcott Parsons of Harvard University, Benjamin Nelson of the University of the State of New York representing psychoanalysis, and Sidney Morgenbesser of Columbia University representing philosophy of science.

Workshops will be conducted on Saturday, October 29, by Dorothy Lee, anthropologist; Walter H. Clark, psychologist; Mortimer Ostow, psychoanalyst; Prentiss Pemberton, sociologist; and H. S. Thayer, for philosophy of science.

The Society will meet at the Interchurch Center, 475 Riverside Drive, as the guest of the Bureau of Research and Survey of the National Council of Churches. Further information concerning the program may be obtained from the secretary, James E. Dittes, Yale University, 409 Prospect Street, New Haven 11, Connecticut.

Southern Methodist University.—Walter T. Watson retired as chairman and assumed emeritus status July 1. Dr. Watson came to SMU in 1929 after doctoral study at the University of Chicago. Among his professional contributions are the studies of communities and occupations which he, his students, and colleagues published in *Studies in Sociology,* of which he was founder and editor. He was succeeded as chairman by Morton King, Jr.

Other full-time faculty are Bruce M. Pringle, Fredrick Koenig, and Lewis Rhodes. The latter joined the department as assistant professor in September, coming from the State University of Iowa.

Willis Tate, president of the University, is also professor of sociology.

Mrs. Robert H. Bennett and Mrs. E. C. Summerfield serve as part-time lecturers.

Douglas E. Jackson and Marvin T. Judy are sociologists on the faculty of Perkins School of Theology.

Harry W. Martin, sociologist at Southwestern Medical School, taught during the summer session. He and Dr. Pringle were consultants to the Dallas Association of Mental Health for a community survey aided by a grant from the Hogg Foundation.

Drs. Pringle, Koenig, King, and Jackson, with colleagues in psychology, are conducting a continuing study of the relation between intragroup variables and intergroup interaction. The study of the relation of participation in religious organizations to outgroup stereotyping and prejudice was made possible by a grant from the Straus Foundation.

Dr. Rhodes is continuing research in connection with the Nashville study of adolescent conformity and deviation.

Syracuse University.—Charles Vert Willie, sociologist, has received a dual appointment as assistant professor of sociology and anthropology and research associate at the University's Youth Development Center, effective September 1. Dr. Willie is presently instructor in preventive medicine at the State University of New York College of Medicine.

Western New York Sociological Society.—The following have been elected officers for the year 1960–61: president, Gerhard J. Falk, State University College of Education, Buffalo, New York; vice-president, Constantine Yeracaris, University of Buffalo; secretary-treasurer, Thomas Imse, Canisius College, Buffalo, New York. Past presidents of the Society are Llewellyn Gross, Niles Carpenter, and John Curtis.

REVIEW ARTICLE

SLAVERY AND THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE*

ROBERT A. GORDON

If there is anything at all to social science, then we should see more books like this one. In the opening chapter Elkins guides the non-historian through the great scholarly works on American slavery. The problem of fairness in appraising slavery, the question of racial inferiority, and other once prominent issues in this scholarly tradition, from Ulrich Phillips to Myrdal and beyond, are clearly set forth. For Elkins these represent the "old debate," for which the accounts are now settled. There remain, however, certain perplexing and dramatic problems turned up in past scholarship which require an entirely new tack. The remaining three chapters are addressed to their solution.

Why was it that in the United States the status of plantation slave was tailored to its ultimate degree of convenience for the slave-holder—so that physical discipline of the slave was "virtually unlimited," his status virtually unalterable, and his rights, including those of marriage and family, non-existent—while in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies of Latin America the slave could acquire property, enjoy protection of his marital and family status, and even purchase his freedom? Elkins seeks the answer in a comparative study of the institutions of the two Americas.

In the United States slavery developed concurrently with a burgeoning plantation capitalism. In the fluidity of new institutions in a new country it was thus possible to rationalize the economic potential of slavery to a degree not possible within a Mediterranean culture which had known slaves for centuries and in which the competing institutional claims of King and Church intersected along with those of the plantation in the status of slave. In North America, where King and Church were absent, it was natural that governmental action, unchallenged by any other established institutional interest, was largely subservient to the interests of the planter. Here the absence of a unified and powerful Church with a traditionally recognized concern for the souls of slaves made it easy for the slave-holder to permit religious figures only token access to the slaves. It was even urged that the Negro lacked a soul. Similarly, the secular government owed nothing to an Established Church in return for its own legitimation. Thus, we see that Elkins is fashioning an "institutional key" to understanding.

If we reject the hypothesis of racial inferiority, how are we to account for the "Sambo" stereotype of "the typical plantation slave, . . . docile but irresponsible, loyal but lazy, humble but chronically given to lying and stealing; his behavior was full of infantile silliness and his talk inflated with childish exaggeration . . . ," especially when numerous references compel us to grant, however reluctantly, that it must have had some substance? Better understanding of the "essentially heroic" aboriginal African culture leads us now to reject also the once current explanation that Sambo was its modal personality type. Again, the study of institutional contexts and the comparative method prove illuminating. This time the lesson is drawn from the concentration camps of recent history. This is admittedly a somewhat daring com-

* *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life*. By STANLEY ELKINS. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959. Pp. viii+248. $4.50.

parison in view of the extreme nature of the camps, but it is accomplished convincingly and with restraint. The reported reactions of inmates to imprisonment in a concentration camp reveal a consistent tendency toward infantilism and regressive behavior, a capacity for radically accommodating one's personality to the abrupt change, and the frequent adoption of a dependent role toward the oppressive authorities who are then recast as father-figures. Much the same reaction must have been the Negro's, reasons Elkins, when, suffering the shock of capture, the horrible Middle Passage, and deliberate confinement with fellows of alien tongue to forestall rebellion, he was transported to a condition subject to authority as total and as absolute as that of the concentration camp, if somewhat more benevolent. The argument at this point is bolstered by a knowledgeable consideration of theories of personality dynamics. Whatever one's attitude toward the theories in question, the relevance of the behavioral evidence to the actual historical event of slavery is striking.

When the comparison is made to Latin America, where a variety of roles in several institutional contexts were available to the slave—for example, father, worshiper, property-holder—we search in vain for "Sambo." The absence of the stereotype there, where the Negro underwent the same trauma of capture, is evidence, Elkins asserts, of the significance of the drastically truncated status-set of the North American Negro in perpetuating "Sambo" for future slave generations. As in the concentration camp, the pitifully small rewards of the situation as well as any modicum of control over one's fate had to be gleaned mostly from a single unbalanced relationship, that of master and slave.

The final chapter treats differences in the social position of the intellectual in the British and American abolitionist movements. In America the leading abolitionist intellectuals were the Concord Transcendentalists, led by Emerson and his circle. Vehemently anti-institutional, typically viewing problems in abstract and morally absolutist terms, ultra-individualist, they were "men without connections," according to Elkins. The few of them who actually occupied a status in some institutional structure were given to resigning their position abruptly. In contrast, the English abolitionist intellectuals were deeply involved in the institutions of their society and throught it respectable to be closely linked to sources of power. Their abolitionism found expression through institutional means; they understood compromise, knew necessity, and made headway. But in America the Concord intellectuals succeeded only in generating an enormous guilt, within both their own minds and the mind of society at large. Instead of being gradually transformed through a series of institutionally implemented steps, each facilitating the next, slavery in America awaited a single cataclysmic explosion.

Quite aside from its intrinsic interest as history, Elkins' work offers the sociologist an unusual opportunity to develop the theory of comparative institutions and societies. For, while the work itself draws upon current theories in social science to explain particular cases, the author does not unify the cases within a single general theory.

One promising theoretical approach to Elkins' work is suggested by the concept of status-set, and perhaps also role-set, as used by Robert K. Merton and others. The isolation of the status of slave in North America from any other institutionally nested status contrasts with its coincidence in South America with the statuses of worshiper, royal subject, and even family member. Another way of stating this is that in South America the prescriptions associated with these additional statuses extended also to cover persons subject to the prescriptions of being a slave, while this was not the case in North America. Connected with these additional statuses were role-partners, the King or, rather, his agents, and the priest, who were powerful in their own right. Their power

enabled them to prevent plantation owners from introducing into the master-slave relation innovations in the interest of efficiency which might have interfered with the performance of the slave within the roles with which they, King and priest, were legitimately concerned. Thus, the Universal Church could not remain indifferent to the spectacle of a debased family life among slaves, or of their brutal mistreatment by masters, when souls were at stake on both sides. The King, in turn, could not ignore the Church's demands in such matters and could exert power against the slave-holders, without jeopardizing his legitimation, by claiming the slaves as his subjects. The effect of this concern was not only to protect the slave's claim to the perquisite gratifications of these statuses but also to benefit him within the slave status itself. He might, for example, purchase his freedom.

Implicit in these considerations is a general hypothesis as to the consequences of multi-institutional membership, or its absence, for persons who are powerless members of a particular institution. Obvious variations of this situation may provide a basis for the comparative study of large-scale social entities up to and including societies. Other conceivably important variants, for example, would occur when at least one of the statuses of the status-set commands relatively high power, or when all the statuses of a frequently observed set are powerful and all those of another set are powerless, with both sets running through the same major institutions of a society. Yet another source of variation might stem from taking into account the types of institutions involved.

Elkins' chapter on "Sambo" teaches us that the power constellation of the actor's status-set may affect not only the social expectation associated with his performance of some role but also his personality. Confinement from birth within a narrow status-set restricts opportunities to learn and canalizes gratification toward residual sources which are likely to be infantile, if only because available in even the most restricted circumstances. Perhaps this even sheds light on some of the self-perpetuating characteristics of the underdog. It would appear that the concept of status-set is a valuable tool for those concerned with the interplay between culture and personality, particularly as mediated by reciprocal expectations joined in roles. The effects of creation and extinction of roles are certainly of fundamental importance for the study of social change.

Even the voluntary renunciation of roles entails the sacrifice of skills. Evidence for this is to be found in Elkins' final chapter. By abstaining from institutional involvement, the intellectuals of the American abolitionist movement handicapped themselves through lack of a political finesse they might otherwise have acquired. But the composition of their status-set has other implications, too. There are two important means of bringing the enormous resources of an institution to bear upon a problem arising in some other sphere. One is to make the problem a legitimate one for the institution; the other is to divert informally some of the resources of the institution to the other purpose. Neither of these strategies is available to men who belong to no institution. The convictions which led the Transcendentalists to isolate themselves from institutional life and the effects which this isolation may have had upon the course of the abolitionist movement in the United States ought to suggest new approaches to the sociology of knowledge.

Elkins' book is recommended to the sociologist as a well-equipped laboratory for experimentation with the concept of status-set. The simplicity of the concept invites its application to exactly this sort of material. It certainly offers one means of employing for sociological purposes a wealth of historical material unsuited to other modern techniques, for its use depends upon the very information which is likely to be accessible to historical research.

University of Chicago

BOOK REVIEWS

My Name Is Legion: Foundations for a Theory of Man in Relation to Culture. By ALEXANDER H. LEIGHTON. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959. Pp. xii+452. $7.50.

For those who are concentrating on an analysis of the role and influence of sociocultural factors in the development of behavioral aberrations, emotional disturbances, and mental disorders, this book should prove highly important. Its significance will be measured in the long run by its jarring workers to a greater awareness of the value of crucial evidence and to a realization that knowledge about the etiology of mental disorders will not come through a theory encompassed by any one discipline. In the short run Dr. Leighton's book is notable because it attempts, in the first place, to achieve an integration of the various social disciplines in their investigation of the influence of sociocultural factors on behavioral and emotional and mental disturbances in man; secondly, it shows how the disciplines, when integrated, can provide a frame of reference for the problem, and, finally, it unites in a capable and intelligent fashion a careful scientific procedure with a warm humanistic concern. In brief, it is a book where the contents would seem to live up to the promise provided by the blurb on the jacket: "When science finally succeeds in constructing the long sought comprehensive theory of human behavior, it may well be that *My Name Is Legion* will stand as one of its principal foundation stones."

This is the first of three projected volumes that will attempt to report the findings of the Stirling County study of psychiatric disorder and sociocultural environment, an intensive ten-year project conducted by Cornell University in collaboration with the Department of Public Health of the Province of Nova Scotia. While this work is under the influence of three central questions, namely, the extent of psychiatric disorder, the proportions of the different varieties and kinds, and their distribution in relation to sociocultural factors, the present volume can be regarded as a very carefully thought-out introduction to the findings. The expectant reader will find no data systematically analyzed, but he will find through discussion of the nature and character of various psychiatric disorders as seen through certain persons living in Stirling County at the time of the study, a carefully developed frame of reference for viewing the association of sociocultural factors and psychiatric disorders, and a statement of the plan of research. This all fuses together admirably in what might well be a textbook in social psychiatry, for it has both breadth and depth, not only in its attempt to take hereditary, physiological, and psychological factors into account, but also in its theoretical framework for determining the nature and functions of sociocultural factors that may enter into the development of any specific mental disorder.

There are two implicit assumptions: that behavioral, psychological, and mental disorders will be explained more adequately by the operation and interrelationship of multiple factors, and that, regardless of the ultimately discovered significance of heredity and physiology, it will be found that sociocultural factors have some direct or indirect etiological role to play. The frame of reference developed in Part II is based on four assumptions: human beings exist in a state of psychological striving; striving plays a part in the maintenance of an essential psychical condition; interference with striving leads to a disturbance in the essential psychical condition; and disturbance of the essential psychical condition gives rise to disagreeable feelings.

From these fundamental propositions, Leighton derives others constituting a frame of reference. They are notable because they are designed not only to state the paths leading to the development of psychiatric disorders but also the paths that lead to their nonoccurrence. Leighton is well aware that the propositions do not enable him to deal with the clinical question of why some and not others will show signs and symptoms under the same set of circumstances. In his attempt to fuse the viewpoints of the various behavioral disciplines into some meaningful frame of reference, he is constrained to examine the opposites of the theories with which he deals. For example, he presents the possibility not

only that sociocultural factors may operate directly to produce a psychiatric disturbance but also that they may operate indirectly by distribution of physical and psychical injuries to others in a social system, making such persons more vulnerable to psychiatric disturbance. Again, in his discussion of the way in which community disintegration may bring about psychiatric disorder, Leighton examines the opposite proposition, namely, whether it is possible for psychiatric disorder, operating through many persons, to bring about social disintegration. In his proposed plan of research he takes the community as his central unit, and he hopes to determine, as he stated ten years ago, if there will be a greater amount of psychiatric disturbance in communities with a high level of social disintegration, as measured by a number of factors, than there is in communities where the measures of disintegration are at a minimum.

It is difficult, if one is not wedded exclusively to a particular theoretical viewpoint, to criticize the present work, because Dr. Leighton, in his extensive coverage of all relevant theories and hypotheses and his fusing of them into a meaningful framework of reference, has amply protected himself. This is a cautious and carefully done introduction to what will probably be one of the more impressive attempts by the social sciences to deal with psychiatric disorders in this period. We can only hope that the promise in this volume will be reflected in the volumes that are to follow.

H. WARREN DUNHAM

Wayne State University

Social Science and Social Pathology. By BARBARA WOOTTON. Assisted by VERA G. SEAL and ROSALIND CHAMBERS. London: Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1959. Pp. 400. 35*s*.

Combining both practical experience as a magistrate and extensive academic knowledge, Barbara Wootton has written a stimulating book in a forceful polemic style. Her general concern is to assess the contributions that have been made by social scientists and psychiatrists to the understanding and subsequent treatment of deviant or pathological behavior. By deviant behavior she means all behavior which is unacceptable or unadaptable to the society in which it is practiced; this would include criminal activities as well as behavior which is self-destructive or indicates a lack of contact or knowledge of social reality.

The book is divided into two major sections. The first is devoted primarily to a review of the research carried out in Britain and the United States on the causes and characteristic features of criminal behavior. The author states at the outset that the studies under review were selected in accordance with specific requirements that each "should deal with at least 200 subjects; should contain data on not less than half or nearly half the hypotheses under review; and should be sufficiently substantial to include accounts both of the findings and of the methods used." Contributions to journals were generally ruled out because the methodological details were inadequate, as were several of the better-known studies on delinquency because they produced "insufficient relevant material; their statistical materials could not be divorced from the text or they were presented in a form which defied comparative use; or because the samples used were inadequate." The sample of pertinent research contains twenty-one studies conducted between 1915 and 1955 in Britain and the United States. The general conclusion reached by the author is that they have produced only "the most meagre and dubiously supported generalizations"; that it would be very difficult on the basis of them to predict with any degree of accuracy those personal and social characteristics or conditions that are more or less likely to produce criminal behavior. Even when such conditions as size of family, social status, broken homes, criminality in the family, and maternal separation or deprivation are carefully examined for the effect they may have in producing criminal behavior, their value in predicting future criminality can only be vaguely inferred.

The second section, which is the heart of the book, reflects the author's evaluation of contemporary attitudes toward mental illness and focuses particularly on the assessment of criminal responsibility in cases involving a plea of insanity. In developing her major theme, she carries the reader along on a spirited argument in which the relationship between mental illness and physical illness is examined and the "value-anchored" definitions of mental health are critically reviewed. Indexes for the recognition of physical illness

are objective; they do not rest upon social judgments; their presence is not inferred from aberrant behavior but from symptoms discernible independent of behavior. When either of the terms "mental health" or "mental illness" are used, the behavioral referent is intrinsically related to social and moral values that are approved by society. In the author's own words, "value-soaked definitions and explanations leave the scientific and objective status of the concept of mental health in a decidedly shaky condition."

The discussion of definitions is, however, an introduction to the major thesis, which may be stated as follows: As the law is currently applied, if a person acknowledges that he commits a crime and introduces as his defense a plea of insanity, the crucial question for the court or the jury is whether the accused was capable of assuming moral responsibility for his actions. The nature and extent of the disturbance are questions of fact for the jury to consider, but the ultimate criterion rests on the point of responsibility. The author recommends that the concept of responsibility be eliminated. An accused should be considered mentally ill if in the opinion of medical authorities he is likely to improve under current methods of medical treatment—"Once judgments as to moral responsibility are eliminated, the definition of the mentally sick as those whose peculiarities are likely to yield to treatment by persons holding medical degrees becomes nothing more than a useful practical device for settling who is to be dealt with by him."

The adoption of such a criterion would, of course, necessitate considerable change in legal procedure. For one, the jury of laymen as the final arbiters would, of course, be relinquished in favor of a board of medical experts. In addition, persons who are least likely to understand or appreciate the nature and consequences of their own behavior are also likely to be unresponsive to medical treatment. It would follow that the sicker the person, the less likely he is to be considered "mentally ill" by the criterion of responsiveness to treatment. Such persons might then be committed and treated in the same way as "ordinary" criminals who also might not be considered responsive to medical treatment. The author would qualify the suggested procedure for one group. The mental defectives, she suggests, are a special case which would not properly qualify under the criterion of responsiveness to treatment; they should be committed to special institutions.

RITA JAMES
University of Chicago

Georg Simmel. Edited by KURT H. WOLFF. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1959. Pp. xv+396. $7.50.

The popular stereotype of Simmel as having a many-sided and brilliant intellect is by no means contradicted in this volume. But one of its outstanding virtues is that, thanks to the contributing authors and especially to Wolff's superb editorial work, Simmel emerges whole, unscathed by adulation, more whole than one could know him from the existing translations of his sociological work.

The book includes seven essays which analyze different aspects of Simmel's work. They are of direct and immediate relevance to the sociologist who has any interest in Simmel's method and the problems to which he addressed himself. The other essays in the first part, and the translation of a letter from Simmel to Marianne Weber which opens the second part, contribute more to our understanding of Simmel by facilitating a kind of empathy with the culture within which he lived, with the intellectual passion that characterized his circle. Some of the essays give us glimpses of intellectual history; some have their effect more through their style, though none are void of substance. Seven translations of essays by Simmel make up the second part of the book; two bibliographies conclude it, one by Kurt Gassen of writings *about* Simmel, one by Kurt Wolff of books by Simmel in German and his writings available in English.

A consistently excellent collection of essays makes it difficult for the reviewer to select particular ones for comment. Even the focus of sociology does not make the choice from this heterogeneous collection any easier, since Wolff seems to have had in mind particularly to broaden sociologists' acquaintance with Simmel. The most immediate bearing on the day-to-day work of the sociologist is in the essays by Donald N. Levine's "The Structure of Simmel's Social Thought," F. H. Tenbrucks' "Formal Sociology," H. D. Duncan's "Simmel's Image of Society," Matthew Lipman's "Some Aspects of Simmel's Conception

of the Individual," E. V. Walter's "Simmel's Sociology of Power: The Architecture of Politics," and Rudolph H. Weingartner's "Form and Content in Simmel's Philosophy of Life." Weingartner's essay, though written from the point of view of a philosopher, is especially useful in providing bridges to the more philosophical aspects of Simmel's writings. It was especially appreciated by the reviewer because it opened up the otherwise completely impenetrable article by Gertrud Kantorowicz, which Wolff advises the reader to try once before going through the rest of the book and once after completing it. Essays by Paul Honigsheim and Heinz Maus contribute to a historical understanding of Simmel and his thinking; Masamichi Shimmei's essay, "Georg Simmel's Influence on Japanese Thought," has some substantive interest but is perhaps most interesting because of its psychological effect on the reader. In style and content it is quite different from the other analytical essays in this book; it seems to be separated from Simmel's own method and concerns by a wide gulf which, by exaggeration, points to our own cultural distance from Simmel.

Among the translated essays there are four which Wolff has characterized as "phenomenal explorations of everyday matters"—the adventure, the ruin, the handle, and the human face. These essays provide an excellent introduction to some of Simmel's non-sociological concerns. The reader will find in them the same technique of thought that he has already met in the *Sociology*, but its application to these non-technical subjects accentuates its free-wheeling, almost playful character. The last two essays, together with "The Fundamental Problems of Sociology" (Part I of Wolff's *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*), provide three different introductions to Simmel's conception of sociology. "The Fundamental Problems of Sociology," Simmel's last discussion of this subject, includes parts of the other two essays and can be thought of as Simmel's version of a "problem approach" to sociology. "How Is Society Possible?" has a primarily epistemological focus. "The Problem of Sociology" is first and foremost methodological. Here Simmel comes as close as he ever does to a definition of "society" and of those two words which must have harassed many students attempting to read Simmel, "form" and "content." "Any social phenomenon or process," Simmel writes, "is composed of two elements which in reality are inseparable: on the one hand, an interest, purpose, or a motive; on the other, a form or mode of interaction among individuals through which, or in the shape of which, that content attains social reality."

Those who feel grateful to Kurt Wolff for having made Simmel available in English will feel that with this book he has put us even more in his debt.

ARNOLD SIMMEL

New York State Department of Health

The Israeli Worker: Achievements, Attitudes and Aspirations. By FERDYNAND ZWEIG. New York: Herzl Press and Sharon Books, 1959. Pp. xiii+305. $5.00.

The organization of the Israeli labor movement, the *Histadrut*, which recruits more than half the population of the country as members of its trade unions, owns a sizable amount of the country's industry, and controls the bulk of the agriculture, has long deserved the attention of sociologists. Dr. Zweig's book on the subject, following a study he conducted in Israel from 1953 to 1956, is therefore welcome.

The author deals with a great variety of problems concerning the Israeli worker. His main emphasis is, rightly, on the peculiar structure of the *Histadrut*—its trade unions, cooperatives, communal agricultural settlements, the industries it owns, and the consequent institutions in the field of industrial relations. The latter are of particular interest: primarily, the labor exchanges run by the trade unions and recognized both by law and by the employers as the sole agency providing the labor force for industry; the workers' committees in the factories, their structure and their powers vis-à-vis the employers and the central authorities of the *Histadrut;* the collective agreements that developed under these circumstances; the joint production committees and other joint efforts of the employers, the workers, and the *Histadrut* to improve productivity.

The merit of the book is the attempt to describe these institutions within the specific context of the country's social structure as well as its history. One gets a feeling for the problems posed by the influx of immigrants, from all parts of the globe, with different cultures and working habits. The author studies the contri-

bution of successive waves of immigrants in shaping the social institutions and values in Israel and analyzes friction between them and their effect upon industrial relations. He also discusses the different industries in Israel and their histories, the national character of the Israelis, and the attitude of the workers to such problems as learning and sport.

The author's attempt to include as many problems as possible constitutes one of the chief merits and chief weaknesses of the book. It is impossible to do full justice to such a vast range of problems in one study. Those familiar with the field under investigation could not but regret the sweeping generalizations, unsubstantiated statements, and cursory treatment of many problems. This is, in part, due also to the methods. We are told that, besides reading a great deal of the published material on his subject, he conducted numerous personal interviews and sent out questionnaires on matters of union organization, work satisfaction, and productivity. However, he did not analyze the results in any systematic way. (Sometimes this was absolutely impossible, as was the case when, of three hundred and fifty questionnaires on productivity and work relations sent out to management, only twenty-eight answers were received.) The material thus gathered was used solely to aid him as an observer. To have as the unit of observation the whole state of Israel is a formidable challenge, even for one as experienced and skilful as Zweig. It is therefore not surprising that his interesting data and illuminating facts, his many penetrating comments and incisive observations, are entwined with certain unwarranted statements and generalizations. Take, for example, the following categorical statement about the Sabras (the native-born Israelis): "The Sabras don't care about making headway. They don't strive toward bettering themselves as they don't know anything better" (p. 113). Or the rather romantic description of the Israeli worker's attitude toward the day of rest: "He would half starve to have hala and fish and chicken for the Sabbath. . . . He feels like a king, his wife the queen, and his children little princes" (p. 74).

Unfortunately, Zweig's omission of footnotes and references to support his voluminous and important descriptive material reduces the value of the study for serious students of social institutions and industrial relations. Yet this book is highly recommended to readers interested in getting acquainted with the working class in Israel, its labor movement, and the problems of industrial relations in the country of immigration.

YONATHAN SHAPIRO
Columbia University

African Homicide and Suicide. Edited by PAUL BOHANNAN. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960. Pp. xix+270. $6.00.

Though suicide in non-Western cultures has been commented on extensively by anthropologists and, more recently and less extensively, by two teams of sociologists—Murray and Jacqueline Strauss, and Gibbs and Martin—cross-cultural studies of the sort undertaken by Bohannan and his collaborators are rare indeed. Sociologists have called repeatedly for cross-cultural studies while ignoring, by and large, such materials as have been available to them. In defense, however, it must be pointed out that ethnographic materials have rarely provided data which are relevant to sociological variables. Hence, the impasse, with sociologists and anthropologists each protesting too much the inadequacy of the others' data, theories, and tools of investigation.

Bohannan and his fellow anthropologists make a bold and valiant attempt to bridge this gap. The fact that they are not altogether successful is not surprising in view of the limitations of data, the vastly divergent theoretical approaches which they seek to understand and interpret for purposes of their study, and the equally divergent cultural systems under which explanatory concepts have been formulated and to which they are applied in this study.

The book consists of nine chapters, beginning with "Theories of Homicide and Suicide" and ending with "Patterns of Murder and Suicide." In between there are chapters on "Homicide among the Tiv of Central Nigeria" and on homicide and suicide in Busoga, Bunyoro, North Kavirondo, and among the Gisu, the Joluo of Kenya, and the Alur. The Appendix contains tables of some of the data on homicide and suicide gathered by the contributors to the volume. Bohannan contributes the first, last, and two intervening chapters. The remaining chapters are written by L. A. and M. C. Fallers, Jean La Fontaine, J. H. M. Beattie, G. M. Wilson, and A. W. Southall. All were in Africa at the time the collaboration was decided upon.

We are told that "each contributor to this volume was 'given his head.'" They were asked simply to arrange certain data gathered on homicide and suicide on charts and to write an essay on their findings, with minimal instructions as to what should be covered. The result is fascinating, but spotty as to the material covered and the assessment of theoretical relevance. *Testing* of theory is not attempted in a formal sense. But much raw material is here—rich ethnographic data on definitions of homicide and suicide and other group characteristics, and on the social distribution of homicide and suicide. In a few cases contributors have found it possible to compare homicide and suicide rates of the groups they studied with other nations, for example, the Fallers' comparison of the Basoga with Chile, Ceylon, the United States, Japan, Italy, and England and Wales, from the United Nations *Demographic Yearbook* during roughly comparable years. Busoga rates of both phenomena are well within the ranges of these other countries. They note from ecological data that in Busoga "the breaking down of traditional institutions [e.g., local lineage groups] appears to *reduce* the frequency of homicide and suicide" and attribute this finding to "a decline in the severity of some of the conflicts which . . . are inherent in it" (pp. 84–85). The Fallers reflect on the trouble spots in social systems "which place persons involved in them under such strain that conflict may result" (p. 79). These trouble spots are found to vary among the societies, depending on the nature of the kinship system, property rights, assumptions as to witchcraft, ritualized relations which thinly disguise strained personal relations and which allow for their symbolic resolution, etc. Such variations are crucial for the interpretation of sociological theories and concepts such as egoistic and anomic suicide (Durkheim), status integration (Gibbs and Martin), and external restraint (Henry and Short). By and large, these matters are not assessed in this book. Small numbers of both suicides and homicides among the groups, in any case, render difficult an adequate theoretical assessment.

La Fontaine is the most successful of the contributors in integrating findings relative to homicide and suicide with recent sociological and psychological bases for legitimation of aggression (among the Gisu). La Fontaine notes, for example, a striking reversal in the sex distribution of these phenomena. "Over a period of ten years, 11 women killed other people, 28 killed themselves . . . 141 men committed murder and only 40 committed suicide." He then notes that aggressive behavior, while it is encouraged for men, is discouraged for women and that boys are disciplined almost exclusively by their fathers and in a physical manner culminating in circumcision, while girls are brought up by their mothers. Structurally, Gisu society operates so as to involve men in competitive status relationships and in the most meaningful cathectic relationships to be found in the society, namely, the lineage group to which women are marginal. The conclusion appears to be that, culturally and structurally, Gisu society places the male in the most homicidogenic and suicidogenic positions, and that the psychological basis for aggression tends towards homicide. Culturally, aggression is discouraged for women, but the psychological and social structural bases of extreme aggression, weak external restraint, conduce to suicide, when aggression is expressed. La Fontaine notes also that suicide by males is more closely co-ordinated with economic changes than is suicide by females (p. 119) and that the women are most prone to suicide in those years when they must strive to succeed as wives and mothers, as a guaranty of a secure old age and a respected position (p. 127).

This book reminds the sociologist that the analysis of social structure must always be couched in cultural terms. The resolution of socially structured strains will be different in a society which views suicide as a more or less rational choice between the alternatives of life and death, a possible way out of certain difficult situations (p. 116; the Gisu, p. 110), from resolution in a society in which "the motives for suicide are thought to be to avenge the deed by the malevolent supernatural forces which at death become allied to the dead, who are able to use them against those on earth to solve problems which they found beyond human solution." The Alur have no terms for suicide in their language (p. 227), and the Tiv consider suicide "rare, inexplicable, and un-Tiv" (p. 64).

Sociologists will quarrel with some of the interpretations of sociological theories and with the disregard of sociological concepts. This slight pique will be more than compensated for, however, by the data and ethnographic details and by the very importance of the undertaking.

James Short

University of Chicago

Rusembilan: A Malay Fishing Village in Southern Thailand. By THOMAS M. FRASER, JR. Foreword by LAURISTON SHARP. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1960. Pp. xviii+281. $5.75.

Bangkhuad: A Community Study in Thailand. By HOWARD KEVA KAUFMAN. ("Association for Asian Studies Monographs," Vol. X.) Locust Valley, N.Y.: J. J. Augustin Inc. (for the Association for Asian Studies), 1960. Pp. ix+235. $5.50.

Each of these volumes constitutes a valuable addition to our increasing knowledge of South Asian community life and structure. Although both studies are laid in Thailand, they are of sharply contrasting ecological and cultural regions. Also contrasting are the styles of the respective authors and their approaches to community analysis. Both are anthropologists, and each spent about a year in field study.

Rusembilan deals with a Muslim coastal village in southern, peninsular Thailand. There, Malay Thai nationals have developed a seasonally balanced economy based chiefly upon fishing and rice cultivation. Fishing is the predominating concern. About a third of the book is devoted to various facets of economic life. In other chapters Fraser discusses community organization, including family structure; religious life and supernaturalism, both Muslim and folk; and "Rusembilan as part of the Thai Nation." In the last-named chapter and elsewhere, sensitivity to the minority position of the Malays is demonstrated, especially as Thai language and Buddhism impinge upon the Malays through the schools. The life-cycle is also treated as a chapter. Sociocultural change is given some explicit treatment in two brief chapters and also in numerous topical contexts throughout the book.

Bangkhuad is a study of an exclusively Buddhist community in the great rice-producing delta near Bangkok. The general coverage is much the same as in *Rusembilan,* with chapters on economy, community structure, life-cycles, and the various institutions. A short summary chapter deals with changes in village life. Especially detailed treatment is given to temple structure and organization. In addition to a chapter on "The Life Cycle," Kaufman also treats the daily life of villagers and here draws in material on recreation, diet, and health.

Neither book dwells extensively upon social stratification or upon relationships of villagers to city life. Kaufman, in most contexts, freezes his village at a point in time and hence is little concerned with urban influences and change generally. Fraser is more sensitive to historical process. His treatment of the changing fishing techniques is excellent, especially as he follows the introduction of motorized fishing boats and the dilemmas they occasioned.

While both books lie within what may be called the "village-study" pattern, the authors appear to have conceived their purposes somewhat differently. Kaufman is a rigorously systematic reporter; he describes his intent as being the provision of a "camera" approach to Thai village life. Consistent with this, *Bangkhuad* is relatively true to the ethnographic tradition in methodology. This is especially so as to temple structure, where close attention is given its physical layout and social composition as well as to interrelationships among the personnel. Kaufman's "camera" skill provides a superb, and probably the only, available description of Theravada temple organization. This is not to imply that he leaves out the people and processes, but he attends less to function and more to structure.

If Kaufman leans toward the ethnographic, Fraser's approach is sociological. One might surmise that Fraser would have rejected the "camera" approach and, if he had made an equivalent statement of aim, would have indicated his desire to give an integrated account of how his community lives and functions. While Fraser may not yield as complete an inventory of village beliefs, ways, and practices, his is a more intimate and more integrated view of life. These remarks are not offered in criticism of either work—no village study can be all things to all students. "Village study" implies exploration, and it is fortunate that scholars approach the unknown from differing vantage points. In this instance, both are disciplined and perceptive scholars, handling comparable data in somewhat different ways and hence with slightly different standards of relevance.

Both volumes should prove useful to all who are concerned either with South Asian peoples or with comparative cultures and social organization. While Fraser's style and viewpoint may make for more pleasurable reading, both are excellently written and enhanced by photographs and sketches.

BRYCE RYAN

University of Miami

Sociologist Abroad. By GEORGE SIMPSON. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1959. Pp. 189. Gld. 10.50.

The canons of reviewing require me to say, though not without great reluctance, that this is an embarrassingly bad book. It contains a series of lectures given by the author, a professor at Brooklyn College, at Leiden and, in part, at Copenhagen during his Fulbright year at Leiden. He tells us in the Foreword that, in preparing the lectures for publication, he decided to present them in the "familiar" manner in which they were delivered rather than in a more formal way. It was a most unfortunate choice.

It was unfortunate because the book is full of the clichés and solecisms that a copyeditor could have, and the author should have, removed. Some of the sentences are almost wholly devoid of meaning. Some are incredibly awkward: "Freud called the inevitable inferences, deductive thinking, and even speculations he was forced into concerning such a problem as the force of the basic instincts in producing neurotic behavior that could not be found to arise from traumatic experiences, metapsychology." Some are primitive: "It is not always necessary to get metasociological"; "Americans were climbing on sociology's back and riding off in all directions." Many contain slang (pp. 29, 38, 47, 113, 136, 141, 167). And, finally, the Dutch listeners had to contend with neologisms like "verstehendists," "dynamization," "technologized," "purposo-rational," "policy-ethical," "multiplism," and—occurring most frequently—"otherwheres."

In substance the lectures are equally primitive. The author's discussions are ostensibly devoted to "issues in American sociology." The issues, however, get lost in the theses, which are two in number: that sociologists should be psychoanalysts and that they should be social reformers. They should also be neurotic (p. 175) and must have suffered some "hurt" leading to a "feeling of resentment against the society existent" (p. 168). Sociologists who are not prepared to pass these tests are consigned to a limbo that contains MacIver, Znaniecki, and Weber ("Looking back from the vantage point of my own position today, I feel that MacIver, Znaniecki and Max Weber were not sufficiently well versed in advanced depth psychology to understand the true meaning of the position which they took rather too glibly and rather speculatively" [p. 29]); Durkheim, because he refused "to recognize any form of individual psychology as basic to sociology" (p. 70); Parsons and Merton because they only "look psychoanalytic" (p. 67) or give "lipservice" to psychology (p. 142); and Lazarsfeld, whose work does "not seem to stem from any systematic or rigorous psychological approach" (p. 53).

As for social reform, we are told that sociologists must be an "overground resistance movement" at war with society as it is presently constituted and that "a sociologist who has nothing wrong with him is not a man; and a sociologist who does not understand what is wrong with him can never understand what is wrong with society" (p. 176).

ROBERT BIERSTEDT

University of Edinburgh

The American Funeral: A Study in Guilt, Extravagance, and Sublimity. By LEROY BOWMAN. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1959. Pp. ix+181. $4.50.

Bowman has done a very useful job in this book on the funeral complex, which it might be interesting to compare with Barnett's monograph, *The American Christmas,* or others, such as O'Brien's early unpublished study, "The American Football Complex."

Bowman explored the behavior and motivation of funeral directors and clients in a wide range of community contexts, through direct observation, interviews, questionnaires, and organizational documents. He reveals a few biases frankly, but retains in most chapters a remarkably objective mode of description and analysis. The treatment is refreshingly clear of sociological jargon and methodological gobbledygook, but the style is frequently repetitious, occasionally almost padded.

The author has no sympathy with the assumptions and efforts of the funeral industry in promoting pretentious and costly funerals. There is a basic cleft between the author's conceptions of the functions and values of funerals and those of the typical funeral director. But Bowman finds scant prospects of improvement in the direction of his own philosophic values, which are notably social, spiritual, and idealistic, though not sectarian.

A significant dimension is added to the literature of this field by emphasis on the effects of changing ecology upon the relations of families

and funeral functionaries with each other and with their communities, for example, the influences of apartment houses, suburbs, residential mobility, and individuation. These have been factors in the decay of the older funeral values and practices, but they may also make easier the simpler patterns advocated by reformers.

Brief appendixes on teaching children about death, on cremation, and on bequests of body or eyes for education or surgery are of interest. For such cases, embalming is, of course, *out*. The author denies that embalming is ever necessary (though legally required in some areas) except where unusual delays are expected. An increasing recognition of the aesthetic and economic "superiorities" of cremation is noted.

The author finds little evidence of enforcement by the funeral vocation of its own "code of ethics." A printing of this code might have been a more valuable use of certain appendix pages now devoted to a somewhat obscure summary of a few anthropological theories which the author says are basic to his analysis. A check-list chart of state laws affecting funeral practices would also have been valuable.

The author also concludes that death is more disorganizing when survivors are unprepared for it; that there is no ground to assume that the visible patterns of a funeral have more than a superficial relation to sorrow or that clients hiring a funeral director expect from him mental hygiene of grief; that, once the body is taken by a mortuary, the family is helpless under the director's manipulation: possession is nine points of control (some directors would even, and in a patronizing fashion, pre-empt the traditional privileges of the minister in planning services and are resented by some ministers); that the trend toward the package-price funeral, lumped into the casket purchase with a write-up on all other items scaled to casket price, is deplorable. The clever (though often obvious sales devices of the casket display room, cold-bloodedly expounded by the trade associations, are exposed by Bowman, as are the director's other unfair advantages at the "bargaining" stage.

By persistent lobbying, and by direct appointment in state licensing boards, funeral directors have moved toward a monopoly. They have also blocked proposals for municipal mortuary services. (To avoid the stereotyped epithets of "socialistic," it has been suggested hopefully that wealthy individuals or foundations might launch cost services, "philanthropy at 3 per cent," like one of the early *quasi*-public housing patterns in New York.)

It is not clear why Bowman elected to rescramble as synonyms the three terms "undertaker," "funeral director," and "mortician," which do have some separated, useful usages. The author categorically refuses the vocation the status of "profession," despite a nominal fulfilment of Abraham Flexner's criteria.

The reviewer would be inclined to question the sweeping nature of Bowman's claim that guilt (conscious or unconscious, direct or indirect) is almost invariably a motive for funeral display. Again, he occasionally assumes, imputes, projects, or extrapolates motivation in the operations of directors or clients that he does not document.

Bowman approves church and union funeral co-operatives, indicating that they can safeguard clients' claims (to social security, etc.) and render many details of advice and services at cost by their advance familiarity therewith, when most clients are at a loss. Such forms of reorganization Bowman calls more businesslike than the present illusory inflation and exploitation. Trade associations often oppose and discredit burial co-operatives and resent the nonconforming "eggheads."

Bowman notes the sense of pressure of time in the bereaved family—to be rid of the body, to have it all over with—and stresses the values of prearrangement and quietly competitive prepricing in reducing the otherwise resistless tendency of the mortuary to push its standard pattern *in toto*. And he offers some evidence that, spontaneously, most people would prefer simpler ceremonials. Aversion to "the body," transferred to the mortuary and to the undertaker, makes it easy to accept the latter's "say-so," to avoid argument and further contact.

The funeral director, even if he is an extroverted community "joiner" in hope of prospect-contacts, continues to be self-conscious in his personal relations and subject to subtle isolation. He must constantly watch his step.

Extending the traditional term "wake" to cover any secular group meeting honoring the deceased, Bowman urges the morale-building reinforcements they provide community and family before or after the funeral proper.

Thomas D. Eliot
Northwestern University

Workingman's Wife: Her Personality, World and Life Style. By Lee Rainwater, Richard P. Coleman, and Gerald Handel. New York: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1959. Pp. xiv+238. $7.50.

Apparently sociologists are not alone in their quest for information about the class structure; they have the company of businessmen through their sponsorship of motivation research. Both have been limited by paucity of information, especially about the working class, although presumably with different consequences. The sociologist, loaded with studies of the middle class, has missed the working class to fill out his analysis; the businessman has missed a potential working-class market. This book attempts to fill both needs simultaneously, but it does not succeed because the needs and requirements of the two audiences are different.

The book draws together a wide range of studies of the working-class wife "conducted over several years, . . . and for a variety of practical purposes conceived by their sponsors." The wives were a sample of 480 subscribers and newsstand purchasers of *True Story, True Romance, True Experience,* and *True Love Story* in four cities. They, and a contrasting sample of 120 middle-class wives, were interviewed by questionnaire and Thematic Apperception Test. The description depends heavily upon interpretations of the projective material as the wives are portrayed in their roles of "home-maker, child-rearer, husband-servicer," and consumer.

A few quotations might convey the tone: "Among the working-class wives, loneliness is widely feared"; "In comparison with the middle class woman, the working class woman's emotionality is not well organized or easily controlled"; "Working class wives do not feel it is their 'place' to take any considerable interest in their husbands' work or career"; "The middle class woman is more likely to perceive her child's behavior as complex, requiring understanding. The working class mother is more likely to see her child's behavior as mysterious, beyond understanding."

I suspect that the businessman, not the sociologist, is the authors' preferred audience. Statistics are astoundingly absent to qualify the many propositions, of which those quoted are a fair sample. Surely not all women conveniently responded to fit the conclusions. Perhaps the businessman or his advertising representative could piece together these impressions for a successful promotion, but the sociologist must, and the businessman should, handle them only as interesting stories, at most.

Their preference in audiences also leads the authors, I would contend, to emphasize psychodynamics with only infrequent references to the more obvious sociological variables. To be fair, they do refer to the relatively limited income of the working class—which is, after all, a distinguishing class mark—but such references are deflated by psychological explanations. Perhaps it is irrelevant to stress this kind of economics when the book's purpose is to stimulate the businessman with visions of a mass market and how to get it. It is relevant, however, to impress the potential consumer of motivation research with the fact that there are psychological channels to that market and to provide clues for manipulating the working-class housewife's desires, for "out of such striving, and the inevitable compromises which must be made as they conflict, derive the everyday purchasing decisions which ring cash registers in the supermarket, the department store, the drugstore."

Perhaps out of such purposes successful advertising campaigns are born but not sociological knowledge.

Leonard Reissman

Tulane University

The Alienation of Modern Man. By Fritz Pappenheim. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1959. Pp. 189. $4.00.

To use the phrase "the alienation of modern man" carries the implication, aural or direct, that all men in the modern age are modern men—that is to say, alienated. Dr. Pappenheim suggests, therefore, that there is no difference between intellectuals, who are customarily regarded as the real protagonists of this problem, and others, and that the philosopher Husserl may be right in saying that "homelessness is becoming a universal fate."

Coping with a formulation so large inevitably makes things equivocal. There is, for instance, the matter of origins. A young novelist, Norman Mailer, thinks that alienation is the product of atomic fears and totalitarianism, by which he means both the party dictatorships of Germany and Russia and sociopolitical conformity in the United States. A theologian-historian, Nicholas Berdyaev, blames Luther

and Descartes as the joint destroyers of medieval philosophical and moral unity. Pappenheim himself recalls Marx's analysis of alienation under modern conditions of production and marketing, and some recent events like the sudden orphanage of European intellectuals, brought about by political and racial persecution.

An even more troublesome point is the definition of alienation and its extent. Pappenheim brings together Marx, Tönnies, Catholic writers like Romano Guardini, and, almost inevitably, Kafka and Kierkegaard. He speaks of the appeal of Existentialism (itself not an easily circumscribed term) for the modern taste, as an instance of alienated unrest. He does not say that Existentialism has its beginnings in the philosophical romanticism of the early nineteenth century, which perhaps, he should, considering that the romantic tradition is the natural intellectual enemy of all forms of rationalism, including Marxism, to the contributions of which a good part of the book is dedicated.

The familiar credit is given Marx for pointing out the psychological desolation of the cash nexus. But, says Pappenheim, even in societies where the power of the market has been destroyed, alienation still exists. The example of this is Hungary. Pappenheim gives no explanation, and it is doubtful that he could. For Hungary seems to be suffering not so much from alienation as from something simpler and more old-fashioned: tyranny. Another example of the naked rationalism of modern society is marriage, contracted "without genuine love bond" for utilitarian and conventional considerations. The standard of alienation in this case is, of course, the betrayal of the individualized emotionalism of modern marriage; it could not apply to something so conventional and contractual as tribal marriage, where personalism might be regarded as the very source of alienation. The grounds are reversed when Pappenheim points to certain investigations showing that what is uppermost in the minds of most people are personal questions of individual and family welfare. How could this be an instance of depersonalization, as he says, particularly when the same investigation (Stouffer's *Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties*) exposes how artificial some political issues are. Indeed, considering the torrential and tiresome fabrication of urgencies by the communication industries and the press, self-centeredness and close-range interests might be starting places for a repersonalization of social experience. Nihilism and wariness are not the same. It is one thing for Flaubert to offer to light his cigars with pages from the Civil Code, and another for George Orwell—certainly one of the most dedicated men of our time—to rejoice in the common native distrust of men in power and self-appointed spokesmen.

Then there is the question of whether alienation is or will become a general phenomenon in our society. Speaking from unconcealed personal preference, there is a very strong temptation to agree—to say that in modern society everything conspires toward the organization and refinement of banality, toward uniform motives, and toward the destruction of concrete experience and the spontaneous integrity of emotions. Alexis de Tocqueville regarded the passion for externals as the begetter of the modern mixture of agitation and monotony. But the question must be asked whether this is a form of public suffering. For surely it is one of the spectacles of contemporary life that ancient and intricate cultural styles are impatiently junked at the appearance of the new, universal mass culture.

César Graña

University of Chicago

The Social Credit Movement in Alberta. By John A. Irving. ("Canadian Social Science Research Council Studies," No. 10.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959. Pp. xi+369.

This book is the tenth in a series of studies, sponsored by the Canadian Social Science Research Council, which is an impressive list covering the historical, economic, religious, political, and social background and development of Social Credit on local, provincial, and national levels in Canada. The philosophy of social credit has been widely promoted; in Alberta the movement was sufficiently strong to win political power and maintain it for twenty-four years. Nevertheless, John Irving's book stands apart from the series as a fascinating, at times frightening, and carefully documented history of the Social Credit movement from its conception in 1932 to its achievement of political power in 1935.

Within the traditional Cantril framework, the Social Credit movement is seen as a phenomenon of mass psychology—a people's

movement to reform society by changing certain institutions, with remote resemblances to the Townsend Plan. The movement is traced through the stages of social unrest, popular excitement, formalization, and institutionalization, with mechanisms of agitation, esprit de corps, morale, ideology, and operating tactics. The framework, though solidly there, does not explicitly clutter the pages. The author considers the philosophy, the leadership, and the strategy and tactics, emphasizing the social context—the unrest and unemployment which engendered a "desire for meaning," an awareness of need, and a condition of suggestibility. The proportions of the book are good; roughly one-third is devoted to the strategy and tactics, using documents, newspaper accounts, and the like, while a third is given over to interviews which demonstrate the people's acceptance of Social Credit as bringing order to a confused world without destroying norms.

The study stresses the charismatic leader (in contrast to Lipset's study of agrarian socialism in Saskatchewan). The leader, William Aberhart, embodied a rare combination of prophet and organizer. By combining the economic base of Social Credit with a type of biblical prophecy and Christian fundamentalism, replete with "branding irons of the anti-Christ," Aberhart attracted people as well while maintaining the cosmic force on his side. In this book Aberhart moves, founds, organizes, develops, builds, controls, publishes, visits, deliberates, addresses, trains, and is accused and criticized; but he is not there as a man. Although concrete behavior must be the basis of research, it remains that Aberhart is a public image, a public role, and the reader is left with one dimension of the charismatic leader. Did he have a "private" life? Was he "sincere" (the book implies that he was)? Did he ever write personal letters? Did he have a confidant? His home, wife, and children are covered in ten lines. Granted the leader is not the focus of the study, but it does seem a shame that the book affords so little insight into a man crucial to the whole movement.

S. D. Clark in his Foreword states: "Few movements could have conformed more fully to the stereotype of the social movement." This is all too true, and it seems unfortunate that the wealth of material fills all the space in the rather well-known descriptive model without advancing theoretical implications and insight in one of the most poorly developed areas of sociological interest. Within these limitations, it is an excellent study.

The author, a professor of ethics and social philosophy, claims that his monograph demonstrates how democracy functions under stress and describes "a democratic philosophy of society and state." It is an excellent contribution to the sociology of collective behavior and social change, documenting the rise of a social movement. There is much valuable material for the fields of mass communication, economics, the sociology of religion, and political sociology.

REX A. LUCAS

Acadia University

Teaching Comprehensive Medical Care: A Psychological Study of a Change in Medical Education. By KENNETH R. HAMMOND, FRED KERN, JR., M.D., *et al.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959. Pp. xxii+642. $10.00.

In his Foreword to *Teaching Comprehensive Medical Care,* Dr. Ward Darley, executive director of the Association of American Medical Colleges, writes: "The time has come when we must realize that if medicine is to be of maximum effectiveness, we must accept research in medical care and medical education as being just as basic to medicine as are such things as the investigation of electrolyte and fluid balance or the elucidation of the mechanisms of heredity." The General Medical Clinic, established in 1953 at the University of Colorado School of Medicine with support from the Commonwealth Fund, is such an experiment in medical care and medical education. The book under review is the story of this clinic, its education program, and the five-year research project evaluating its effects.

The clinic, founded and directed by Fred Kern, Jr., associate professor of medicine, was designed to teach senior medical students the techniques and philosophy of comprehensive medical care, defined as "scientific knowledge, intellectual curiosity, conscientious attention to detail, and constant stimulation of research" combined with "an awareness of the psychological and social factors affecting the patient's total health," "the value of preventive techniques," and the "ability and willingness to bring to bear on the patient's problem . . . whatever specialized knowledge and advice" may potentially benefit the patient.

Because the goal of the General Medical Clinic was both to try to create a milieu in

which students could more readily acquire and apply the knowledge, skills, and attitudes of comprehensive care than in the traditional curriculum and to study objectively whether in fact this had been accomplished, the project was set up along classical experimental lines. That is, three successive senior classes were divided into experimental and control groups; in each case the experimental group was assigned to the General Medical Clinic and the control group to the pre-existing senior clerkships. The distinguishing features of the educational program of the General Medical Clinic were that it gave students more opportunity to establish a continuous, long-range, responsible relationship with patients and with their families; experience in home care and well-child care; a chance to follow and care for women during pregnancy, delivery, and the early postpartum period; and active participation in a medical team whose members included internists, pediatricians, psychiatrists, obstetricians, social workers, and public health nurses.

Under the direction of Kenneth Hammond, professor of psychology, the research project attempted to study this program from three points of view: what happened as a result of the new program; why it happened; and to whom it happened. In order to accomplish this, the project was organized into three sections staffed and directed by different investigators: the dependent-variables section chiefly concerned itself with the development of procedures to measure the effect of the program on students (a sound-film interview, medical attitudes test, self-image checklist, a detailed questionnaire, etc.). The independent-variables section attempted to discover the reasons for the effects of the General Medical Clinic, primarily by focusing its attention on student-staff teaching conferences. (Recordings were made of these conferences, students kept journal accounts of them, faculty and students were interviewed on this experience, etc.) The individual differences section used a battery of psychological tests to study differences between students and their possible relationship to variations in response to the experimental and control programs. (Eight classes of attributes were assessed: aptitude for medical education, previous academic performance, peer-judged attributes, attitudes, values, social interaction, needs, background information, and self-ratings.)

Teaching Comprehensive Medical Care is written in such exhaustive detail that it is not always easy to read. Fortunately, Parts I and II of the book (about 160 pages) summarize the nature, findings, and implications of the educational and research program in a relatively succinct, lucid, interesting fashion. These findings can be summed up briefly: The experimental program appeared to reduce somewhat the increasingly negative attitudes toward comprehensive care that many senior medical students ordinarily developed. It achieved this without impairing the acquisition of traditional medical knowledge and skill. It was chiefly the student's experience with patients in the clinic that made him more aware of the importance of the concept. The more intelligent, independent, and mature student was the most responsive to the aims of the new program.

The simple, approximate nature of the findings may lead one to question the elaborate—one might almost say hyperscientific—way in which this study was executed and reported. For example, the organization of the project into independent-variables, dependent-variables, and individual differences sections, each with different personnel, is almost a caricature of the kind of design and control inherent to the classical experimental method and of the increasing specialization and teamwork in present-day research. The size of the samples in the hundreds of statistical tables presented in the book is generally too small to allow for definitive acceptance or rejection of the findings they summarize. One feels that the systematic qualitative presentation of many of these findings might have been as valid and perhaps more evocative.

One of the aims of the authors was to explore the problems inherent in this type of psychological research and to try to answer questions about its value and feasibility. They report on the various stages of their research; ideas entertained, abandoned, and pursued; difficulties, doubts, and limitations; and, finally, decisions, findings, and accomplishments, in what readers may consider overfastidious detail.

Paradoxically, one is somewhat inclined to criticize this book because in certain respects its authors sometimes seem *too* conscientious in designing, executing, appraising, and reporting an important experiment in medical education and care. Some of the more tedious and prolix pages of this study seem to result from the very formalistic and painstaking ways

in which the authors have tried to adhere to the highest standards of methodological and moral excellence in scientific inquiry. From another point of view, this kind of virtuousness is not only admirable but organically related to the highly significant ideas that animated this experiment in medical education and numerous others which have been undertaken in American medical schools in the last decade. The idea that medical educators ought to ask questions continuously of the traditional medical school curriculum and try to improve it so that it never ceases to incorporate into the training of young physicians the latest advances in medical scientific knowledge, technique, and thinking; the idea that medical education and medical care can and ought to be subject to scientific inquiry; the idea that flaws and difficulties in this domain ought to be fully and objectively explored and reported—these are among the important basic premises not only of the particular authors of *Teaching Comprehensive Medical Care* but also of many other medical educators in present-day American society.

Teaching Comprehensive Medical Care is an ardent and conscientious expression of these significant and commendable ideas, but it also suggests some of their limitations.

RENÉE C. FOX

Barnard College

The Eclipse of Community: An Interpretation of American Studies. By MAURICE R. STEIN. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960. Pp. xi+354. $6.00.

This is a well-wrought book that goes far toward discharging an old obligation of sociologists to bring order to the accumulation of community research. The framework for this achievement, occupying two-thirds of the book, consists of a trinity of generalized processes—urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucratization. Stein treats selected pieces of community research as case studies which show the social workings of these historical processes. Readers who doubt the feasibility of synthesizing disparate community studies in this way are likely to be reassured by the end of Part II.

The last third of the book deals with anthropological, psychoanalytic, and sociological perspectives on the modern community. Stein concludes with a specification of what the working community sociologist needs. Besides a good sociological imagination, the list includes a "panoramic perspective," a "dramaturgic" frame of reference, and "dramatic sensibility." Stein gives major credit to Everett C. Hughes, Erving Goffman, and Anselm Strauss for developing this point of view and adds the name of George Herbert Mead as belonging in the tradition.

Stein's task required the theoretical structure to be "loosely woven." He keeps to a high level of abstraction, best indicated by his trio of generalized processes. For this a price has to be paid. The clearest evidence is in references to community change. Stein's epochal viewpoint takes in the panoramas and replaces dramas with tableaux; the fire of social movements has been left out. In referring to the labor movement of the thirties, Stein accepts the interpretation that the emergence of "counterbureaucracies" was an intentional rather than a latent consequence of the movement. This is gratuitous, to say the least. With his main goal clear, Stein has stayed above the sight and sound of men and movements and left change to his relentless triumvirate of processes. Even the sociologists—authors of the studies he selects—comprise a large and harmonious, if somewhat unhappy, family. The strains and contradictions are lost to this synthetic view.

Not many will dissent from Stein's choice of studies. Represented are Park and associates on Chicago, the Lynds on Muncie, Warner and associates on "Yankee City," W. F. Whyte on the slum, Caroline Ware on Bohemia; Davis, the Gardners, and Dollard on the South, and Stouffer and associates on military communities. Since there is extensive reference to the Toronto suburb, "Crestwood Heights," the selection is *North* American. The omission, on grounds of its Canadian setting, of Hughes's thorough treatment of the influence of urbanization, industrialization, and bureaucratization on "Cantonville," Quebec, seems unfortunate and unjustified: Hughes's study anticipates and supports Stein's use of these processes in his synthesis.

The selection of material on the suburbs invites criticism. Looking toward a typology of suburbs, Stein includes the ambitious work of Seeley, Sim, and Loosley (Crestwood

Heights) and the perceptive journalism of Spectorsky and W. F. Whyte. The shortage of full-length monographs on American suburbs might have been made good partly by drawing from shorter studies of institutions and processes. As one example, Coleman's work, *Community Conflict*, on metropolitan suburbs might have been useful. Also lacking is any critcism of the journalistic material, even where it fits poorly the thesis of eclipse. Whyte's central and misleading concept of the "social ethic," his repeated comparisons of Park Forest with Owen and Fourier utopias, and his catchy projections of head-office patterns to American society generally, come off without a scratch.

This is more than enough of criticism, for Stein fulfils his central purpose—a far-reaching synthesis of community research. It seems likely that this book will substantially influence students in the classroom and researchers and practitioners in the community.

ELMER LUCHTERHAND

Sarah Lawrence College

The Concepts of Sigmund Freud. By BARTLETT H. STOODLEY. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959. Pp. xii+274. $6.00.

This book is a serious attempt on the part of a sociologist to examine the concepts of Sigmund Freud. The principal hypothesis to be tested is that Freud's theory "is not biological theory in the sense and to the degree that has been supposed."

The author analyzes Freud's concepts according to their chronological sequence. Three periods are distinquished, and the exposition of them makes up the three parts of the book.

In the first period Freud's effort is described as essentially that of seeking to reduce all mental events, such as ideas, emotions, and motivations, to states of sexual somatic excitation. Thus, the concept of ego-libido, was used to explain mental events, was in turn accounted for by the concept of libido-quantum, which referred to the energy value of sexual somatic excitation. However, the necessary equivalence between libido-quantum and ego-libido could not be established. Freud then resorted to such more sophisticated concepts as the unconscious, the preconscious, and the conscious. Although the organic frame of reference was not abandoned and the unconscious was thought of as having "a private pipe-line to sexual somatic excitation," the use of these concepts is considered by the author as "a forthright attempt to organize the subjective order of events, to treat them in all their complexity."

The beginning of the second period of Freud's theory was marked by the publication of *The Interpretation of Dreams* in 1900. During this time, his principal effort was directed to establishing the status of the ego as a theoretical category and to a better understanding of object-cathexes. To give the ego the energy it required, Freud assumed "a primary rite, a libidinal cathexis of the ego," and, to furnish it with the continuous condition of sexual excitation, he formulated the concept of "erotogenicity," in terms of which many organs of the body were assumed to be productive of libido. This energy may flow in the direction of ego-cathexis or into anaclitic object-cathexis. Even the ego-ideal was suffused with a charge of homosexual energy. This is the essence of the libido theory that dominated this period.

The third period of Freud's theory was ushered in by the publication of *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* in 1920. Having failed to account for the great variety of human behavior and social motivation by means of the libido theory, Freud began to experiment with such concepts as the life and death instincts. "By means of the death instinct, therefore, Freud came to consider social experience and its effect on the individual," and "by means of Eros the outgoing, 'altruistic' behavior of individuals was granted a legitimate and qualitatively distinct place in Freud's thought. Freud went on to postulate an Eros not only in the individual but also in the society." The author asserts at this point that "to the sociologist this must remain as one of his greatest insights, for it suggested that the outgoingness of the individual was not based on organic facts but on the influence of another Eros; the cultural system and the interpersonal experience of the individual in this system."

The foregoing are only highlights of this interesting study. It is a welcome addition to the increasing amount of scholarly literature on problems of collaboration between psychoanalysis and the social sciences.

BINGHAM DAI

Duke University

Quantitative Analysis of Judicial Behavior. By GLENDON A. SCHUBERT. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. Pp. xxi+392. $7.50.

Any law tribunal presents this puzzle: Since for any one case both the facts and the law are given to each judge (or juror, for that matter) in exactly the same way, what causes them, at times, to arrive at different opinions? The mystery is only partly clarified if the judges state the reasons for their dissent, as is the custom in our courts. These reasons clarify only the exact points of disagreement: a fact or a rule of law is interpreted differently or given different weight; the puzzle of the difference remains. And if the tribunal in question is the world's most powerful court, the United States Supreme Court, the puzzle becomes fascinating. But what is there beyond the available opinions of the judges to help us solving it?

In the first place, the cases before the Court are not totally different from each other but have certain common elements and can, therefore, be grouped to some extent. They are criminal cases, or civil cases, or cases that claim violations of the First Amendment, or cases concerning the rights of an alien, or appeals from a railroad injury case, and so forth; one can investigate whether the decisions of the judges reveal patterns with respect to certain types of cases. The second source of analysis derives from the fact that the judges' vote is not always unanimous and that, if they disagree, groups are formed as a rule both for the majority and the minority; the composition of these groups might again reveal certain patterns.

Prior to the present book, at least three different, independent attempts had been made to explore these possibilities; the present book expands on them and adds of its own. C. H. Pritchett's analysis of block voting and dissent forms the starting point for one section; J. Tanenhaus' and F. Kort's scale analysis of Supreme Court cases form the core of a second section; a third section, following somewhat the annual tradition of the *Harvard Law Review*, analyzes the workload of the Court in terms of its own published statistics; to these is added a section on the game-theory approach, very much the author's own original contribution. Thus the book is statistics throughout, statistics that are never dull, poised at every page to suggest intriguing solutions. And, one might hasten to add, it offers quite often new perspectives on problems one has not seen before in such clarity. Altogether, Schubert proves to be an analyst of rarest ability.

Nevertheless, the book has shortcomings that could well endanger its very purpose. To begin with, the author fails to perceive that his various research approaches hang together; if he perceives the connections, he fails to make them clear. As a result, the book may be compared to one on the liver, consisting of three unconnected sections: (*a*) seen through X-rays, (*b*) seen through the microscope, (*c*) seen with the naked eye.

A second shortcoming is that the techniques are at times applied uncritically, without realizing their intrinsic limitations. But the truly damaging errors occur in the author's interpretations of his data. To begin with a simple instance: Noting that the Court's workload has increased in spite of its having assumed discretionary powers, Schubert concludes this to be a failure, never considering that without the discretionary power the workload might have been even larger.

This lack of circumspection in interpreting his data exceeds at times the limits of the permissible, as in the following instance: It is well known that in the past decades the Court has developed a voting pattern wherein, at the extremes of the spectrum, two groups of judges (variously labeled "liberal" vs. "conservative" or, even less meaningfully, "left" vs. "right") would be found in frequent disagreement; a third group of judges, in the middle, by joining the one or the other, could then help either side to victory. This was Justice Brown's position in the Fuller Court, Justice Roberts' and Justice Hughes's position in the Hughes Court, and Justice Clark's position in the present Court.

What does Schubert make of this? Enamored by the jargon of game theory (he even calls it the "Hugh[es-Ro]berts Game") and misled by some of his own indexes, he comes to these conclusions, couched only in the usual hedging: "Justice Brown was . . . the middleman playing both ends against each other." About Justices Hughes and Roberts: "Hughbert's . . . objective was to maximize his power by participating as often as possible in the minimal winning coalition." And: "Clark emerges as the most powerful single justice."

That the justices in the center write more than their share of the opinions suggests to

Schubert that "the assignment of majority opinions could well have been a form of side payment among the players in the game." In fact, though, it is the understandable tradition of the Court to let the non-regular member who joins the bloc in the particular case write the Court's opinion.

But from Schubert's analysis the judges emerge as playing a power game with—to bring his jargon up to date—payola. One need not be a justice of the Court to be offended by such theorizing.

But behind these interpretations lies the book's most serious shortcoming: in the attempt to prove the value of these various research approaches, more weight is put on each than it can bear. Why draw painfully detailed and often wrong inferences from the Court's statistical reports if a conversation with any former clerk who has served a justice could inform so much better? And why insist on detailed game analysis without devoting at least equal care to a more detailed analysis of what these justices give as their considered reasons for their vote? In short, drawing inferences from limited research approaches is an error not only in tact but in method.

Political scientists not primarily concerned with either methodology or the law must be both pleased and intrigued with Schubert's dramatic analyses; the lawyers, though, who traditionally distrust such methods will hardly be encouraged and will find their worst prejudices confirmed; and, to those who, like the reviewer, believe in the fruitfulness of these methods but know that their place in the law needs most careful and modest delineation, the book, with all its ingenuity, gives only mixed pleasure.

HANS ZEISEL

University of Chicago

Delay in the Court. By HANS ZEISEL, HARRY KALVEN, JR., and BERNARD BUCHHOLZ. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1959. Pp. xxvii+313. $7.00.

This is an exciting book about a traditionally dull subject. Goethe recounts in his autobiography the stultifying effect of backlogs in the German courts, where it was not unusual for cases to be postponed a hundred years. Though the delays may have led that great writer from law toward literature, it has otherwise produced little beyond exasperation and piecemeal solutions of doubtful effectiveness. In New York County, where this study was made, the average delay for all personal injury cases was two-and-a-half years.

Into this dismal picture comes an interdisciplinary team of one social scientist and two lawyers from the University of Chicago Law School. Their study, originally aimed at providing background for the forthcoming several volumes of studies of experimental juries, was turned into an independent project when it developed that reform of the jury system was only one of many possible solutions. Working with detailed quantitative data, the authors examine the extent of the problem and the possible ways of dealing with it. Three basic types of solution are considered: adding to the available time of judges, shortening the trial, and increasing the ratio of cases settled before trial.

Addition of regular judges, recognized at the outset as the most effective solution, is so expensive and politically so difficult that alternatives must be found. Also considered are the use of substitute judges, the shifting of cases to distribute the load more evenly, and the increasing of the workday and year of the individual judge.

The length of trials is reducible by shortening existing jury trials, a policy apparently successful in New Jersey and promising in New York in light of historic fluctuations in the average length of jury trials. Less certain is the more frequently proposed measure of reducing the proportion of jury trials to all cases tried. Although trials before the judge take less time, jury cases appear to be intrinsically more complex. Failing to find demonstrably similar cases tried by the two methods, the authors rely on a slightly shaky survey of judges and trial lawyers to support the conclusion that bench trials—whatever their other disadvantages—would probably save a substantial amount of time.

Detailed attention is then given to four policies which have been tried as methods of increasing pretrial settlements: interest running from the date of filing the suit, more pretrial conferences, a compulsory certificate of readiness, and impartial expert medical testimony. These devices are evaluated with the help of several empirical and conceptual tools, including trend analysis, comparisons by state, and even a theoretical treatment of the rela-

tive value of interest to plaintiff and defendant. Particularly impressive is the technique used for refuting the hypothesis that speeding up will be self-defeating because it will attract more cases. After a neat motivational analysis of the parties produces inconclusive results, the authors draw on the statistics of insurance companies to show that many jurisdictions where there is little or no delay in trials nevertheless maintain a low ratio of trials for all claims filed.

In short, this book analyzes with striking methodological virtuousity a wide variety of alternative policies for application to an important social issue. In appraising the probable consequences of these alternatives, it brings decision one step closer to full rationality—by showing, to use Herbert Simon's metaphor, the sharpest needle in the haystack. Throughout, the inadequacies of existing data are recognized, and alternative sources of information are suggested. Finally, in a brilliant chapter entitled "The Case for the Official Experiment," Zeisel proposes that the legal process itself might be used in such a way as to generate rigorous experimental field data without impairing the legal and ethical rights of the participants.

Neither the authors nor the reviewer are optimistic about the immediate changes for an epistemological revolution in legal scholarship. But some legal thinkers are coming to realize that it is idle to discuss the consequences of policies without using and improving relevant information. The present volume beautifully illustrates how this can be done.

RICHARD D. SCHWARTZ

Yale University

Arbeitsfreude: Wirklichkeit und Ideologie: Ein Beitrag zur Soziologie der Arbeit in der industriellen Gesellschaft ("Work Satisfaction: Reality and Ideology: A Contribution to the Sociology of Work in Industrial Society"). By CHRISTIAN VON FERBER. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1959. Pp. vi+130. DM. 15.

Von Ferber's publication is not a report of a field study but a discussion of the problem of satisfaction with one's job in the contemporary enterprise. The author's main concern is with the preconditions of a positive orientation toward work.

In the earlier forms of work organization, the craft shop and the small-scale enterprise, the worker was conscious of his product and could, therefore, derive some measure of satisfaction from seeing it to completion. A religious or paternalistic motivation, moreover, reinforced the vocational interest. Work was judged and rated by the results and the exertions required. The rise of large-scale enterprise and the minute subdivision of production into elementary functions have changed the orientation of the worker to his job. He has lost contact with his product as well as with the entrepreneur, while at the same time, the large-scale enterprise has become the seat of a status hierarchy. As a result, the evaluation of the job in the contemporary enterprise depends on the rewards in the form of status and the opportunity for mobility upward, for it is not the work and the vocation which motivate the worker who shows a positive orientation to his job but rather the chance to get ahead. Von Ferber questions Hendrik de Man's thesis that most workers have a basic and inherent productive drive. Skilled workers, who are said to express a higher degree of contentment than do unskilled workers, are actually not attached to their jobs but regard them as successful vehicles for social advancement.

Job satisfaction, as such, is possible only under conditions of paternalistic rewards or for the few whose work offers an opportunity for initiative and vocational advancement; for most workers the vocation is secondary to their role in the plant. The plant manager sets norms of efficiency and productivity to which the vocationally oriented worker can only oppose a demand for a fair wage and fair conditions, a plea which lacks the rational objectives which the plant manager formulates. Since the worker cannot identify himself with the plant, he cannot evolve a social motivation for work, an interest in his contribution to society. In the absence of such motivation the contemporary entrepreneur seeks to substitute favorable human relations, a carefully devised psychological climate, and incidental satisfactions which are not related to the work process; in short, he takes account of the daily sensitivities of the worker as a socially detached individual. The author sees in this policy a parallel to the dominant characteristics of modern art: subjectivism, sensitivity to the irrational, and fragmenta-

tion. Von Ferber is skeptical equally of Hendrik de Man's findings and of the Hawthorn and Relay Test Room experiments.

ERNEST MANHEIM

University of Kansas City

Industriebürokratie: Versuch einer Soziologie des industrialisierten Bürobetriebes und seiner Angestellten. By HANS PAUL BAHRDT. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1958. Pp. viii+146. DM. 13.60.

Industriebürokratie is an important and convincing step toward a sociology of the large office. As in the parallel automation of the factory, the trend in the large office has been one toward increasing specialization and the gradual loss of control by the worker of the machine he tends. With mechanization, organizational stresses become more apparent; a rigid hierarchical system of authority becomes inadequate to meet the rapidly changing needs of the organization or to handle horizontal flows of information and requests for action. The author of this book traces the social effects of the mechanization and rationalization of office work. He foresees the development of a co-ordinate system (*Verbundsystem*) in which provision is made for increasing horizontal co-operation.

The introduction of automatic machinery—particularly punched-card equipment—has led to new kinds of work and to new professions in the large office. Bahrdt describes the duties and requirements of some of the new lines of work. He then analyzes some of the individual's problems in mechanized office work. In the rationalized office, workers are given jobs with differential prestige, mainly according to their intelligence. Intelligence, being fairly fixed, effectively sets the limit to which the office worker may rise in the organization once he has been placed initially. Since the mechanized office offers little incentive to do exceptional work and indeed little opportunity for it, promotion usually comes through seniority. The office worker tends to erect an "illusion of career" around his slow, measured progression and substitutes a faith in the company (*Betriebstreue*) for the classical hostility of the laborer.

In a sense, Bahrdt's book points up the disparate patterns of development in German and American sociology until the end of World War II. Some of his theoretical discoveries and definitions were anticipated by American sociologists some years ago: Bahrdt's phenomenological definition of social situation, which he painfully develops and then does not use, was anticipated in large part by W. I. Thomas; the analysis of the effect of the work organization on the worker's perception of the world is quite similar to Veblen's. It is unfortunate that Bahrdt did not incorporate the works of these men in the development of his book.

To avoid a similar neglect of Bahrdt's important exploration by English-speaking sociologists, a translation of the book in the near future is highly recommended. It is an original and thoughtful contribution to the sociology of industrial bureaucratic organizations.

ARTHUR J. KOVER

New York City

American Universities and Federal Research. By CHARLES V. KIDD. Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959. Pp. xii+272. $6.00.

This is a useful book. It will be necessary reading for sociologists of higher education and useful to anyone who wishes to understand the present nature of that complex activity. Charles Kidd, head of the Office of Research Planning, National Institute of Health, has performed three services for the social scientist interested in the organization of higher education. He has compiled a broad description of present practices in support of research in universities and in federal governmental agencies providing funds for them and outlines the consequences of those practices for both institutions. He has described the series of problems which have plagued this odd relationship and detailed those which are unresolved and imminent. Finally, he has managed to achieve these worthwhile objectives while maintaining a balanced tone and neutrality of interest, which is laudable considering the complexities and confusions of the relationships and organizations he studied. The book is a working professor's encyclopedia of the facts and fallacies of the increasingly significant liaison between education and government.

Certain strengths are apparent in the work. One of its most significant attributes is the authority with which Kidd discusses his subject. Without question, he is sure he knows what he is talking about, has considered it well, and has derived just, logical, and useful conclusions from his consideration. His prose is clear, simple, and straightforward, and for the student of higher education or its institutions there is a useful appendix of tables detailing such matters as amounts of federal funds available to institutions, proportions of university budgets supported from various funds, concentrations of federal funds among universities, distributions of Ph.D.'s and graduate students, etc.

The book's most critical weaknesses are methodological. Kidd does not indicate the techniques by which he gathered his data or derived his conclusions, beyond saying that he first "talked with a large number of university teachers and administrative people" and then distributed a questionnaire to a number of departmental chairmen asking for their opinions about the consequences of federal funds upon teaching and research in their departments.

Since the observations of individuals responding to the questionnaire are accepted at face value and not judged by empirical data, the way is left open in one chapter for the confusion of mythology and ritual belief with fact. This is a real danger in the investigation of a profession so myth-filled as is the academic. A further consequence of the general lack of data which characterizes the book is that in many places the author has only been able to guess at the results of the activities which he describes and often avoids conclusions by insisting that mutually exclusive systems or techniques may have value.

Nevertheless, this is a worthwhile book. Its chief values will be, first, in charting a bewilderingly complicated area of institutional, social, and political relationships and, second, in suggesting critical problems for immediate empirical study. Although the work is generally descriptive, there is a brilliant analysis of why research agencies have insisted upon the "project proposal" form of grant rather than the grant-in-aid to the individual scholar.

REECE MCGEE

University of Texas

Ten Thousand Careers. By ROBERT L. THORNDIKE and ELIZABETH HAGEN. New York: John Wiley & Sons; London: Chapman Hall, Ltd., 1959. Pp. x+346. $8.50.

The authors, professors of education at Teachers College, Columbia University, present a validation study which is important because of the very paucity of its findings. During five months in 1943, approximately seventy-five thousand applicants for aviation cadet training in the Army Air Force took a battery of aptitude tests of the standard sort, yielding twenty scores. In addition, biographical data for each were available. In 1955 and 1956, approximately seventeen thousand of those men were selected, and an attempt was made to locate them and have them fill out a short questionnaire asking for a job history, income and other measures of occupational success, and certain other items. The object was to answer the question: If, twelve years earlier, we had tried to predict the occupations and success in their occupations of the men who had taken the original aptitude tests, how well would we have done?

The success of the authors in finding the sample gives the volume its title, and, for such a large, dispersed group, the 60 per cent response (70 per cent if one excludes those deceased or in the military) is itself a remarkable achievement (owing, in part, to the help of an unexpected ally, the Retail Credit Company, whose obvious talents in locating persons were utilized). What the authors learned from the ten thousand respondents is not so gratifying.

The aptitude tests *did* discriminate among the 124 occupational groups into which the sample was divided, but with great variation within each group. Multiple discriminant analysis for 22 selected occupational groups provided essentially the same picture. The biographical data were found to predict with about the same degree of accuracy, the most discriminating items being those on education. But, when the attempt was made to predict occupational success, the results, in the authors' words, "give no encouragement to the belief that a counselor in school or college, knowing only the [aptitude] scores . . . can make any prediction of later job success" (p. 114). The same gloomy finding is reported for the biographical data—results about the same as chance would provide.

The authors are keenly self-critical and ruthless in their complete honesty. They carefully note how biased their population was (the modal category was "high-school graduate") and how biased the sample of it was (the more successful are easier to locate; very few were residents of penal or other institutions, unemployed, or in occupations at the lower end of the prestige scale; e.g., the number of engineers alone exceeded by four times the number of semi-skilled workers). Indeed, it is possible that this very bias reduced the possible discriminatory power of the tests and therefore helps account for the findings. Yet the results must certainly be regarded as important enough to warrant further intensive validation work on all aptitude measures. In any case, time predictions of this kind certainly also require measures of temperament, personality, and interests, as well as data on what happened to occupations and to society since the war. This is intended as a criticism of the exclusive use of the tests, not of Thorndike and Hagen, who have done a major piece of research, have organized and presented their findings clearly and well and, in the best traditions of scholarship, have not hesitated to let the chips fall where they might.

EDWARD GROSS
University of Minnesota

Social Problems in America: Costs and Casualties in an Acquisitive Society. By HARRY C. BREDEMEIER and JACKSON TOBY. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1960. Pp. xvi+510.

Recent textbooks on social problems reflect growing concern for the theoretical integration of knowledge about deviant behavior and social disorganization. This book is no exception. The conceptual framework is drawn largely from the works of Talcott Parsons, to whom the book is dedicated, and Robert Merton.

Part I, a theoretical overview of less than ten pages, asserts that nearly all societies establish standards of adequacy and worthiness by which conformity to group norms is generally evaluated. There are also standards of gratification and security which identify the goals and satisfactions to be expected through social experience. Failure to achieve gratification by means of conformity may produce frustrations that result in the rejection of conventional norms or in the development of dissentient normative systems.

Some individual and social bases for frustration are described in Part II, as well as typical modes of adaptation to the experience of frustration.

That American society defines success primarily in terms of materialism, self-reliance, competition, and negotiated exchange is the fundamental contention of Part III. The rise of science is associated with the growth of an acquisitive industrial society in which persons are commonly ranked according to their material possessions and the degree of their autonomy or self-reliance in the accumulation and management of those possessions. Principles of competition and negotiated exchange imply that gratification is determined by relative wealth and status rather than by any absolute standard and that persons should receive as much as they can and give as little as they have to in all of their social relations. Frustration in such a social system appears to be almost inevitable.

Part IV deals in some detail with various modes of adaptation to frustration. Some persons, for example, may passively accept defeat, either by means of retreatist withdrawal (psychotics) or by abject submission (shiftless workers). More common, perhaps, is refusal to accept defeat. Refusal is evidenced by relentless self-reliance (predatory executives) or rejection of self-reliance ("kept" prostitutes), by relentless bargaining (corrupt politicians) or rejection of negotiated exchange (professional criminals), by relentless competition (robber barons) or rejection of competition (some labor unions), and by relentless materialism (fraudulent advertisers) or a search for new meanings and values (some religious cults). Thus, diverse social problems are classified in terms of a simple but rather comprehensive system of concepts.

While this conceptual orientation may not be radically different, the book in other respects departs drastically from the conventions of the textbooks. First, the book is comprised chiefly of readings selected to make a dramatic appeal to the empathic capacities of beginning students. Second, the readings are organized around concepts instead of social problems, and, consequently, the discussion of any given problem may be scattered throughout the text under relevant concepts.

The book may be useful as a supplementary text in a variety of sociology courses. It should have a powerful impact upon beginning students. Some teachers may be disturbed by the omission of important factual materials, an omission that reflects the authors' decision to emphasize theoretical consistency and continuity.

CLARENCE SCHRAG

University of Washington

The Cultural Integration of Immigrants: A Survey Based upon the Papers and Proceedings of the UNESCO Conference Held in Havana, April 1956. By W. D. BORRIE. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959. Pp. 297. $3.00.

This book is an outgrowth of the 1956 UNESCO conference on the cultural integration of immigrants. The first eight chapters, written by W. D. Borrie, are based on papers presented at the conference. Part II consists of three case studies with an added, valuable chapter on "Immigration and Group Settlement" by C. A. Price. The last section deals with the resolutions and recommendations adopted by the conference.

Throughout the conference the terms "integration," "assimilation," and "absorption" were used interchangeably on the assumption that they all are concerned with a process of economic, social, and cultural adjustment. The conference was concerned with the major problems of this process. Nevertheless, these concepts of assimilation have undergone considerable change during the last fifty years. In dealing with the changes, Borrie points out that more than a generation ago the key concepts in the United States were "melting pot" and "Americanization." These assumed an essentially monocultural system, and the end product of assimilation was conceived to be complete conformity. Later, Park's concept of social assimilation, implying social stability rather than complete absorption at all levels, became dominant. Now, the concept of conformity is best expressed within the framework of cultural pluralism. In this context, usually the term "integration" is used instead of "assimilation." The concept of integration rests upon a belief in the importance of cultural differentation within a framework of social unity. It recognizes the rights of groups and individuals to be different so long as the differences do not lead to domination and disunity.

In any instance of cultural integration there is, first, the predisposition of the immigrant to change; second, the predisposition of the receiving society to recognize differences; and, third, the degree of stability of the sociocultural structure of the receiving area.

The real value of the book is in its comprehensive survey of what is known and thought about the processes of acculturation. The three case studies presented emphasize the effectiveness of a multidisciplinary approach in studying the ways in which acculturation is achieved. The omission of a bibliography and index somewhat impairs the usefulness of the book.

S. ALEXANDER WEINSTOCK

Columbia University

CURRENT BOOKS

ALEXANDER, FRANZ. *The Western Mind in Transition: An Eyewitness Story.* New York: Random House, 1960. Pp. xvi+300. $5.00. Analysis of current trends in thought, science, and culture, drawing heavily on the author's biography and based on the belief that the past five decades have seen the first profound ideological revolution since the Renaissance.

BAKKE, E. WIGHT, KERR, CLARK, and ANROD, CHARLES W. *Unions, Management, and the Public.* 2d ed. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1960. Pp. xviii+650. Collection of readings by 123 authors designed to serve as a general textbook.

BANTON, MICHAEL. *White and Coloured: The Behaviour of British People towards Coloured Immigrants.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1960. Pp. 223. $4.00. An analysis.

BARNETT, H. G. *Being a Palauan.* New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1960. Pp. vii+87. $1.25 (paper). A work in the series, "Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology."

BARRACLOUGH, GEOFFREY (ed.). *Social Life in Early England: Historical Association Essays.* New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1960. Pp. xi+264. $4.50. Nine papers on British society from the Roman to the Norman period.

BAUER, RAYMOND A., and POOL, ITHIEL DE SOLA. *American Businessmen and International Trade: Code Book and Data from a Study on Attitudes and Communications.* Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press (for the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology), 1960. Pp. xxviii+145. $5.00. Code book and marginals from a survey of 900 American business leaders on their communications and attitudes on international trade. The report of the research will appear in another volume. The study director explains the purpose of this volume: "Our hope is that . . . we will make it possible for scholars to identify cross tabulations . . . which would be useful for their purposes and which we will not ourselves explore. The cards can be made available for this purpose."

BEATTIE, JOHN. *Bunyoro: An African Kingdom.* New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1960. Pp. ix+86. $1.25 (paper). A work in the series, "Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology."

BIRKET-SMITH, KAJ. *The Eskimos.* Translated by W. E. CALVERT and revised by C. DARYLL FORDE. New York: Humanities Press, 1960. Pp. xv+262. $6.50. Revised and extended edition of a classic work first published in Danish in 1927.

BOGARDUS, EMORY S. *The Development of Social Thought.* New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1960. Pp. x+689. $5.50. Fourth edition of a standard text on history of social thought, including new chapters on the work of Howard W. Odum and Radhakamal Mukerjee.

BOSSARD, JAMES H. S., and BOLL, ELEANOR STOKER. *The Sociology of Child Development.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1960. Pp. xiii+706. $8.50. Third edition of a general text, including six new chapters on size of family, the empathic complex, domestic animals, parental roles, and the child's peer groups.

BRANDT, WILLY. *My Road to Berlin: The Autobiography of Willy Brandt, Mayor of Berlin, as Told to Leo Lania.* New York: Doubleday & Co., 1960. Pp. 287. $4.50.

CAMPBELL, ANGUS, CONVERSE, PHILIP E., MILLER, WARREN E., and STOKES, DONALD E. *The American Voter.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1960. Pp. viii+573. $8.50. Analysis of American voting behavior, based on studies done in the past decade by the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center.

CANNON, JAMES M. (ed.). *Politics U.S.A.: A Practical Guide to the Winning of Public Office.* New York: Doubleday & Co., 1960. Pp. xi+348. $4.95. Papers on politics by well-known politicians and public figures.

CASAGRANDE, JOSEPH B. (ed.). *In the Company of Man: Twenty Portraits by Anthropologists.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1960. Pp. xvi+540. $6.50. Social types found in diverse cultures around the world.

CLARK, DENNIS. *Cities in Crisis: The Christian Response.* New York: Sheed & Ward, 1960. Pp. x+177. $3.50. Discussion of contemporary urban problems from a Catholic point of view.

DIVO-INSTITUT. *Umfragen, 1958: Ereignisse und Probleme der Zeit im Urteil der Bevölkerung.* ("Surveys, 1958: Events and Problems of the Year as Viewed by the Populace"), Vol. II. Frankfurt am Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1959. Pp. 148. DM. 18. Selection of findings from surveys carried out by the Divo-Institut of Frankfurt am Main in 1958, including material on attitudes toward foreign and domestic politics and various economic and social problems.

DOLE, GERTRUDE E., and CARNEIRO, ROBERT L. (eds.). *Essays in the Science of Culture in Honor of Leslie A. White: In Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday and His Thirtieth Year of Teaching at the University of Michigan.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1960. Pp. xlvi+509. $6.25. Twenty-seven papers on a variety of anthropological and sociological questions.

DORFMAN, JOSEPH, and TUGWELL, R. G. *Early American Policy: Six Columbia Contributors.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1960. Pp.

356. $6.00. Appraisal of the careers and contributions to public policy of six Columbia University graduates in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

ELLS, RICHARD. *The Meaning of Modern Business: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Large Corporate Enterprise.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1960. Pp. xi+427. $7.50. Discussion of social issues facing the modern corporation with regard to its internal organization and its place in society, with an analysis of empirical research needed to develop an adequate philosophy of large corporate business.

EGLAR, ZEKIYE. *A Punjabi Village in Pakistan.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1960. Pp. xxv+240. $6.00. Community study of a traditionalist village in Pakistan which is beginning to feel the impact of changes taking place in the world outside.

FARBER, BERNARD. *Family Organization and Crisis: Maintenance of Integration in Families with a Severely Mentally Retarded Child.* ("Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development," Vol. XXV, No. 1.) Lafayette, Ind.: Child Development Publications, 1960. Pp. 95. $3.00. Analysis of interviews with 233 families.

FONG, NG BICKLEEN. *The Chinese in New Zealand: A Study in Assimilation.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1960. Pp. v+145. $4.00. Analysis on a theoretical framework derived from Simmel, Stonequist, Park, and others.

FOURASTIÉ, JEAN. *The Causes of Wealth.* Translated and edited by THEODORE CAPLOW. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. Pp. 246. $5.00. English translation, with additions and revisions, of *Machinisme et bien-être,* described by the editor as an "attempt to create a new specialty on the borderline between economics and sociology."

GALENSON, WALTER, and LIPSET, SEYMOUR MARTIN (eds.). *Labor and Trade Unionism: An Interdisciplinary Reader.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960. Pp. xix+379. $6.50. Twenty-four papers on aspects of labor unions by economists, sociologists, and labor historians.

GINZBERG, ELI (ed.). *The Nation's Children.* New York: Columbia University Press (for the Golden Anniversary White House Conference on Children and Youth), 1960. Vol. I: *The Family and Social Change.* Pp. xvii+252. $4.50. Vol. II: *Development and Education.* Pp. xvi+242. $4.50. Vol. III: *Problems and Prospects.* Pp. xvi+242. $4.50. Thirty-one papers on the position of children in contemporary America which grew out of the 1959 White House Conference.

GOLDSCHMIDT, DIETRICH, GREINER, FRANZ, and SCHELSKY, HELMUT. *Soziologie der Kirchengemeinde* ("Sociology of the Parish"). ("Soziologische Gegenwartsfragen," New Series.) Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1960. Pp. viii+256. DM. 29. Review of the literature from various nations, a number of empirical studies of German parishes of various types, and basic statistics on the Catholic and Protestant churches in Germany.

GOLDSCHMIDT, WALTER. *Exploring the Ways of Mankind.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1960. Pp. xviii+700. $6.50. Collection of reprinted papers designed to provide an introduction to basic concepts of anthropology.

GREEN, ARNOLD W. *Sociology: An Analysis of Life in Modern Society.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1960. Pp. xiii+672. $6.95. Third edition of a general text, including two new chapters on "The Law and Social Control" and "The Law and Crime and Punishment."

GROTJAHN, MARTIN. *Psychoanalysis and the Family Neurosis.* New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1960. Pp. 320. $5.95. Interpretation of the neurotic marriage and the neurotic family.

HART, C. W. M., and PILLING, ARNOLD R. *The Tiwi of North Australia.* New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1960. Pp. ix+118. $1.25 (paper). A work in the series: "Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology."

HARTLEY, EUGENE L., and WIEBE, GERHART D. (eds.). *Casebook in Social Processes.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1960. Pp. ix+534. $3.75 (paper). Collection of excerpts from congressional hearings on various topics, with introductions by the editors.

HERTZ, ROBERT. *Death and the Right Hand.* Translated from the French by RODNEY and CLAUDIA NEEDHAM. Introduction by E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. Pp. 174. $4.50. English translation of two classic monographs of Durkheimian sociology first published in 1907 and 1909.

HEYWOOD, JEAN S. *Children in Care: The Development of the Service for the Deprived Child.* New York: Humanities Press, 1960. Pp. x+229. $5.00. Analysis of the development of services for the deprived child and of the impact of changing social conditions on attitudes toward deprivation and care given to children.

HOEBEL, E. ADAMSON. *The Cheyennes: Indians of the Great Plains.* New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1960. Pp. vii+103. $1.25 (paper). A work in the series, "Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology."

HOEL, PAUL G. *Elementary Statistics.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1960. Pp. vii+261. $5.50. Textbook designed for a one-semester course in elementary statistics.

HOYT, EDWIN PALMER, JR. *Jumbos and Jackasses: A Popular History of the Political Wars.* New York: Doubleday & Co., 1960. Pp. 505. $5.95. Popular history of presidential campaigns since 1860.

HUGHES, CHARLES CAMPBELL. *An Eskimo Village in the Modern World.* With the collaboration of JANE M. HUGHES. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1960. Pp. xiv+419. $6.75. Anthropological study of an Eskimo village on St. Lawrence Island in the Bering Sea.

JOHNSON, HARRY M. *Sociology: A Systematic Introduction*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1960. Pp. xv+688. $6.95. General text, addressed to readers with little or no previous knowledge of the field.

KANN, ROBERT A. *A Study in Austrian Intellectual History: From Late Baroque to Romanticism*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1960. Pp. xxii+367. $6.00. Analysis of major trends in Austrian intellectual history from the late Baroque, through the Enlightenment, to the early Romantic period, focusing on Abraham a Sancta Clara, preacher, writer, and stylist, and Joseph von Sonnenfels, writer, academician, and official.

KENKEL, WILLIAM F. *The Family in Perspective: A Fourfold Analysis*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1960. Pp. xiv+472. General text, treating historical and cross-cultural comparisons, institutional analysis of the family, dynamics of family interaction, and psychoanalytic study of the family.

KLOOSTERBOER, W. *Involuntary Labour since the Abolition of Slavery: A Survey of Compulsory Labour throughout the World*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960. Pp. vii+216. Comparative study, examining several different societies, which tests and modifies a classic theory of slavery.

KWIAT, JOSEPH J., and TURPIE, MARY C. (eds.). *Studies in American Culture: Dominant Ideas and Images*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1960. Pp. viii+233. $4.75. Fifteen essays on American culture and on "American Studies" as a separate discipline by present and former associates of the American Studies program of the University of Minnesota.

LAGUNA, FREDERICA DE (ed.). *Selected Papers from the "American Anthropologist," 1888–1920*. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson & Co., 1960. Pp. x+930. Articles, book reviews, and an essay on "The Beginnings of Anthropology in America" by A. Irving Hallowell.

LANDIS, PAUL H. *Making the Most of Marriage*. 2d ed. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1960. Pp. xiv+674. $6.75. General text designed for young people.

LEWIS, OSCAR. *Tepoztlán: Village in Mexico*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1960. Pp. viii+104. $1.25 (paper). A work in the series, "Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology."

MANIS, JEROME G., and CLARK, SAMUEL I. (eds.). *Man and Society: An Introduction to Social Science*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1960. Pp. xx+784. $7.50. College text in general social science.

MASON, EDWARD S. (ed.). *The Corporation in Modern Society*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959. Pp. xv+335. $6.75. Collected essays on aspects of contemporary corporations by specialists in several disciplines.

MILBANK MEMORIAL FUND. *Population Trends in Eastern Europe, the U.S.S.R. and Mainland China: Proceedings of the Thirty-sixth Annual Conference of the Milbank Memorial Fund, Held November 4–5, 1959, at the Carnegie Endowment International Center*. New York: Millbank Memorial Fund, 1960. Pp. 336. $2.00. Papers and discussions.

MILLS, C. WRIGHT (ed.). *Images of Man: The Classic Tradition in Sociological Thinking*. New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1940. Pp. 534. $7.50. Collection of excerpts from nineteenth- and twentieth-century sociologists, with an introductory essay, "The Classic Tradition," by the editor.

MISES, LUDWIG VON. *Epistemological Problems of Economics*. Translated by GEORGE REISMAN. Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1960. Pp. xxiii+239. $5.50. English translation of a collection of essays, first published in German in 1933, in which the author "tries to demonstrate the logical legitimacy of economic science."

MORSE, HORACE T., and DRESSEL, PAUL L. (eds.). *General Education for Personal Maturity: The Role of Courses in Personal Adjustment, Preparation for Marriage, and Vocational Planning*. Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Co., 1960. Pp. x+244. $4.00. Eighteen papers by various authors on courses in a number of colleges.

MOWRER, O. HOBART. *Learning Theory and Behavior*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1960. Pp. xii+555. $6.95. General synthesis of the field, designed as a text for classroom use.

MUKERJEE, RADHAKAMAL. *The Symbolic Life of Man*. Bombay: Hind Kitabs Ltd., 1959. Pp. xii+294. Rs. 15.00. General theory of the place of symbols and symbolism in society and history, based on an interdisciplinary approach.

NELSON, LOWRY, RAMSEY, CHARLES E., and VERNER, COOLIE. *Community Structure and Change*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1960. Pp. xiii+464. General textbook, adapted for college course in community organization and development or in rural-urban sociology.

OTTENBERG, SIMON, and OTTENBERG, PHOEBE VESTAL (eds.). *Cultures and Societies of Africa*. New York: Random House, 1960. Pp. x+614. $7.50. Readings on African cultures, culture contact and change, values and religion, authority and government, social organization, and natural environments; intended as a general introduction.

PARZEN, EMANUEL. *Modern Probability Theory and Its Applications*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1960. Pp. xv+464. $10.75. Advanced text for undergraduates.

PATTERSON, FRANKLIN. *High Schools for a Free Society: Education for Citizenship in American Secondary Schools*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. Pp. 93. $1.00. Discussion of adequacy of American high-school programs for citizenship training, with policy recommendations and suggestions for further studies.

PHILLIPS, JEWELL CASS. *Municipal Government and Administration in America*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1960. Pp. viii+648. $6.95. General

classroom text.

Pound, Ezra. *Impact: Essays on Ignorance and the Decline of American Civilization.* Edited by Noel Stock. Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1960. Pp. xviii+285. $5.00. Papers written between 1910 and 1959 showing the poet as social critic and interpreter of diverse cultures.

Rhoodie, N. J., and Venter, H. J. *Apartheid: A Sociohistorical Exposition of the Origin and Development of the Apartheid Idea.* ("Publications of the Departments of Sociology and Criminology at the University of Pretoria," No. 12.) Cape Town: Hollandsch Afrikaansche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1960. Pp. xiii+268. 35*s.* Analysis of the historical development of apartheid, the principles on which it is based and how they are implemented; concludes that it "is a dynamic process which holds the promise of complete self-determination in the future."

Rogers, Everett M. *Social Change in Rural Society: A Textbook in Rural Sociology.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1960. Pp. xi+490. $6.75. For students in introductory courses in rural sociology.

Rose, Arnold M. *Indagine sull' integrazione sociale in due quartieri di Roma* ("Social Integration in Two Neighborhoods in Rome"). ("Studi e Inchieste," No. 1.) Rome: Instituto di Statistica, 1959. Pp. 105. Statistical study with English summary.

Sahlins, Marshall D., and Service, Elman R. (eds.). *Evolution and Culture.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960. Pp. xii+131. $3.75. Interpretation of the evolution of the human species, of man, and of human societies, and application of evolutionist theories to the role of the United States in East-West conflict.

Sarason, Seymour B., Davidson, Kenneth S., Lighthall, Frederick F., Waite, Richard R., and Ruebush, Britton K. *Anxiety in Elementary School Children: A Report of Research.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1960. Pp. viii+351. Review of the literature, presentation of a theoretical framework, and report on six years of research.

Sayre, Wallace S., and Kaufman, Herbert. *Governing New York City: Politics in the Metropolis.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1960. Pp. xviii+815. $8.50. Analysis of city politics in New York, organized around stakes of political action, contestants, nature of contest, and strategies of contestants.

Schettler, Clarence. *Public Opinion in American Society.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1960. Pp. ix+534. $7.00. General textbook, including discussion of nature and formation of public opinion, media of communication, group action, relation of institutions to public opinion, and methods of opinion research.

Schuler, Edgar A., Hoult, Thomas F., Gibson, Duane L., Fiero, Maude L., and Brookover, Wilbur B. *Readings in Sociology.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1960. Pp. xxiv+909. Second edition of an anthology intended for student use.

Segal, Martin. *Wages in the Metropolis: Their Influence on the Location of Industries in the New York Region.* ("New York Metropolitan Region Study," Vol. IV.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960. Pp. xi+211. $4.75.

Siguan Soler, Miguel. *Del Campo al suburbio: Un Estudio sobre la inmigracion interior en España* ("From Countryside to Suburbs: A Study of Migration within Spain"). Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1959. Pp. 319. Pta. 180. Analysis based primarily on histories of one hundred families, supplemented by statistical data and documents.

Simmel, Georg. *Sociology of Religion.* Translated from the German by Curt Rosenthal. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959. Pp. x+76. $3.75. First English translation of a monograph written in 1905.

Simpson, George. *People in Families: Sociology, Psychoanalysis and the American Family.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1960. Pp. xv+554. $5.75. General text on the family, using psychoanalytical principles to interrelate various sociological studies of the American family.

Slotkin, James Sydney. *From Field to Factory: New Industrial Employees.* Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press (in co-operation with Research Center in Economic Development and Cultural Change, University of Chicago), 1960. Pp. 156. $4.00. Study of new industrial workers in a Chicago factory, who came from rural areas of the United States; in terms of a theory of industrialization applicable to underdeveloped countries.

Smith, T. Lynn. *Fundamentals of Population Study.* Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1960. Pp. xviii+542. General text, "aiding teachers to introduce the study of population matters to undergraduate students."

Special Committee on Unemployment Problems. *Studies in Unemployment Prepared for the Special Committee on Unemployment Problems, United States Senate, Pursuant to Senate Resolution 196, 86th Congress, 2d Session.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1960. Pp. viii+432. $1.50 Fifteen reports by specialists on various aspects of unemployment.

Sperber, Manès. *The Achilles Heel.* Translated by Constantine Fitzgibbon. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1960. Pp. 224. $3.95. Six essays on controversial aspects of contemporary civilization.

Stein, Maurice R., Vidich, Arthur J., and White, David Manning (eds.). *Identity and Anxiety: Survival of the Person in Mass Society.* Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. Pp. 658. $7.50. Essays by fourteen authors in various fields, organized around the concepts of identity and anxiety, their social sources in modern society, and

alternatives presented by humanists, psychologists, historians, and philosophers.

STEINER, JÜRG. *Die Beziehungen zwischen den Stimmberechtigten und den Gewählten in ländlichem und städtischem Milieu: Versuch einer staatssoziologischen Untersuchung am Beispiel des Grossen Rates des Kantons Bern* ("The Relationships between Voters and Elected Officials in Rural and Urban Environments"). ("Berner Beiträge zur Soziologie," No. 1.) Bern and Stuttgart: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1959. Pp. 91. DM. 6.80. Comparative statistical study, reporting results of surveys in Bern and in a rural district.

STEINER, LEE R. *Understanding Juvenile Delinquency.* Philadelphia: Chilton Co., 1960. Pp. vii+199. $3.95. Discussion of delinquency, with numerous case materials.

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TYPES OF FAMILY AND TYPES OF ECONOMY[1]

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ABSTRACT

An analysis of 549 cultures included in Murdock's "World Ethnographic Sample" reveals a rough relationship between type of family system and certain economic factors—especially the subsistence pattern and the amount of family property. The independent family system tends to predominate in hunting and gathering societies, the extended family where there is a more ample and secure food supply. The extended family system tends to be associated with social stratification, even when subsistence patterns are held constant, and is functionally adapted to the control of property. Deviant cases reveal that migration, warfare, and heavy seasonal demands on labor may also have an effect upon the family system.

The simplest type of family is a unit consisting of a married man and woman with their offspring, the type familiar to us in the West. Because the accent is on the husband-wife relationship, it has been referred to as the *conjugal* family. It has also been called the *nuclear* family, being the basic unit of all more complex forms.

A more complex family form may be produced by uniting two or more nuclear families through a common husband or wife, as in polygyny or polyandry, respectively; Murdock has designated such families *compound* families. A different type of family can be produced by uniting families of individuals between whom there is a blood tie, that is, either siblings or parents and children. Thus, two or more brothers with their wives and offspring may form a corporate unit. Or the family may comprise the father, mother, their unmarried children, and their married sons or daughters, their spouses and children. Because the emphasis here is on the blood ties, these have been designated *consanguine*. They vary in size, from the largest (normally comprising the families of procreation of at least two siblings or cousins in each of at least two adjacent generations) to those of intermediate size (normally consisting of the families of procreation of only one individual in the senior generation but of at least two individuals in the next generation) to those of smallest size (usually consisting of only two related families of procreation, other than polygamous unions, of adjacent generations). Murdock calls these *extended* families, *lineal* families, and *stem* families, respectively. But since he describes lineal families as "small extended families," and stem families as "minimal extended families," in the present study we combine all three into the single category, *extended* family. These we contrast with *independent* families, defined as familial groups which do not normally include more than one nuclear or polygamous family. A family system is independent if the head of a family of procreation is neither subject to the authority of any of his relatives nor economically dependent upon them.

It is assumed, here, that the family is a

[1] Presented at a special session, "Studies in Honor of William Fielding Ogburn, 1886–1959," at the annual meeting of the American Statistical Association, Washington, D.C., December 27, 1959.

function of the social order, which is a complex of religious, political, economic, aesthetic, and other activity. In this paper we examine the relationship between the family and economy and, specifically consider the subsistence patterns associated with the two basic family types, the independent and the extended. Such an examination, it is hoped, will shed light on social conditions associated with them and, therefore, on some of the factors that give rise to them.

TABLE 1

SUBSISTENCE PATTERNS OF SOCIETIES IN THE SAMPLE

Subsistence Pattern	No. of Societies	Percentage of Total
Agriculture dominant....	341	62.1
Animal husbandry dominant................	42	7.6
Fishing, shellfishing, and marine hunting dominant..............	40	7.3
Hunting and gathering dominant...........	72	13.1
Agriculture and animal husbandry codominant.	18	3.3
Agriculture and fishing codominant............	18	3.3
Agriculture and hunting-gathering codominant..	3	0.5
Animal husbandry and fishing codominant.....	1	0.2
Fishing and hunting-gathering codominant.....	14	2.6
Total	549	100.0

The statistical data are from a "World Ethnographic Sample," selected by Murdock, covering 565 cultures said to be representative of the entire known range of cultural variation.[2] Data on subsistence patterns are available for all the cultures, but data as to family type are not reported for 16 societies, leaving a sample of 549 societies for purposes of this study.

The societies are classified by Murdock according to major types of food-getting activities: agriculture; animal husbandry; fishing, shellfishing, and marine hunting; and hunting and gathering. Each activity is rated as dominant, codominant, important, unimportant, or absent. The 549 societies in the sample are distributed among these subsistence patterns as shown in Table 1. Of the 549 societies, 301 or 54.8 per cent are characterized by the extended family system and 248 or 45.2 per cent by the independent family system.

SUBSISTENCE PATTERNS AND TYPE OF FAMILY

Information regarding family type as related to subsistence pattern is presented in Table 2. The null hypothesis was tested that the type of family system is independent of variations in the subsistence pattern. A chi-square value was computed from a 6×2 table. The eleven subsistence-pattern categories of Table 2 were reduced to six and placed in rank order according to their theoretical productivity and stability. The resulting categories were as follows: (1) agriculture and animal husbandry codominant; (2) agriculture dominant or codominant with other subsistence patterns; (3) fishing or animal husbandry dominant or codominant with hunting and gathering; and (4)–(6) identical with the last three categories of Table 2. The computation yielded a chi-square value of 35.01, which, with five degrees of freedom, is significant beyond the .001 level. Consequently, the null hypothesis was rejected, and it appears that there is a rough relationship between the type of family system and the subsistence pattern ordered according to productivity and stability.

Table 2 shows that: (1) the independent family is most common in "pure" hunting and gathering cultures, that is, those in which hunting and gathering are dominant

[2] George Peter Murdock, "World Ethnographic Sample," *American Anthropologist*, XX, No. 4 (August, 1957), 664–87. The original data are revised in accordance with a list of additions and corrections issued by Murdock in mimeographed form on October 14, 1957. Two other corrections have been made for this study: The Chenchu appear to have an independent rather than an extended family system, and the Timbira have a subsistence pattern which is predominantly agricultural, hunting and gathering being important and fishing and animal husbandry absent or unimportant. The Timbira were earlier classified as a solely hunting and gathering people.

and other subsistence patterns either absent or unimportant; (2) the independent family is more common than is the extended family in "mixed" hunting and gathering cultures (those in which hunting and gathering are dominant but in which one of the other subsistence patterns is important). (3) The extended family and the independent family occur with equal or about equal frequency in societies where fishing and hunting are codominant or where animal husbandry is either dominant or codominant with fishing; (4) the extended family is the prevailing type in societies where fishing is dominant; (5) the extended family is the prevailing type in all classes of society in which agriculture is dominant. (6) The extended family is more common in societies where agriculture is codominant with one of the other subsistence types than it is in societies with agriculture dominant. (7) The greatest frequency of the extended family occurs in societies with agriculture and animal husbandry codominant.

How is the association of the independent family with hunting culture, and the extended family with dominantly fishing or agricultural society, to be accounted for?

The advantages of the extended family have been admirably set forth by Linton, who, however, minimizes the disadvantages almost to the point of neglect.[3] The extended family capitalizes the asexual associations of siblings; the independent family capitalizes the sexual attraction between adults. The paramount advantages of the extended family are economic. The efficiency of the household is not impaired by the removal of both son and daugther at marriage as it is in the individual family system. In the latter a husband and wife must start married life with little experience and limited resources, whereas the parental household is a going concern. In the extended family the members have the advantage of long association and familiarity with one another—circumstances useful in economic co-operation. There is more security, too, for the individual in the extended family in times of economic deprivation and other crises. Thus death or divorce is not so serious as in the conjugal family, for the removal of one parent from the home does not deprive the children of association with other adults of the same sex as the missing one. There is also a possible social or recreational advantage in the more ample fellowship of the extended family. Although some nuclear families are larger than some extended families, on the average in any society extended families are likely to be larger.

When a sample of persons in Pakistan was asked what they considered to be the

TABLE 2

FAMILY TYPE AND SUBSISTENCE PATTERN

	Family Type			
	Independent		Extended	
Subsistence Pattern	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent
Agriculture and animal husbandry codominant	2	11.1	16	88.9
Agriculture and fishing codominant	4	22.2	14	77.8
Agriculture and hunting codominant	1	33.3	2	66.7
Fishing dominant	15	37.5	25	62.5
Agriculture dominant, animal husbandry important	72	39.8	109	60.2
Agriculture dominant, animal husbandry absent or unimportant	73	45.6	87	54.4
Animal husbandry dominant or codominant with fishing	21	48.8	22	51.2
Fishing and hunting codominant	7	50.0	7	50.0
Hunting and gathering dominant; agriculture or animal husbandry important	10	55.6	8	44.4
Hunting and gathering dominant; fishing important; agriculture or animal husbandry absent or unimportant	22	73.3	8	26.7
Hunting and gathering dominant; agriculture, animal husbandry, and fishing absent or unimportant	20	83.3	4	16 7

[3] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York: Appleton-Century Co., 1936), chap. x.

advantages of the joint family, they mentioned chiefly economy in expenses, security against illness and other calamities, and the fun of living in a big family.[4] When asked what they regarded as the disadvantages, they said only that the joint family may foster idleness and discourage initiative. Other critics of the joint family mention the possibility of friction between father and son, brother and brother, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law; the fact that leadership is based on age, not necessarily on ability; and the lack of privacy, especially between husband and wife.

These observations indicate that the ties that bind the members of the extended family may be weakened by tensions that threaten the integration of the group. The desire for economic independence and the desire for privacy, among other things, may dispose the young adults to establish independent households. On the other hand, where the interpersonal relationships are pleasant, the sentiment regarding blood ties makes the extended family popular.

A point worth noting is that either type of family can perform the major functions required of it by society. Legitimate reproduction is performed solely by the conjugal units, whether organized independently or as part of an extended family unit; its frequency, however, may be affected by the presence or absence of the extended family. Rearing the young, especially the very young, is mainly a function of the nuclear family, whether organized separately or not. But, in the extened family, relatives give the parents much assistance with the socialization of their children. In a society with independent families the responsibility for child nurture resting on the parents is correspondingly greater, except in a society like the United States with a highly developed auxiliary structure for formal education.

[4] A. F. A. Husain, *Human and Social Impact of Technological Change in Pakistan*, a report on a survey conducted by the University of Dacca and published with the assistance of UNESCO, Vol. I (Pakistan: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1956), 77–78.

Since the frequency of different family types varies with type of economy, we look to the economic situation for clues as to what favors the one type or the other. Three economic factors seem especially relevant: the size of the food supply, the degree of spatial mobility involved in subsistence activities, and the kind and amount of family property.

In general, the size of family seems to be a function of the food supply. Since the supply of food is usually less stable and abundant in hunting than in agricultural societies, hunting does not encourage the extended family as much as does agriculture. Hunters generally cannot feed the members of the extended family so well, or so advantageously utilize their labor, as can agriculturalists.

This general point has been explored previously by Steward, who stresses the importance of the size and composition of the family as adjustive factors in the exploitation of the environment.[5] When game and wild plants are limited and dispersed, the members of a hunting or gathering society will generally scatter to achieve their optimal exploitation. Steward sees the existence of the independent family in hunting societies as one aspect of the low population densities generally associated with hunting. Among the Western Shoshone, who are primarily gatherers of wild vegetable foods and lower forms of animal life, the fragmented family, he argues, is closely determined by their subsistence patterns. Participation of many persons in seed- and root-gathering generally not only fails to increase the per capita harvest but decreases it.

The nature of the subsistence pattern and food supply may also have a more indirect relation to type of family. Barry, Child, and Bacon maintain that in societies that store food before using it the child-rearing patterns differ from those in societies which consume food as soon as it is pro-

[5] Julian H. Steward, *Theory of Culture Change: The Methodology of Multilinear Evolution* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1955).

cured.[6] In societies which lack techniques for preserving and storing food a greater emphasis is placed on self-reliance and training in achievement than in societies with a high accumulation of food resources. The resulting personality type might thus be more congenial to the independent family system, which provides greater scope for the expression of individualism and independence.

The production of household arts is generally more highly developed under agriculture than hunting. Thus the handicrafts provide in the former instance a greater market for labor and so encourage the extended family.

The nomadic nature of hunting also militates against the large extended family, as suggested by the folk saying that he travels farthest who travels alone. Murdock provides information on the settlement patterns of the societies in the ethnographic sample, and it is possible to examine the relationship of family type to the local degree of spatial mobility. As is shown in Table 3, the extended family system is found least often among purely nomadic or migratory bands and is most common among sedentary peoples with a fixed residence. Seminomadic societies, whose people lead a migratory life only during certain seasons of the year, are intermediate with regard to the frequency of the extended type of family.

It must be recognized, however, that mobility patterns do not constitute an independent variable; rather, they tend to be an integral part of the general pattern of subsistence. There are relatively few agricultural societies which are nomadic or seminomadic, and few societies in which animal husbandry or hunting and gathering are dominant that are sedentary. Thus, when general subsistence patterns are partialed out in the analysis, there is no significant relationship between mobility and family type. It is only in the case of fishing societies that the migratory pattern is not determined largely by the general nature of the subsistence activity. Of the 53 societies in which fishing is dominant or codominant with hunting and gathering, 28 are nomadic or seminomadic, and 25 are sedentary. The extended family is present in 80 per cent of the sedentary fishing societies but in only 39.3 per cent of the nomadic or seminomadic fishing societies. This, in itself, may be taken as further evidence that the extended family system is dependent upon a more plentiful and stable food supply, for a sedentary fishing economy is possible only where fish occur in relative abundance.

TABLE 3

SOCIETIES WITH EXTENDED FAMILY SYSTEMS BY DEGREE OF SPATIAL MOBILITY

Degree of Spatial Mobility	No. of Societies	Per Cent
Nomadic or migratory....	61	27.9
Seminomadic (nomadic only during certain seasons of the year)............	78	51.3
Sedentary........	410	60.0

$\chi^2 = 22.75$; d.f. = 2; $P < .001$.

PROPERTY, STRATIFICATION, AND TYPE OF FAMILY

Among hunters, private property is recognized in certain privileges, such as names, songs, dances, emblems, religious objects and rituals, and memberships in sodalities. Property of this kind may be transmitted through the family line but would not seem to influence greatly the type of family. In the case of movable property, individual rights are generally recognized, but, again among hunters, the amount of movable property is usually not great. Ownership of livestock intensifies the idea of individual ownership and helps to buttress the extended family, which occurs more often among herders than among hunters.

The concept of the ownership of land appears to have a considerable bearing on type of family. Hunters probably seldom have a notion of ownership of land, although rights to the use of an area for hunting purposes are common. These rights are usually tribal or communal in scope,

[6] H. Barry, I. L. Child, and M. K. Bacon, "Relation of Child Training to Subsistence Economy," *American Anthropologist*, January, 1959, pp. 414–63.

rarely individual or familial.[7] Mobility makes individual or family ownership difficult. For herders, land is meaningful mainly as pasturage, and, if it is scarce, notions of individual or family property in it may develop. But land acquires special significance where, as in stable agriculture, the group remains rooted to it over a long time, unlike the situation in shifting cultivation, where it is difficult to develop the idea of permanent ownership.

TABLE 4

SOCIETIES WITH EXTENDED FAMILY SYSTEMS BY DEGREE OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Degree of Social Stratification	No. of Societies	Per Cent
Little or none*	173	37.0
Moderate†	44	54.5
Considerable‡	295	64.1

$\chi^2 = 32.19$; d.f. = 2; $P < .001$.

* No slavery; little or no other stratification.

† No slavery, but wealth distinctions of importance, based on possession or distribution of property, without definite crystallization into hereditary social classes.

‡ Slavery and/or relatively great stratification among free men.

Among stable agriculturalists, ownership of land is a highly important source of pride, prestige, and power. The family becomes attached to the land, well adapted to working it, and reluctant to divide it. If division results in many small pieces, each member of the family owning and working his own piece, the system becomes relatively unproductive. There is a disposition under the circumstances to hold the family land intact and to add to it if possible. In highly developed form, as in classical Japan, this practice leads to the idea that the current generation is only the custodian and the family head only the trustee of the estate.

The disposition to hold the family land intact and to increase it if possible was seen in pre-Communist China, where surveys in certain regions showed a correlation between size of farm and size of family.[8] It appears that the family tries to stretch itself by adding new member: order to cultivate more land. The family increase its size by reproduction, by ac tion, and/or by adding relatives, via tended family.

Supporting evidence of the relation: between amount of property and type family is provided by India, where the quency of the joint family is positi correlated with caste positions.[9] The up castes, which own more property—espec ly land—than the lower, have more j families, whereas the very poor out-ca have the largest proportion of independ families.

The relationship of property to fan type can be tested by additional data fi Murdock's world ethnographic sample. I assumed that societies with apprecia stratification will generally have more fa ily wealth than those with little or no st ification. The null hypothesis was te: that the type of family system is indepe ent of the degree of stratification of socie (Table 4). The chi-square value was sig icant beyond the .001 level, and the hypothesis was rejected. Thus, it app that the greater the degree of social str fication, the greater is the tendency for extended rather than the independent fa ily system to become established.

Even when the subsistence pattern partialed out as a factor, there continue be a striking difference between those cieties with a relatively little and th with a relatively great degree of so stratification (Table 5). The hypoth that a greater proportion of societies v relatively great stratification have exten family systems than societies with li stratification was tested for each of four groups of subsistence patterns by co puting chi-square values corrected for c tinuity from 2 × 2 contingency tables. ' chi-square values were significant with one-tailed test beyond the .05 level three of the groups of subsistence patte and beyond the .001 level for the grour

[7] Robert H. Lowie, *Social Organization* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1948), p. 140.

[8] John L. Buck, *Chinese Farm Economy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930), p. 334.

[9] Oscar Lewis, *Village Life in Northern I* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1958) p Table 5.

societies in which fishing is dominant or codominant with hunting and gathering. We may conclude, then, that there is a tendency for more highly stratified societies to have an extended family system, even when the subsistence level is held constant through partialing techniques.

DEVIANT CASES

In the preceding paragraphs we have sought an explanation for the association between the independent family and hunting culture and between the extended family and agriculture, especially where animal husbandry and fishing are also of importance. The addition of herding or fishing may result in an increase in the food supply and the demand for labor; herding, in particular, increases the potentialities for accumulated wealth.

The association of type of family and subsistence pattern is, however, far from perfect. There are exceptions, as shown in Table 2 and in Table 6, which lists 21 hunting cultures with the extended family as given in Murdock's sample. We looked in these negative cases for evidence of the size of the food supply, mindful of the fact that it may vary greatly in hunting cultures. While, in general, the level of subsistence is lower in hunting than in agricultural societies, there are hunting cultures

TABLE 5

SOCIETIES WITH EXTENDED FAMILY SYSTEMS, BY SUBSISTENCE PATTERN AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

	Great Stratification		Little Stratification	
Subsistence Pattern	N	Per Cent of Total	N	Per Cent of Total
Agriculture dominant or codominant*	274	62.8	90	51.1
Animal husbandry dominant or codominant with fishing or hunting and gathering*	29	62.1	14	28.6
Fishing dominant or codominant with hunting and gathering†	31	83.9	20	20.0
Hunting and gathering dominant*	16	50.0	57	22.8

* Difference between societies with little stratification and societies with great stratification in the presence of the extended family system significant beyond the .05 level, one-tailed test.

† Difference significant beyond the .001 level.

TABLE 6

HUNTING AND GATHERING SOCIETIES WITH EXTENDED FAMILY SYSTEMS

Subsistence Pattern	Society and Location
I. Hunting and gathering dominant; agriculture or animal husbandry important	Kiowa—American Plains Comanche—American Plains Blackfoot (Siksika)—American Plains Cheyenne—American Plains Western Apache—American Southwest Motilon (Iroka)—Venezuela Siriono—Interior Amazonia Caduveo—Gran Chaco
II. Hunting and gathering dominant; fishing important; agriculture or animal husbandry absent or unimportant	Pomo (Clear Lake)—California Shasta (Eastern)—California Yana—California Wappo—California Hukundika—American Great Basin and Plateau Lengua—Gran Chaco Yukaghir—Arctic Asia Tiwi—Australia Vedda—Ceylon
III. Hunting and gathering dominant; agriculture, animal husbandry, and fishing absent or unimportant	Maidu (Mountain)—California Chiricahua Apache—American Southwest Bororo—Mato Grosso Dorobo—Upper Nile

which enjoy a greater food supply than do some societies of planters. Planting societies range from very simple hoe cultures to advanced plow cultures. Then, too, there may be co-operative hunting beyond the scope of the independent family and an extensive specialization of subsistence activities requiring the concerted efforts of several adults. Of crucial significance for our purposes are the cases in Category III of Table 6: societies with the extended family system in which hunting and gathering are dominant and agriculture, animal husbandry, and fishing are absent or unimportant. These societies are, so to speak, the "pure" hunting societies, in which we might have the highest expectation of finding the independent family.

The mountain Maidu of California, the first case, were dependent primarily upon hunting and gathering, although they did engage in some fishing. The Maidu hunted birds and insects, gathered seeds, and hunted deer and rabbits, co-operatively.[10] The yield, we are told, was plentiful, an evidence of which is the fact that the Maidu furnished their chief with food for entertaining visitors.

In the second negative case, that of the Chiricahua Apache of the American Southwest, the food supply is said to have been precarious, and as such would appear to have favored a type of economic organization based on the small individual family. In explanation, Opler reports that "the wild seeds and mescal must be gathered, prepared and stored when they ripen and the cooperation of a number of men and women is needed at such times."[11] The extended family probably served to minimize friction during such critical periods when co-operative group work was vital.

As to the Bororo of Mato Grosso in South America, there is some uncertainty regarding the nature of the economy. Murdock classifies them as predominantly hunters and gatherers, with other subsistence patterns absent or unimportant, but Lowie says that they are "predominantly hunters, gatherers and fishermen," implying that fishing is not unimportant, an impression supported by the fact that the fish are caught in nets or weirs as well as shot with arrows or drugged.[12]

Another source differentiates the Western Bororo (the Bororo da Campahna) and the Eastern Bororo.[13] The Western Bororo, with only a few natives left and acculturation far advanced, are said to have been extremely poor. The Eastern Bororo, who are more numerous and less acculturated, are reported as engaged mainly in "fishing, the cultivation of manioc, and hunting." If this is the order of importance of the sources of subsistence, then the Bororo are incorrectly classified and should not be considered a deviant case. Apart from the question of the importance of fishing and agriculture among them, however, it appears that there was extensive co-operation in hunting activities. Bororo men went on communal hunting expeditions, sometimes lasting several weeks, to hunt peccaries, tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and birds.[14]

Regarding the fourth and final society of the category under discussion, the Dorobo of Kenya and Tanganyika, we are told that their traditional hunting life began to disappear about 1925 when the government forced them to leave the forests and settle

[10] Ralph L. Beals, "Ethnology of the Nisenan," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, XXXI (1933), 335–410; Paul-Louis Faye, "Notes on the Southern Maidu," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, XX (1923) 35–53.

[11] M. E. Opler, "An Outline of Chiricahua Apache Social Organization," in Fred Eggan (ed.), *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes* (2d ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955).

[12] Robert H. Lowie, "The Bororo," in J. Steward (ed.), *Handbook of South American Indians*, I Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 143 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1946), 419–34.

[13] Vincent M. Petrullo, "Primitive Peoples of Matto Grosso," *Museum Journal* (University of Pennsylvania), XXIII (1932), 83–184.

[14] Lowie, *op. cit.*

in an open agricultural area.[15] They are now in the process of shifting to an agricultural economy and are even beginning to graze cattle. In earlier times, however, they depended almost entirely upon hunting, gathering, and trade with the Nandi. In wet weather, buck were caught in traps; in the dry season wild pigs of various kinds and several species of monkeys were hunted by parties of from two to eight men. The hunter was responsible for meat not only for his own elementary family but also for his father, mother, and wife's father, suggesting economic ties of the extended family. Under the old system a man had hereditary rights over a piece of forest which included hunting, trapping, bee-keeping, and food-gathering rights. Presumably, the food supply was sufficient for the extended family.

The remaining hunters and gatherers in Table 5 are those who derive important support and sustenance from agriculture, animal husbandry, or fishing. An abundant food supply was provided by the large herds of buffalo hunted by the Kiowa, Comanche, Blackfoot, and Cheyenne. Prior to the advent of the horse, the buffalo were also hunted communally, a large number of men co-operating to drive the buffalo over cliffs or into pounds. Communal drives disappeared after the 1850's, when horses became abundant, but large hunting parties were still well adapted to hunting big game that moved in herds, since a single hunter rarely killed more than two buffalo before the herd got away.[16]

Among the Plains Indians, especially the Comanches and Blackfoot, war or raiding reinforced the joint family, since both in assault and in defense there is an advantage in numbers. Moreover, a consequence of war is widows and orphans: Blackfoot women outnumbered the men two or three to one. One adjustment is the extended family to provide for dependents; another is in polygymy, and, in actuality, more than 50 per cent of the Blackfoot men had at least two wives.

The Hukundika or Promontory Point Shoshone, living north of the Great Salt Lake in Utah and southern Idaho, resembled the Plains Indians in their subsistence pattern and differed from the Western Shoshone who did not have horses and who lived in the desert where game was scarce.[17] The Hukundika had some horses and hunted buffalo, and there were communal drives in hunting antelope, rabbits, ducks, and deer. There was also communal fishing for salmon with weirs.

The Yukaghir of Siberia in earlier times were like the Plains Indians and the Hukundika in that they had easy access to herds of big game.[18] The Yukaghir hunted elk and reindeer, both of which ranged in large herds and were easily killed to provide an abundant food supply. By the 1900's, however, the elk had almost disappeared and the reindeer were decimated, causing famine. It seems likely that the extended family system became established during the period of abundance and has persisted in spite of, rather than because of, the more recent economic conditions facing the Yukaghir.

Among the California hunters and gatherers listed in Category II of Table 5—the Pomo, Shasta, Yana, and Wappo—there was an abundant supply of acorns, which constituted the staple of their diet. The gathering of acorns, in conjunction with the gathering of other fruits and vegetables, the hunting of deer, bear, and birds and other small animals, and fishing with weirs and nets for salmon, seems to have provided

[15] G. W. B. Huntingford, "The Social Organization of the Dorobo," *African Studies*, I (September, 1942), 183–200.

[16] John C. Ewers, *The Blackfeet: Raiders on the Northwestern Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958).

[17] Julian H. Steward, *Basin Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 120 (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1938), pp. 177–80; Julian H. Steward, "Culture Element Distributions. XXIII. Northern and Gosiute Shoshone," *Anthropological Records*, VIII (1942–45), 263–392.

[18] Waldemar Jochelson, *The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus* (New York: G. E. Stechert, 1926).

an entirely adequate food supply to support the extended family system.[19]

The traditional Veddas of Ceylon were almost purely a hunting and gathering society, but we are told that their area was rich in game, and their diet was supplemented by the collection of honey and the digging of yams. The Coast Veddas were primarily fishermen, and the Village Veddas cultivated grain crops, but both of these groups had become relatively acculturated at an early date.[20]

Although they are primarily hunting and gathering societies, agriculture would appear to have provided some stability to the food supply and residence patterns of the Western Apache of the American Southwest, the Caduveo and the Lengua of the Gran Chaco region of South America, and perhaps the Motilon of Venezuela. Agriculture accounted for a considerable portion of the food supply among the Western Apache, and local organization was oriented around the farm sites controlled by the matrilocal extended family.[21] The hunting and gathering territory was also centered around the agricultural plots. Stability of residence, then, was an additional circumstance making possible extended family organization, since a highly nomadic life militates against the development of large families. The Lengua depend largely upon hunting and fishing in a swampy environment, but they also have small gardens in which they cultivate pumpkins, sweet potatoes, maize, manioc, and tobacco.[22] The Caduveo have only a rudimentary agriculture, but they acquire agricultural products from subject peoples from whom they also collect other tribute: booty, slaves, and women.[23] Wealth in this instance, buttressing an extended family system, derives from a source other than their own subsistence techniques. Finally, although the Iroka subtribe of the Motilon is classified as a predominantly hunting and gathering society, other subtribes within the Motilon group appear to be dependent primarily upon fishing or agriculture.[24]

In the final case, the Siriono of the Interior Amazonia region of South America, we find that what is classified as an extended family has minimal functions. The Siriono house a band of sixty to eighty persons in a single hut, a crude affair that takes only one hour to build. When the whole band or settlement is housed together, the extended family is, of course, included, but its functions are not great. The nuclear family is the regular work unit, but the extended family helps to plant, gather, and hunt on certain occasions.[25] It is as if a society had a choice of maintaining an independent family system with occasional demands on relatives for special labor or maintaining an extended family but utilizing the extra labor potential only occasionally.

[19] Edwin M. Loeb, "Pomo Folkways," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, XIX (1926), 149–404; Catherine Holt, "Shasta Ethnography," *Anthropological Records*, III (1946), 299–349; Edward Sapir and Leslie Spier, "Notes on the Culture of the Yana," *Anthropological Records*, III (1943), 239–97; A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 78 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1925).

[20] C. G. Seligmann and Brenda Z. Seligmann, *The Veddas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911).

[21] Charles R. Kaut, *The Western Apache Clan System* ("University of New Mexico Publications in Anthropology," No. 9 [Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1957]).

[22] George P. Murdock, *Outline of South America Cultures* (New Haven, Conn.: Human Relations Area Files, 1951).

[23] Kalervo Oberg, *The Terena and the Caduveo of Southern Matto Grosso, Brazil* (Institute of Social Anthropology Publication No. 9 [Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1949]).

[24] T. DeBooy, "The People of the Mist," *Museum Journal* (University of Pennsylvania), IX (1918), 183–224; Murdock, *Outline of South American Cultures*.

[25] Allan Holmberg, *Nomads of the Long Bow: The Siriono of Eastern Bolivia* (Institute of Social Anthropology Publication No. 10 [Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1950]).

These negative cases of hunting societies with extended family systems upon closer examination generally support the generalization that type of family is a function of the size of the food supply and the corresponding demand for co-operative labor beyond that of the independent family.

MODERN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

The world ethnographic sample which furnishes the statistical data for this study includes only a very few cases of industrial society. The subsistence base of an industrial society is, of course, mainly agriculture, although herding and fishing may be important. But a significant characteristic of industrial society is the relatively small percentage of the population engaged in agriculture: in the United States in 1950 only 12 per cent of the total active population were engaged in agricultural occupations. In England and Wales in 1951 the corresponding figure was 5 per cent—the lowest in the world.[26]

The censuses which have been taken in industrial societies give us data for families, by households. In the United States in 1956, 96.7 per cent of all married couples maintained separate dwelling places.[27] While it is possible for extended families to exist with separate dwellings for the component conjugal units, nevertheless the family in most industrial societies is in fact, as field studies indicate, organized along independent, not extended lines.

The association of the independent family with industrial society is usually accounted for mainly by characteristics of industry itself. One is the small demand for family labor. Unlike the situation in simpler economies, employment in industrial society is provided by non-family agencies on the basis of individual competence, not family membership. Payment is in money, which is individualizing in its effects, whereas earlier labor was unpaid family labor, unifying in its influence. The modern industrial scene is also characterized by high rates of physical mobility, which separates the members of families and makes interaction more difficult.

The modern industrial society, with its small independent family, is then like the simpler hunting and gathering society and, in part, apparently for some of the same reasons, namely, limited need for family labor and physical mobility.[28] The hunter is mobile because he pursues the game: the industrial worker, the job.

Property is more highly developed in modern industrial society than in the earlier agricultural society, but property is mainly in money, individually acquired, not in family-owned land.

To sum up, the independent family is associated with hunting and the extended family with agriculture. Family type is influenced by type of subsistence through the food supply, demand for family labor, physical mobility, and property. The food supply, the demand for family labor, and property are more highly developed in agricultural than in hunting societies.

These findings are generalizations based on many societies. In a given society the causative situation may be highly complex, and various factors, some of which have been identified, may offset the influence of the type of subsistence. The reliability of the findings depends, of course, upon the accuracy of classification of the family and subsistence patterns of the 549 cultures which form the basis of this study.

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[26] *Yearbook of Food and Agriculture Production, 1957*, Vol. II (Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization, 1958).

[27] *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1957), p. 46.

[28] A notable exception is highly industrialized Japan, where virtually all men and women marry and live in a consanguineously related household (Irene Taeuber, *The Population of Japan* [Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1958]). It is reported, however, that a person entering employment in a Japanese factory tends to make it a lifelong commitment (James G. Abegglen, *The Japanese Factory: Aspects of Its Social Organization* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958]).

THEORETICAL PROSPECTS OF URBAN SOCIOLOGY IN AN URBANIZED SOCIETY[1]

ERNEST MANHEIM

ABSTRACT

The initial theme of urban sociology thirty-five years ago was the role of the city as a transformer of rural migrants. As American society approaches a state of total urbanization, the focus of urban sociology shifts toward urban dominance, community structure, and the comparative study of urbanization under diverse social conditions.

Not all inquiries whose subjects are located in urban space constitute urban sociology. Nor is the theoretical yield of an inquiry the sole test of its success. This paper is, however, concerned with urbanism studies of the type which qualifies in both regards—as urban sociology and as contributions to general sociology.

Students of urban life have viewed their subject in two perspectives: the inclusive and the specific. The inclusive and wider view encompasses the larger social system or total culture in which a given city takes shape. The sociologist who studies the city in this larger perspective takes account not only of activities within the urban territory but also of components of the social system located outside. Military considerations, for example, may influence the development and patterns of cities, although military organization is not a specifically urban manifestation. The broad, cultural concept of the city transcends the range of phenomena which the observer may directly encounter in an urban area. The student who takes this inclusive, anthropological view assumes that it is only the social system as a whole which explains the behavior of its parts: Max Weber's recently translated essay on the city furnishes a good example of such a macrocosmic study.[2] In this essay Weber maps three historical types of urban corporation in ancient and medieval Mediterranean society. The categories with which he construed his urban types include kinship, power structure, military organization, foreign trade, agriculture, and taxation—concerns which in the given instances are not predominantly urban.

The alternative perspective is narrower. In it the city is of interest only as a well-defined subsystem whose social milieu is assumed and understood but not brought into focus. This is the nature of most American studies of urbanism. Their aims vary. Some seek to diagnose urban problems; others describe urban institutions or regularities in the adaptive behavior of the city-dweller. A large portion of urban research has been devoted to the discovery of characteristic relationships between two or more variables of city life. Thus, fertility, land values, membership in voluntary organizations, forms of worship, the use of leisure, and the incidence of mental disorders have been related to a number of ecological variables. In short, these subcultural explorations were designed to map urban institutions or dislocations and to predict their behavior in relation to one another rather than to trace their configuration within the larger social system.

These two perspectives are not peculiar to the study of the city as such. Practically all social subsystems, from the family to the school, the church to political power, have been conceived in these alternatives. What is, however, peculiar to the city as a subject of inquiry is the manner in which its development in the Western world, particularly in the United States, has forced the hand of the sociologist in the choice of his point of view. For reasons which lie in the urbanization of American society, sociolo-

[1] Paper read to the Midwest Sociological Society in St. Louis, 1960.

[2] *The City*, trans. Don Martindale (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958).

gists in this country seem to abandon the narrower, specific urban frame of reference and to adopt the broad, inclusive concept.

American studies of urbanism began largely in the second decade of this century. If I am not mistaken, Park's paper "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment," in the *American Journal of Sociology* in 1916, was the first to provide the rationale for the systematic exploration of the city. It was, however, Park's volume, *The City* (1925), and Burgess' publication, *The Urban Community* (1926), which mark the beginning of urban sociology in this country. McKenzie, Queen, Zorbaugh, and Carpenter were among the first to join Park and Burgess in this enterprise. True, there were some predecessors: Adna Weber's *Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century* (1899), Simmel's essay, "The Metropolis and Mental Life" (1902), Patrick Geddes' *Cities in Evolution* (1915), Max Weber's essay of 1923, and a few others.

At the time Park and Burgess initiated urban studies, the American city was an enclave. Not more than one-third of the population lived in metropolitan districts. The rural-urban continuum was not, and could not be, discovered. Farmers and farm laborers had no automobiles and radios; urban contacts were largely functional rather than personal. Rural society presented a way of life in contrast to the urban, as expressed by such indexes as density of population, occupational specialization, the proportion of wage and salary earners, residential mobility, and the available choices in the selection of a mate, an occupation, membership in voluntary organizations, and leisure pursuits. The city was for masses of rural and transatlantic migrants the port of entry into a world society that was able to absorb the newcomer regardless of his previous culture and nation. The metropolitan community was the agent of transformation on a scale no longer matched in the United States in the 1960's. What attracted Park's and his associates' interest to the city was not its stabilized institutions but its role as an agent of abrupt social change and the scene of crucial adaptations and dislocations. The first generation of urban sociologists proposed to study the urban battleground on which the masses of newcomers struggled for a niche in a new society. Park was quite articulate on this point:

> Concentration of population in cities, the wider markets, the division of labor, the concentration of individuals and groups on special tasks, have continually changed the material conditions of life, and in doing this have made readjustments to novel conditions increasingly necessary. Out of this necessity there have grown up a number of special organizations which exist for the special purpose of facilitating these readjustments. . . .
>
> The great cities of the United States . . . have drawn from the isolation of their native villages great masses of the rural populations of Europe and America. Under the shock of the new contacts the latent energies of these primitive peoples have been released, and the subtler processes of interaction have brought into existence not merely vocational, but temperamental types.[3]

The question which guided Park's and his collaborators' interest was: how and through what devices does city environment accomplish the assimilation and conversion of the rural migrant? The urban ecology which McKenzie and Park stimulated was designed to furnish an answer within the specific, restricted, urban frame of reference and without recourse to the American social system. The city was to be not merely the place of fact-finding explorations but a theoretical frame of reference.

Few social scientists were able to gain the response that this program of urban research elicited. If urban sociologists today are forced to take a second look at their field, it is because of the changed character of the city in relation to American society at large. The city is no longer an enclave in a rural society but the environment of the majority of people; over two-thirds of all Americans live in metropolitan districts. Urban society,

[3] Park, "The City," *op. cit.*, pp. 577–612.

moreover, has expanded into rural areas to the point where large segments of the rural population are assimilated to the city. The polarity implied in the concept of the rural-urban continuum is, perhaps, no longer adequate to the present state of American urbanization; it may be more appropriate to speak of the gradients of urbanization, as Queen and Carpenter and Loomis and Beegle do. In other words, urban society is rapidly becoming American society. The majority of textbooks on urban sociology clearly reflects this change. There are few subjects of sociological research in any province of American life which are left out of standard textbooks and understandably so, because there are few areas of problem-oriented research which in this country are unrelated to urban society.

The development of urban sociology toward something approximating the study of American civilization is reminiscent of the history of the concept of social control. Originally, it was a device of E. A. Ross to call attention to the informal means for securing conformity to the social code. But gradually the concept lost its specific content and became identified with the whole range of social relations, as it should be. This development has not compromised the concept of social control, but it eliminated it as a field of specialization.

The remarkable shift of urbanism studies from a special type of inquiry into a broad and inclusive field raises the question whether the urban sociologist still has a distinct and identifiable subject. The city will undoubtedly continue to invite research, but whether it will be the focus of studies whose findings bear any relationship to general sociology, as those in the twenties and thirties did, is at present uncertain. It appears sometimes as if urban sociology may become a mere label for cataloguing American research. Whether the contemporary city is a field of specialization or only a spatial denominator for diverse and separately conceptualized subjects of research depends on the nature of the given question. What made the earlier design of urban sociology as an area of specialized studies acute was its focus on the role of the city as a transformer of rural populations. This role the city of our time performs at a declining rate. Urban society is no longer confined to occupationally diversified populations living in densely settled and defined locations. The migrant who moves to the contemporary metropolis from the American countryside is no longer the stranger that his predecessor was forty years ago. The newcomer to the city of the 1960's does not pass through a critical "culture shock," he merely moves up in the scale of urbanization.

That is not to say that time is running out; urban sociology continues to be a potential source of new insights, provided well-defined research questions of topical interest are explored. In place of the portrayal of the urban way of life in contrast to the rural, the study of urban dominance over the less urbanized hinterland, for example, seems one of the more promising enterprises. To use another expression, it is the relationship of the metropolis to the province. Such an inquiry qualifies as urban sociology because its focus is the city specifically, and it can relate itself to general sociology, that is, to a generically defined range of social constellations.

Another opportunity for research of generic relevance is the study of community structure. The term refers to the distribution and use of power within the city, the manner in which decisions of public concern are made, and the processes of communication through which a working consensus or conflicts are generated. In short, the term "community structure" denotes the self-maintenance functions which are carried on in an interdependent local social cluster. "Community development" is a related subject, involving the study of the prerequisites for activating problem-solving initiative in a community. The field has not yet been well defined and has, so far, not matured beyond the case-study phase, but it may eventually become a generic inquiry.

There may be other examples of a promising trend. They should suggest that urban

sociology need not retreat into an elaboration of what is typically non-rural or into the practice of attaching its label to diverse studies whose subjects are urban only insofar as they happen to intrude into urban space.

For those who wish to pursue urban sociology in its original style, with the original research question, the underdeveloped areas offer a rich harvest. There the focus of the earlier American studies of urbanism is still acute, namely, the adaptive mechanisms which come into play in a state of rapid social fusion and change. The growth of cities in Africa and Asia presents a unique opportunity for comparative studies in the absorption of rural and tribal populations. Such an expansion of urban sociology beyond the North American horizon can only add to the theoretical yield. Sjoberg's urgings in this direction seem timely indeed.[4] To become a true discipline, urban sociology will have to broaden its area of inquiry to articulate the whole range of conditions under which cities form and expand. A glance at the varied patterns of urban growth in South America, Asia, and Africa, and even in Europe, will help to bring to attention the particular social conditions under which North American cities evolved their distinct ecological characteristics. These include the following:

1. The early spatial separation of the household from the locale of gainful work, owing to the fact that under highly industrialized conditions industry, commerce, transportation, and administration are organized and interdependent pursuits, in contrast to the social detachment of the household as a place of private consumption.

2. Cheap mass transportation which increases the distance between the residence and the place of gainful work.

3. The employment of inexpensive building materials which make possible frequent adaptive changes in the use of space (e.g., the conversion of residential areas to commercial use).

4. A laissez faire policy toward the recruitment of the labor force and the absence of bureaucratic control over housing, building codes, and residential movements.

5. The absence of large, closely knit kinship groups which inhibit the economic adaptation and spatial movements of the individual.

A cursory survey of urban development outside the North American continent should reveal that, in the absence of any one of these conditions, urban populations and institutions do not cluster in the familiar North American pattern. It would be interesting to see what regularities in pattern are associated with various sets of conditions. Such comparisons will further suggest that ecological generalizations must be qualified by an explicit reference to the particular conditions of urbanization from which those generalizations are derived. In this light, it appears that urban ecology, when it is divorced from the study of these underlying circumstances of urban development, is a survey technique and not a theoretical frame of reference.

It is perhaps unnecessary to say that urban research, with or without a theoretical yield, will go on so long as it serves a good purpose, and there are other worthy causes besides sociological theory. But, in the long run, the saying still has a core of truth that the observer who asks no questions will have facts but no answers.

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[4] Gideon Sjoberg, "Comparative Urban Sociology," in *Sociology Today*, ed. Robert K. Merton *et al.* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959).

DOCTORS AND POLITICS[1]

WILLIAM A. GLASER

ABSTRACT

Published and unpublished studies are reviewed to derive generalizations and hypotheses about the political attitudes and behavior of the individual members of the American medical profession. Although doctors may occasionally participate in local government in medical or other non-partisan capacities, they rarely abandon medicine for lay governmental careers, and their participation in party politics is limited. In some respects doctors share the conservative values of other American social elites, but in others they may differ and may be predisposed to a peculiarly professional belief system. Doctors' distinctive orientations toward politics follow from the characteristics typical of a very successful social elite and of a highly developed profession whose special tasks, knowledge, methods, and work routines are very different from the ordinary work of government.

Each occupation has distinctive forms of political behavior, resulting from the kinds of drives and skills learned by its members, their opportunities to abandon their work for temporary or permanent political activity, and the particular occupational needs which might be satisfied through government help. Research has shown the effects of these variables upon the political behavior of farmers, workers, and businessmen; but as yet little comparable work has been done about professionals. Although some research is now beginning about professions which are closely related to politics (lawyers, for example), and although much has been written about political pressures by the American Medical Association, extensive findings have not yet been published about the political roles of the rank-and-file members of any profession, and no study has focused on doctors. This paper will deal with the relations between individuals and government, such as the likelihood of doctors accepting public office, their participation in election campaigns, their partisan opinions, and so on.[2]

RECRUITMENT OF FULL-TIME OFFICIALS FROM MEDICINE

Under certain conditions holders of an occupation will abandon it permanently or temporarily in favor of government jobs. Their personal goals must be satisfiable thereby. The occupation must furnish only a limited number of opportunities for satisfaction of these goals, leaving a certain

[1] Publication A-290 of the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University. For supplying me with unpublished data and for other assistance, I am indebted to: Clyde W. Hart, director, National Opinion Research Center; Ben Allen, research director, *Medical Economics;* Robert E. Agger, University of Oregon; Kurt Back, Duke University; Joseph A. Schlesinger, Michigan State University; Philip K. Hastings, director, Roper Public Opinion Research Center, Williams College; Emery H. Ruby, executive editor, American Institute of Public Opinion; Wagner Thielens, Jr., Herbert Menzel, and Robert Mitchell, Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University; and Andrzej Malewski, Polish Academy of Sciences.

[2] Since they are separate problems and have already been studied, I will not summarize here the extensive materials about the pressures of medical societies upon government or the internal politics of the medical profession.

On governmental pressures by the American Medical Association, see David R. Hyde and Payson Wolff, "The American Medical Association: Power, Purpose, and Politics in Organized Medicine," *Yale Law Journal,* LXIII (May, 1954), 938–1022; David B. Truman, *The Governmental Process* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 951), esp. pp. 132–34, 168–77, 200–201; Stanley Kelley, Jr., *Professional Public Relations and Political Power* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1956), chap. iii.

On the internal affairs of the AMA see Oliver Garceau, *The Political Life of the American Medical Association* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941).

On the "political" maneuvers for career advantages within the colleague group, see the writings of Oswald Hall, particularly "The Stages of a Medical Career" (*American Journal of Sociology,* LIII [March, 1948], 327–36) and "The Informal Organization of the Medical Profession" (*Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* XII [February, 1946], 30–44).

proportion of the working force either discontented or worried about future frustration. Their skills and attitudes must be appropriate either to management in governmental bureaucracy or to the marketing roles required in electoral or legislative work. The occupational system must lack completely effective controls for teaching and enforcing permanent commitment by its members. Some or all these conditions are true of certain occupations—for example, law, journalism, business, and university teaching, which lose much of their personnel and become the principal sources of supply for high-level government jobs. But medicine differs greatly from these occupations, for it prepares members for expert problem-solving or scientific roles rather than for managerial or marketing roles and consequently supplies almost no persons for full-time non-medical government work. It differs from other pursuits in four pertinent ways:

First, the strongest interest of the typical medical student and doctor is the cure of illness through advanced scientific knowledge and methods, and, since such goals cannot be achieved directly through administration or politics, physicians' basic aims and attitudes are unpolitical. On the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey values scale, medical students rank very high on theoretic values and low on political and economic values, only clergymen, theology students, and literature students being lower.[3] Among all the sections of the Medical College Admissions Test, the "Modern Society" scores show the weakest correlation with subsequent success in medical school, and in some schools the scores may be wholly independent of student performance.[4] Consequently, admissions officers of medical schools are more likely to ignore the Modern Society scores than to ignore any other part of the text; they are more likely to evaluate applicants by scientific and quantitative tests; and they believe that undergraduate performance in the social sciences is the least important college work when estimating student aptitude for medical school.[5] Not only do medical students and physicians possess scientific values which exceed political interests and which are more important to their careers, but their attention may be concentrated upon medical and technical interests to an unusually high degree, thereby further restricting concern with politics. On a special scale measuring restriction of attention to vocational activities, medical specialists secure a higher score than does any other occupational group except psychologists.[6]

Second, government can recruit persons from occupations with shortages of rewards, but American medicine offers plenty of opportunity for satisfying physicians' characteristic goals. Most doctors seek intensive care and cures for individual patients.[7] Since the number of patients form-

[3] Gordon W. Allport, Philip E. Vernon, and Gardner Lindzey, *Study of Values: Manual of Dircetions* (2d ed.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1951), p. 10; Charles Stone, "The Personality Factor in Vocational Guidance," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXVIII (October–December, 1933), 274–75; Daniel Harris, "Group Differences in Values within a University," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXIX (April–June, 1934), 96, 100.

[4] Roscoe A. Dykman and John M. Stalnaker, "The History of the 1949–50 Freshman Class," *Journal of Medical Education*, XXX (November, 1955), 614–17; Ray B. Ralph and Calvin W. Taylor, 'The Role of Tests in the Medical Selection Program," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, XXXVI (April, 1952), 107–9. The Medical College Admissions Test is taken by nearly every applicant to an American medical school, and all medical schools use its results when selecting students.

[5] Robert J. Glaser, "Appraising Intellectual Characteristics," *Journal of Medical Education*, XXXII, Part II (October, 1957), 33–35.

[6] However, general practitioners achieve specialization-level scores lower than some physical scientists and like many other professionals (Milton G. Holmen, "The Specialization Level Scale for the Strong Vocational Interest Blank," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, XXXVIII [1954], 160).

[7] In a recent representative national sample of American medical students, 91 per cent of the 1,086 respondents said that in their "main career" they would prefer to "work directly with patients al-

ing a caseload is limited by the physician's time and energy, and since America has a very high ratio of actual and potential patients to the number of medical practitioners, usually every physician is assured of the maximum load which he can carry—at least after the early stages when he is building his practice. Because of the weeding-out of less competent applicants and students, and because of advanced knowledge, facilities, and patients' natural recuperative powers, nearly every physician is assured of an apparently high rate of therapeutic success. In addition to these great opportunities for achievement, doctors are given the highest prestige among all occupations in public opinion polls,[8] and they receive the continual deference of patients and hospital staff members. And, of course, medicine commands the highest income of any American occupation.[9]

A third variable is the transferability of skills, but this, too, is much less true of medicine than of many other occupations. The very specialized knowledge and skills of a doctor would be wasted in any except the handful of government medical jobs, and many physicians may lack motivation and skills required in certain bureaucratic and legislative positions. Administrative work, even in medicine, interests few doctors.[10]

Finally, many personnel shifts will occur between an occupation and government only if the occupation can secure less than perfect loyalty from its members, but again the opposite is true of medicine. Selective admission to medical school, the effective socialization during education, the lavish reward structure during practice, the strong *esprit de corps* within the profession, and frequent approval by the physicians' reference groups—all combine to produce strong loyalty to medicine. Table 1 demonstrates the powerful career commitment of physicians by comparing questionnaire responses by medical students and law students. Compared to the law students, the medical students are far more likely to say that their particular career is the only satisfactory one and that it will be their principal source of gratification throughout their lives.[11] Among practicing physicians, 90 per cent say they would again choose

most all the time," and only 5 per cent would prefer to "work at medical problems that do not require frequent contacts with patients" (National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago, Survey 387, Report 60, conducted in May and early June, 1956. Quoted by permission of the NORC; special permission to quote from this unpublished survey also applies to the data cited in nn. 10 and 19).

[8] Emery H. Ruby, *The Public Appraises the Newspaper, 1958* (Princeton, N.J.: American Institute of Public Opinion, 1958), p. 33; Cecil C. North and Paul K. Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," *Opinion News,* IX (September 1, 1957), 3–13.

[9] *United States Census of Population, 1950: Occupational Characteristics,* Special Report P-E, p. 1B–199; "Incomes of Physicians, Dentists, and Lawyers, 1949–51," *Survey of Current Business,* XXXII (July, 1952), 5–7.

[10] In a survey of preferences the faculty at one medical school ranked administration below all other medical work, such as patient care, teaching, and research. These data and behavioral evidence of doctors' avoidance of conventional administrative roles are reported in Mary E. W. Goss, "Physicians in Bureaucracy" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, Columbia University, 1959). The NORC sample of 1,086 American medical students (see n. 7) was asked: "How interested do you think you would be in spending at least part of your time in medical administration, such as in the running of a hospital, after you have completed your training?" Of the respondents, 46 per cent said they were "not interested at all," 25 per cent were "not very interested," and only 5 per cent were "very interested."

[11] For other evidence of stronger career commitment by medical students even before they and law students begin their professional education, see Wagner Thielens, Jr., "Some Comparisons of Entrants to Medical and Law School," in Robert K. Merton *et al.* (eds.), *The Student-Physician* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957), pp. 131–36. The medical students described in Table 1 give higher priority to their careers than do other American college students who have answered the same question (cf. Philip Jacob, *Changing Values in College* [New York: Harper & Bros., 1958], p. 16).

medicine if they were starting their careers over; but only 55 per cent of all American workers feel similarly.[12]

For all these reasons, dropouts from medicine are very rare. They are fewer than dropouts from law, which is one of the principal supply sources for government, and they are fewer than departures from all other occupations.[13] Among the 230,139 Americans who held medical degrees in 1958, only 4.8 per cent were no longer in practice, and nearly all the attrition resulted from the retirement of lifelong practitioners or in instances of women who had left to raise families rather than to enter non-medical jobs.[14]

Consequently, very few physicians in recent American history have held full-time non-medical public office; for example, only four licensed physicians belonged to

[12] Based on representative national samples of American doctors and American employees ("Doctors Are Different," *Medical Economics*, XXXV [October 13, 1958], 80).

[13] Higher transfer rates out of other occupations can be seen in Gladys L. Palmer, *Labor Mobility in Six Cities* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1954), p. 109; Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "Occupational Mobility of Professional Workers," *American Sociological Review*, XX (December, 1955), 695; *Patterns of Occupational Mobility for Workers in Four Cities* (Chicago: Chicago Community Inventory, University of Chicago, March, 1953), pp. 24–30, 135.

[14] Computed from data in *American Medical Directory, 1958* (Chicago: American Medical Association, 1958), p. 13, and in Roscoe A. Dykman and John M. Stalnaker, "Survey of Women Physicians Graduating from Medical School, 1925–1940," *Journal of Medical Education*, XXXII, Part II (March, 1957), 22–24, 27. A survey of medical school alumni performed nearly a decade earlier showed the same very low attrition (Frank G. Dickinson, *Distribution of Medical School Alumni in the United States as of April, 1950* [Chicago: American Medical Association, 1956], pp. 4, 42).

TABLE 1

CAREER COMMITMENT OF MEDICAL AND LAW STUDENTS*

"Which one of the following statements best describes the way you feel about a career in medicine (as a lawyer)?"

	MEDICAL STUDENTS (Per Cent)	LAW STUDENTS (Per Cent)
It's the only career that could really satisfy me	61	15
It's one of several careers which I could find almost equally satisfying	35	68
It's not the most satisfying career I can think of, everything considered	4	11
It's a career I decided on without considering whether I would find it the most satisfying	....	5
No. of responses	1,322	523

"What three things or activities in the list below do you expect to give you the most satisfaction?"

	MEDICAL STUDENTS' CHOICES (Per Cent)			LAW STUDENTS' CHOICES (Per Cent)		
	First	Second	Third	First	Second	Third
Family relationships	42	43	4	60	17	7
Professional career	50	39	8	15	41	22
Leisure-time recreational activities	3	11	50	7	14	29
Religious beliefs or activities	3	2	9	4	4	3
Participation as a citizen in the affairs of the community	0.3	3	23	7	13	26
Participation in activities directed toward national or international betterment	2	2	7	7	11	12
No. of responses	1,791	1,781	966	556	554	551

* The medical students who answered the first question were a sample drawn from fifteen schools in the different regions of the country (*Questionnaire Analyses: Preparatory Materials for the 1957 Institute on Evaluation of the Student* [Evanston, Ill.: Association of American Medical Colleges, 1957], p. 267).

The medical students who answered the second question were all members of twenty classes at three medical schools. The questionnaires were administered by the Bureau of Applied Social Research during studies of the sociology of medical education, supported by a grant from the Commonwealth Fund. Eleven classes were asked to list three choices, and nine classes listed only two choices.

The law students are all members of three classes at an eastern law school, who answered questionnaires administered by the Bureau of Applied Social Research for a study of legal education now in progress.

the recent Eighty-sixth Congress, and three of them no longer practice; senators, congressmen, and state legislators of the twentieth century include very few doctors.[15] Among the 1,040 American state governors between 1870 and 1956, only thirteen held the M.D. degree and probably only eight had ever practiced regularly.[16] In the rare cases when a physician tries to fulfil an important public office, he must sacrifice all or most of his practice, and complete restoration of it later is problematical.[17]

Doctors were not always so rare in American government. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the subject matter of medicine was much less technical, the achievements and rewards of practice were much lower, the work was less demanding, doctors were not trained to such specialized skills or to strong commitment to their career, and the profession was much less solidary. A doctor had many non-medical interests and might often reduce or abandon his practice for varying periods to enter some other work, including public affairs. Therefore, in contrast to the present low proportions, many more doctors became part-time or full-time government administrators and legislators. Among them were some of the leaders of the American Revolution, such as Benjamin Rush, who not only was the most influential physician and medical educator of his day but also was one of the five doctors who signed the Declaration of Independence.[18]

These historical changes in America suggest certain relationships between professionalization and recruitment to government office which might be tested in any future research about doctors and politics. First, the less highly developed the medical profession, the more frequently its members can be recruited for non-medical government work; in presently underdeveloped countries we would expect doctors to be more active in government than they are in the United States. Second, as incorporation of professional values and commitment to medicine weaken from one group of practitioners to another, shifts from medicine to government should increase; among American doctors, for example, the most frequent transfers should occur among general practitioners, residents of towns, graduates of the lesser medical schools, those with the shortest postgraduate training, those with the lowest incomes and with the least medical achievements, those who have the less attractive hospital affiliations, and those with the less prestigeful colleagues. Third, as the organization and content of medical practice change—for example, from individual private practice to bureaucratized work and from patient therapy to increased preventive medicine—then the more likely are doctors to acquire politically relevant skills and attitudes and to shift to government work.

POLITICS AS A PART-TIME AVOCATION

Even though an occupation rarely supplies personnel for public offices, it may still exercise important political influence if its members are active in national or local affairs out of patriotism or enjoyment. Since the medical profession consists of people who are male, highly educated, prosperous, and thoroughly integrated in their communities, it seems to have the predispositions which previous research has shown are associated

[15] Donald R. Matthews, *The Social Background of Political Decision-Makers* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1954), p. 30; Charles S. Hyneman, "Who makes Our Laws?" *Political Science Quarterly*, LV (December, 1940), 557.

[16] Three of these eight were railroad surgeons. In a sample of 854 unsuccessful gubernatorial candidates during this period, only four were doctors. These previously unpublished data were supplied by Joseph A. Schlesinger of Michigan State University.

[17] For example, while serving as city councilor and mayor in Richmond and as member of the Virginia state senate, Dr. Edward E. Haddock had to curtail his patient load and delegate many of his regular patients to an associate (Helen C. Milius, "Should You Run for Public Office?" *Medical Economics*, XXXV [October 13, 1958], 76–79, 270–80).

[18] "Doctors in Government," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, CLXIII (February 2, 1957), 361–64.

with the highest rates of political participation and influence. Doctors are sometimes exhorted by their spokesmen and leaders to become active, on the ground that their capacities and privileges give them special opportunities and responsibilities to serve the public interest.[19]

At election time doctors may become greatly interested in the campaign as spectators and may participate in electioneering within limits. A survey of a representative national sample of about two thousand doctors late in 1955 reported the following activities during recent campaigns:

97 per cent voted in 1952
30 per cent had contributed financially to a political campaign
9 per cent had distributed campaign literature
5 per cent had written letters or articles for publication recommending the election of a candidate
4 per cent had addressed public rallies
2 per cent had driven voters to the polls on Election Day.[20]

Some of these proportions may be about the same as those among other upper-class and wealthy groups. In 1952, according to the Gallup Poll, corresponding voting turnout percentages for other males of high status were: 95 per cent of those in the highest socioeconomic level, 94 per cent of business executives, 92 per cent of college graduates, and 87 per cent of professionals.[21]

But, while doctors are willing to perform the relatively effortless work of voting and giving financial contributions, a number of barriers may restrict their other political activity during and between campaigns. Some of them are the specialized medical motivations and skills, which, as already noted, explain why few doctors leave practice for full-time government work. In representative national samples of medical students and law students (Table 2) the former are found to be much less interested in politics, and they express fewer intentions to enter politics or government. In the other samples (Table 1) very few medical students are found to expect to gain their principal life-satisfactions from community or national activities, and, even in the third-choice category, these avocations were preferred less than was recreation. Very different responses were given by the law students. Thus, members of two professions which supply different proportions of personnel to politics and government show very different predispositions in the earliest stages of their careers.

After the doctor enters practice, the demands of his work restrict the amount of time and attention he is able to devote to lay politics. American physicians work between fifty and seventy hours a week, and the length and frequent irregularity of their work leave few opportunities for politics.[22]

[19] E.g., Dwight H. Murray, "The President's Page," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, CLXII (October 27, 1956), 899; Elmer Hess, "The Physician's Obligation to Society," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, CLXIII (January 12, 1957), 120–22.

[20] "The Doctor as a Citizen," *Medical Economics*, XXXIII (May, 1956), 143. (Copyright, 1956, by *Medical Economics*, Oradell, N.J.; reprinted by permission. This copyright applies to all data quoted from *Medical Economics*' Eighth Quadrennial Survey, in nn. 12, 35, 44, 56, 58, 59, and 61 and in Table 3. For a description of this survey, see "Yardsticks for Your Practice," *Medical Economics*, XXXIII [September, 1956], 106–7, 264.) The extraordinary rate of turnout is not due to sampling error. A survey of all fifty doctors in Salem, Mass., reported that 90 per cent voted regularly in all recent elections. Of the five remaining doctors, three had been in practice for less than a year and had been barred from voting because of residence requirements (Harry W. Martin, "Physician Role Conflict in Community Participation" [unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of North Carolina, 1957], p. 184).

[21] Gallup Survey 508, November, 1952. Unpublished data from the Roper Public Opinion Research Center.

[22] Doctors' working hours are reported in *United States Census of Population, 1950: Occupational Characteristics*, Special Report P-E, p. 1B-135; Osler L. Peterson *et al.*, "An Analytical Study of North Carolina General Practice, 1953–1954," *Journal of Medical Education*, XXXI, Part II, (December, 1956), 122–23. The different opportunities for part-time political activity by doctors and lawyers illustrate Max Weber's well-known point that extensive political action is possible only for those occupations whose members are "dispen-

Also, as already noted, doctors tend to focus on their work with unusual intensity. Political activity by a doctor sometimes is disapproved by his colleagues on the ground that he is advertising his practice and thereby violating professional ethics.[23] Within the profession itself, his reputation and success depend on his medical achievements, and services to his community carry little weight.[24]

Finally, an important barrier may be a

sable" from constant work obligations (*Gesammelte politische Schriften* [Munich: Drei Masken Verlag, 1920], pp. 208–9, 303–5, 404–5).

[23] John W. Cline, "A Farewell Message," *Journal of the American Medical Association,* CXLIX (June 7, 1952), 57; Martin, *op. cit.,* pp. 105, 116–17, 186.

[24] For example, a representative national sample of American medical school faculty selected "service to the community" least often among the qualifications *actually* considered when making promotions in their departments, and picked it least often among the criteria which *ought* to be used in dispensing such rewards (*Questionnaire Analyses: Preparatory Material for the First Institute on Clinical Teaching* [Evanston, Ill.: Association of American Medical Colleges, 1958], p. 71). Medical school deans and department heads also say they give little heed to "service to the community" when promoting faculty members (*ibid.,* pp. 72–77).

TABLE 2

POLITICAL INTEREST AND PLANS OF MEDICAL AND LAW STUDENTS*

(Per Cent)

	First Year	Second Year	Third Year	Fourth Year
Medical Students				
"I am interested in politics."				
Agree strongly	15	15	14	15
Agree somewhat	28	25	24	26
Agree slightly	28	27	24	20
Disagree slightly	7	8	8	8
Disagree somewhat	12	11	14	12
Disagree strongly	11	14	16	18
No. of respondents	719	692	638	577
"I intend to participate actively in politics or government after my graduation."				
Agree strongly	5	5	6	6
Agree somewhat	10	10	9	10
Agree slightly	25	22	20	21
Disagree slightly	22	21	18	16
Disagree somewhat	19	20	20	22
Disagree strongly	20	22	27	25
No. of respondents	719	678	634	576
Law Students				
"How interested are you in politics?"				
Very much interested	36	33	30	
Pretty interested	42	45	43	
Not so interested	19	17	22	
Not at all interested	3	5	5	
No. of respondents	992	864	667	
"Do you plan to go into politics after graduation?"				
Yes	47	49	46	
No	53	51	54	
No. of respondents	984	856	663	

* The medical students were nearly all the students in eight medical schools selected in a stratified random sample from a universe of seventy-five American medical schools. The questionnaires were designed and administered by the Study of Choice of Specialties in Medicine, University of North Carolina.

The law students were questioned in the study of law students and politics now being conducted by Robert E. Agger, Institute for Community Studies, University of Oregon, and Marshall Goldstein, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina.

latent impatience and hostility toward politics and toward politicians' non-technical marketing roles, such attitudes resulting from the doctors' own professional and scientific roles. The doctor is a highly trained expert who uses a codified and technical body of knowledge and skills to solve complicated problems with certainty and with a high rate of demonstrable success. The politician uses common-sense knowledge and personal relations to promote and adjust the demands of competing groups, and his solutions are never permanent and seldom unambiguously successful. From their perspective at the pinnacle of the achievement and reward systems, many doctors may look down upon politicians and lay pressure groups as inept and inferior. Medical journals sometimes publish patronizing harangues against politicians.[25] In two surveys doctors and medical students described politicians as people less intelligent, moral, and dignified than themselves.[26] The editor of a leading medical journal sums up a viewpoint probably widespread in the profession:

> The doctor's dilemma today emerges from the fact that politics is a dirty-hands business, and medicine has always been a clean-hands profession. Healing and heeling don't go together. Actually, what [exponents of pressure-group action by doctors] may be saying is that a good end justifies evil means—a doctrine that has been rejected by philosophers since the time of Hippocrates and is shunned by most doctors today in their personal and professional lives.[27]

For all these reasons, the average doctor is not an unusually active participant in campaigns and is neither able nor willing to maintain the year-round involvement in lay politics which yields the greatest political influence. Many of the practicing physicians who hold part-time non-medical offices —such as memberships on boards of education and city councils—may reduce their political activity after these periods, which they tend to define as forms of patriotic service they somewhat dubiously agreed to perform at the urging of laymen.[28] Recent studies of behind-the-scenes power structures report prominent parts played by lawyers, business executives, and newspaper editors; but many of these studies fail to mention doctors in the political power elites.[29] In the rare communities where some doctors belong to the ruling group, the medical profession has smaller representation than do most other upper-class groups.[30] Such doctors may specialize in the community's *medical* problems rather than exercise the kind of all-purpose influence wielded by the lay members of the ruling group.[31] Generally, doctors' public activity may be much

[25] For example, Elmer Hess, "The President's Page," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, CLVIII (August 27, 1955), 1528; Michael Brescia, "Letter to the Editor," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, CLVIII (June 18, 1955), 585.

[26] Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 186–88, 191–92. In response to questionnaire items, a group of medical students imputed conniving to politicians more often than did a group of law students (Robert E. Agger and Marshall Goldstein, "Law Students and Politics" [unpublished paper, Department of Political Science, Unviersity of North Carolina, 1958], Table 4).

[27] Robert M. Cunningham, Jr., "Can Political Means Gain Professional Ends?" *The Modern Hospital*, LXXVII (December, 1951), 52.

[28] Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 104–5, 186–88.

[29] E.g., Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), p. 76. On the basis of incomplete data, few doctors seem to be delegates to national party conventions (Paul Meadows and Charles L. Braucher, "Social Composition of the 1948 National Conventions," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXXVI [September–October, 1951], 34–35).

[30] The study of "Community A" identified twelve lawyers and four doctors among the active leadership (Ralph H. Smuckler and George M. Belknap, *Leadership and Participation in Urban Political Affairs* [East Lansing: Government Research Bureau, Michigan State University, 1956], p. 22). The two groups constituted 12 per cent of the lawyers and only 4 per cent of the doctors in Community A, on the basis of listings in *Martindale-Hubbell Law Directory, 1958* (Summit, N.J.: Martindale-Hubbell, Inc., 1958) and *American Medical Directory, 1956* (Chicago: American Medical Association, 1956).

[31] Such specialization characterized the social participation of doctors in the Salem survey (Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 102–3, 109, 112, 135–37, 147).

less than their participation in fraternal clubs.[32] Possibly future research will show that their personal participation in lay politics varies, the lowest activity being among those with the specialized, successful, and urban practices.

POLITICAL ACTION AS A SUPPORT TO MEDICAL PRACTICE

Although strong commitment to work may restrict political activity in areas foreign to one's work, the commitment may produce political actions conducive to success on the job. In some occupations the nature of the work leads to frequent demands upon goverment by the typical member. Practitioner-client relations in American medicine necessitates few such occasions for the average doctor, although they may increase with the growth of public health services, government support for therapeutic facilities, public financial assistance to patients, etc.

But while the physician in his ordinary role as practitioner rarely contacts the government, his role as member of a profession with important public responsibilities sometimes leads to his participation in government, in pressure politics, or in election campaigns.[33] For example, in order to eliminate large-scale public health problems, national and local medical societies have turned to government for sanitary reforms, disease control, some research and therapeutic facilities and so on. The profession needs to impose minimum standards of practice upon its members and to exclude unqualified persons from practice, and therefore national and local medical societies have influenced the adoption of state licensing laws.[34] In addition, organized medicine, like other professions, frequently exerts political pressure to insure that any public programs involving its own special services shall be controlled by its own members and not by supposedly unqualified non-professionals.

The need to enforce and expand these regulations and services according to the profession's own policies induces many doctors to enter politics, either as publicists, petitioners, or administrators. A recent national survey revealed that half of all doctors participate in local campaigns to raise health standards, introduce medical regulations, and promote other medical goals. In addition, 20 per cent of American doctors have run for offiice at some time, most of the successful candidates serving as local health officers.[35]

We do not know how often the typical doctor participates in lobbying or how successful he is. When medical legislation is being considered, executives of medical societies regularly testify before committees. When Congress or local legislatures debate major medical appropriations or regulations,

[32] This result was found in Salem and in North Carolina (*ibid.*, pp. 61–70; Peterson *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 121).

[33] Such action is defined as a professional responsibility (cf. *Principles of Medical Ethics* [rev. ed.; Chicago: American Medical Association, 1957], section 10).

[34] The history and present state of the public health movement are described in Wilson G. Smillie, *Public Health: Its Promise for the Future: A Chronicle of the Development of Public Health in the United States, 1607–1914* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1955); Harry S. Mustard, *Government in Public Health* (New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1945). For some examples of political pressures for licensing regulations, see Jonathan Forman, "Organized Medicine in Ohio, 1811–1926," *Ohio State Medical Journal*, XLIII (January–March, 1947), 57–58, 170–71, 278–80; Raymond O. Clutter, "The History of Medical Jurisprudence in the State of Indiana during the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the Indiana Medical Association*, XLII (February, 1949), 138 ff.; Albert Stump, "Regulation of Practice of Medicine in Indiana since 1897," *Journal of the Indiana Medical Association*, XLII (July, 1949, Supplement), 53–59.

[35] "The Doctor as a Citizen," *op. cit.*, pp. 138, 143. (The rates of political activity quoted in the text may be slightly high because of small sampling errors.) For some case examples of community activities by doctors on behalf of medical causes, see Milton Golin, "Double-Hatted Doctors Are Remaking Our Communities," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, CLXIII (March 16, 1957), 947–49.

important physicians may be induced to testify, sometimes with great success.[36]

Because the profession of medicine requires honesty, rationality, and dignified communication with the laity, controversies sometimes arise within it over the propriety of pressure tactics. These internal ethical disputes are uncommon in non-professional interest groups, which are not subject to self-imposed codes of ethics and which may evaluate legislative and electoral tactics only by their success. When the lobbyists and publicists of medical societies employ the passionate overstatements and pressure tactics successfully used by lay interest groups, such protests as the following are sometimes heard:

> Some doctors and their friends do question whether it is right to use the county medical society, presumably a scientific and educational organization, for political purposes; and whether the sacred patient-physician relationship should be subverted to political ends . . . ; and whether the doctor should lend himself to political statements of questionable truth, however well-intended; and, finally, whether the doctor is on solid moral ground when he embraces as his companions in "healing arts committees" organized for political reasons the chiropractor, the osteopath and the optometrist, whose standing as healers he has consistently belittled at all other times. . . .
>
> With a matter of public and professional interest at stake, the doctor clearly has the right, if not the duty, to organize pressure groups. But because of the special position that he occupies in our society, which honors and trusts him above most others for his righteousness of purpose, he has a special obligation to keep the methols of his pressure groups honest and open to public scrutiny. The use of symbols and slogans as substitutes for thought and the kind of oversimplification that borders on misrepresentation are common pressure group tactics that the doctor must shun if he wants to hold his honored place in society. Whether his zeal to accomplish a desirable political aim can ever justify the use of these tactics, and the sacrifices of his righteousness, is a matter of opinion that the individual doctor must settle with his own conscience.[37]

PROFESSIONAL STATUS OF GOVERNMENT PHYSICIANS

Every profession contains certain positions to supply professional services within the government itself and other jobs to provide a liaison between the profession and the government. The prestige of such positions in the eyes of the profession and the qualities of their incumbents will reflect the profession's attitude toward government and will produce a certain degree of intimacy between the profession and the government.

Because of the large number of medical services furnished by national, state, and local governments to their own employees and to the public, a number of jobs for regular practitioners exist in government.[38] Such employment is disdained by most doctors, who prefer the working conditions and higher rewards of private practice. In a national survey of medical students, only 4 per cent said they would be "very interested" in working for the Veterans Administration "at least for a while," and 58 per cent replied they were "not at all interested." Only 5 per cent said they would be "very interested" in employment with the United States Public Health Service, and 59 per cent were "not at all interested." Their list of reasons for dis-

[36] For an example of lay deference to medical judgment in the United States Senate, see Lois R. Chevalier, "Doctors Are the Greatest Lobbyists," *Medical Economics*, XXXV (September 1, 1958), 131–49.

[37] Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 56. Sometimes these rank-and-file criticisms lead to rebellions against the AMA leadership (for examples, see Garceau, *op. cit.*, chap. iv; Truman, *op. cit.*, pp. 168–77; Milton Mayer, "The Rise and Fall of Dr. Fishbein," *Harper's Magazine*, CXCIX [November, 1949], 76–85). Usually rank-and-file revolts occur in pressure groups only when the leaders have failed to secure the organization's political goals. Some of the principal rebellions within the AMA have occurred when the leadership was successfully achieving the organization's goals by professionally inelegant methods. Medical ethics thus are an important restriction on the AMA's political power.

[38] Bernhard J. Stern, *Medical Services by Government* (New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1946).

liking government medical jobs was headed by regimentation, the hierarchical organization of government agencies, and unsatisfactory doctor-patient relations. When the students were asked to name the kind of medical career they would prefer most, the Veterans Administration and the Public Health Service received the fewest choices.[39] Because of such sentiments government medical jobs are often unfilled, their occupants are often the less gifted doctors, and the turnover is high. Among all American occupations medicine has one of the lowest rates of government employment and one of the highest rates of self-employment.[40]

One of the recognized specialties in medicine—public health—usually involves government employment, administrative duties, and community policy-making. But, despite its important responsibilities and achievements, the field occupies a marginal position within the medical profession: only 0.8 per cent of American doctors now practice in it, and far less than 1 per cent of the country's medical students either prefer it or plan to spend their careers in it.[41] Many other physicians disparage public health doctors as less competent, socialistic in their aims, and guilty of other professional errors.[42] Most medical students believe it denies the profession's predominant values of personal care of the patient and of autonomy. The handful of students who are inclined toward some public health work tend to be atypical, uncertain about their plans, and not fully integrated into the medical school community.[43]

Consequently, instead of government medicine occupying a respected and influential position within the medical profession, it is of marginal status, attractive to the somewhat deviant and unsuccessful.

PARTISAN OPINION

In their party identification and choices of candidates, American doctors share and even exceed the Republican preferences typical of the upper class (Table 3).[44] But, while doctors share the partisan views of the American upper class, they may not share its political and social values. More than many other upper-class persons, and probably more than other professionals, doctors are under strong ideological cross-pressures. On the one hand, certain of their work roles and contacts predispose them toward conventional conservative values. They enjoy high financial rewards, most work as individual entrepreneurs, and their

[39] Unpublished data gathered for NORC Survey 387 (see n. 7).

[40] *United States Census of Population, 1950: Occupational Characteristics*, Special Report P-E, p. 1B-123.

[41] For the distribution of physicians among fields, see *American Medical Directory, 1958*, pp. 13–17; for the career preferences of medical students, see Don Cahalan *et al.*, "Career Interests and Expectations of U.S. Medical Students," *Journal of Medical Education*, XXXII (August, 1957), 560; for the career intentions of medical students, see *Questionnaire Analyses: Preparatory Materials for the 1957 Institute on Evaluation of the Student* (Evanston, Ill.: Association of American Medical Colleges, 1957), p. 145.

[42] "Private Physicians versus Public Health," *Medical Economics*, XXIX (December, 1951), 141–45; "How To Get Along with Public Health Men," *Medical Economics*, XXXV (October 13, 1958), 37–38.

[43] Kurt W. Back *et al.*, "Public Health as a Career of Medicine," *American Sociological Review*, XXIII (October, 1958), 534–41; Robert E. Coker, Jr., *et al.*, "Public Health as Viewed by the Medical Student," *American Journal of Public Health*, XLIX (May, 1959), 601–9.

[44] Many of the doctors in Table 3 had switched from Democratic allegiance after entering practice ("The Doctor as a Citizen," *op. cit.*, p. 142). This is a political consequence of American medicine's function as one of the important channels of upward mobility from social classes which are Democratic. In the Salem survey, upwardly mobile doctors usually had been Democrats in youth, but at the time of the interviews they were either Republicans, independents, or nominal Democrats who always voted for the Republicans (Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 173–83). Party identification is broken down by type of practice and specialty field in an earlier survey summarized in "Your Economic Weather Vane," *Medical Economics*, XXX (October, 1952), 77–95.

friends, their neighbors, and their most lucrative clients are likely to be wealthy and conservative. Self-confidence as successful professionals leads to their overwhelming opposition to any "socialistic" reorganization of medical practice to permit its control by a government ruled by laymen.[45] Medical students and pre-meds rank high on attitude scales measuring cynicism about people, thus resembling lawyers and businessmen more than certain other humanitarian professions.[46]

But other collective characteristics of medicine militate against the full adoption of conventional political conservatism by the individual doctor. The official ideology of the profession strongly emphasizes doctors' duty to care for the poor, and many pursue a so-called "Robin Hood" policy, under which they collect high fees from their wealthy patients but tolerate unpaid bills for the less affluent. While many laymen of the upper class can maintain stable conservative stereotypes resulting from lifelong personal insulation from the lower class and from ethnic minorities, doctors have had frequent contacts with the latter as patients in the teaching hospitals where they all received their medical education and where many continue to practice. An observer who follows doctors on their hospital rounds is quickly struck by the tenderness and politeness with which most touch and treat patients who are Negroes or members of other "outcast" groups. As members of a profession strongly committed to science and continuous innovation, physicians must learn professional values which are incompatible with political conservatism. As experts in solving certain universal problems,

TABLE 3

PARTISAN PREFERENCES OF DOCTORS AND OTHER ELITES*

(Per Cent)

Party Identification	Physicians	Professional and Executive	College Graduates	Economic Level A
Republican	56	49	45	55
Democrat	21	36	33	20
Other	3	...	...	..
Independent	20	15	22	25
No. of respondents	about 2,000	126	252	44

Presidential Preference in November, 1955	Physicians	Professionals	Business Executives	College Graduates	Economic Level A (September, 1956)
Eisenhower	70	59	59	51	69
Stevenson	16	33	35	43	26
Others; none	14	8	6	6	5
No. of respondents	about 2,000	94	104	67	38

* The doctors were interviewed in the national survey reported in "The Doctor as a Citizen," *Medical Economics*, XXXIII (May, 1956), 141–42.

The other respondents are upper status men taken from representative national samples Party identification was asked in Roper Commercial Survey 63, June, 1956. Pre-election presidential choices by professionals, business executives, and college graduates were secured in Gallup Survey 556, November, 1955. Presidential preferences by men on economic level A were taken from Roper Commercial Survey 64, September, 1956. These unpublished data were supplied by the Roper Public Opinion Research Center.

[45] "Some Meanings of Medical and Public Opinion about the AMA," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, CLXI (May 5, 1956), 69; Wallace Croatman, "Tomorrow's Doctor: What Are His Goals?" *Medical Economics*, XXXI (July, 1954), 128–29; unpublished questionnaire responses by 1,800 medical students and 216 doctors gathered by the Bureau of Applied Social Research during research about medical education and physicians' adoption of new drugs.

[46] Morris Rosenberg, *Occupations and Values* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957), p. 27; Richard Christie and Robert K. Merton, "Procedures for the Sociological Study of the Values Climate of Medical Schools," *Journal of Medical Education*, XXXIII (October, 1958, Part 2), 134–35.

their security and prosperity are assured even if the economic system is fundamentally changed.[47]

A full understanding of the political ideology of rank-and-file doctors must await new research.[48] In some ways they may resemble laymen of an equivalent class, but some available data suggest probable differences. First, doctors may view public affairs with a peculiarly medical frame of reference. For example, in the Salem survey, the doctors were found to believe that medical and welfare problems were the most important issues which faced the community; but Salem laymen were most concerned with the economic questions over which they could assume conventional conservative and liberal stands.[49] A representative national sample of members of medical school faculties rated various professional medical issues as having far more importance than "maintenance of the free enterprise system."[50]

Sometimes, when a layman's conservative response might be evoked in a professional situation, medical students and doctors fail to assert it. For example, in a representative national sample of American medical students, 69 per cent said that they had no preferences between lower-class and middle-class patients.[51] Compared to other college students, medical students rank lower on the California F Scale items about science and superstition.[52] Sometimes, when leaders of the American Medical Association express the goals of the profession in the language of economic self-interest commonly used by businessmen, they are criticized by their own members.[53]

When doctors are asked to locate themselves on the layman's conservative-liberal scale, some data suggest they do not select the extreme conservative position. For example, when a representative national sample of five hundred doctors was asked recently whether the political philosophies of Dwight Eisenhower, Franklin Roosevelt, or Robert Taft came closest to their own, 50 per cent named Eisenhower, 17 per cent chose Roosevelt, and only 26 per cent picked Taft.[54]

The direction of a doctor's opinions probably is affected by the conservative or liberal implications of his other social roles. For example, in a survey of 216 physicians in four Illinois cities during late 1954, religion and parents' birthplace correlated with answers to some questions. Catholics, Jews, and sons of foreign-born parents were more likely than were other doctors to criticize federal internal security regulations, favor an expansion of immigration, approve governmental medical care, and recommend the expansion of social security.[55]

To summarize the hypotheses suggested

47 Medical students' complex mixture of personal cynicism in practical adaptations and idealistic humanitarianism learned from professional norms is described in Howard S. Becker and Blanche Geer, "The Fate of Idealism in Medical School," *American Sociological Review,* XXIII (February, 1958), 50–56.

48 The familiar conservative rhetoric of lay politics is often employed by the *leaders* of organized medicine (e.g., F. J. L. Blasingame, "Big Government and Some of Its Effects on Private Practice," *Journal of the Louisiana State Medical Society,* CVIII [January, 1956], 1–4).

49 Martin, *op. cit.,* pp. 121–23, 131–47.

50 *Questionnaire Analyses: Preparatory Materials for the First Institute on Clinical Teaching,* pp. 167–70.

51 However, nearly all the others preferred middle-class patients. *Questionnaire Analyses: Preparatory Materials for the 1957 Institute on Evaluation of the Student,* p. 287.

52 But the medical students rank higher on the F scale items about interpersonal relations (data gathered by the Bureau of Applied Social Research and published in part in Stanley Budner, "Individual Predispositions and External Pressures," *Journal of Social Psychology,* LI [February, 1960], 153–55).

53 E.g., Garceau, *op. cit.,* pp. 140–41; "A Protest against the Present Attitudes and Policies of the AMA in Regard to the Problem of Medical Care," *Journal of the American Medical Association,* CXXXIX (February 19, 1949), 532.

54 "Some Meanings of Medical and Public Opinions about the AMA," *op. cit.,* p. 69.

55 Unpublished data gathered by the Bureau of Applied Social Research (see n. 45).

by all these findings, future research may discover that most American doctors are disposed to a new kind of political philosophy, different from the traditional conservative-liberal rhetoric which has typified non-professional occupations. This new ideology might be either unique to medicine or appropriate to all professions generally. Each doctor's personal beliefs would vary according to some of his other social roles.

ROLES IN POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

USE OF MASS MEDIA

Not much is known about the roles of doctors in the flow of political information. This omission should be repaired in future research, since the doctor is a respected person who might wield important informal influence.

Doctors are moderately exposed to political information in some ways. A national survey reports the average physician reads the newspaper for an average of one-half hour per day, beginning with the news and editorials. Most read national news magazines. Reading non-clinical books and magazines occupies the average doctor for four hours weekly.[56] The amount of time he spends with the newspaper is about the same as that spent by the average American newspaper reader,[57] althongh possibly it is exceeded by other educated groups.

The doctor's use of the mass media may be restricted to what is sufficient to keep him acquainted with events, and it may be much less profound or voluminous than is the reading of other Americans with equivalent education. As a recreation, reading is less popular than are outdoor sports or watching television. When doctors do read books, they rarely choose those concerning current events.[58]

INFLUENCING OTHERS

Because of his high prestige and his authoritative position in his dealings with patients, the doctor might seem strategically placed in the community's network of informal political influence. Unfortunately, nothing is yet known about the American doctor's role in such informal communication within social elites. Fragmentary data concern political conversations with patients, but these are somewhat inconclusive, According to a national sample, 40 per cent discuss politics with their patients, a large proportion which at first sight makes credible the claim by some critics that doctors exercise political influence over their patients.[59] But we do not know who initiates such political discussions and how they are conducted.

Many characteristics of the doctor-patient relationship might inhibit a complete display of political knowledge or opinions by the doctor and attempts on his part to wield any kind of non-medical influence. For the greatest efficiency, doctor-patient relations must be conducted on a medical basis and must avoid the irrelevant;[60] acquaintance with the doctor's political opinions would alienate some patients and would introduce irrelevant biases into their choices of new physicians.[61] An exchange of political opinions and knowledge between doctor and patient would put them into a new relationship as fellow laymen; the doctor's indispensable professional mystique might be permanently reduced in the eyes of the

[56] "The Doctor's Tastes," *Medical Economics*, XXXIII (February, 1956), 135–36, 138.

[57] Ruby, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–13.

[58] "The Doctor's Tastes," *op. cit.*, pp. 135, 138; Peterson *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

[59] The percentage is reported in "The Doctor as a Citizen," *op. cit.*, p. 143. Some typical criticisms are Burdette B. Brown, *Organization for Health* (Los Angeles: J. F. Huber, 1938), p. 15; Drew Pearson's column, *The Washington Post*, September 28, 1952.

[60] The importance of functional specificity and universalism in doctor-patient relations is described in Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951), pp. 454–59.

[61] For examples of doctors losing (and gaining) patients because of public knowledge about their political opinions, see Milius, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 270–71; and "The Doctor as a Citizen," *op. cit.*, p. 143.

patient; and, for the first time, the patient would have a framework for comprehending and evaluating (perhaps erroneously) the doctor's mental capacities, which otherwise are fully observable only to professional colleagues.[62]

Consequently, perhaps much of the political discussion between doctor and patient may simply be one of the many kinds of controlled and non-committal chit-chat, which assist the doctor in putting the patient at ease. When doctor and patient engage in political conversation, probably its frequency and practical political significance vary according to the doctor's type of practice and his non-medical roles in the community. Such discussions might be most frequent and most serious when they occur between patients and country general practitioners, and they might be least frequent and most superficial in the offices of urban specialists. Doctors may reveal their own political opinions only to patients whom they know personally and who clearly share their views.

The small amount of available evidence supports our expectation that the nature of the doctor-patient relationship limits the medical profession's political influence over the public. The election of 1950 aroused the strongest medical campaigning in American history, targets being the Truman administration's health insurance proposals and Fair Deal Democrats, generally. A principal area of these nation-wide efforts was Colorado, where medical organizations urged all physicians to electioneer among all their patients on behalf of the Republican slate by means of conversations, pamphlets, and letters. In a state-wide survey after the election, 87 per cent of the 337 respondents said they had never been contacted by a doctor or dentist in any way. Obviously, many doctors refused to electioneer, and efforts by the others were too feeble to remain in their patients' memories. Patients who reported political conversations with doctors were those who already agreed with the doctors' opinions beforehand.[63] If few persons were contacted by their doctors during the campaign in which the profession was most involved, then probably the amount and strength of physicians' political influence over patients is even weaker at other times.

In short, the political behavior of American doctors has the distinctive characteristics which might be expected of an occupation whose social position produces a specialized viewpoint, relative insulation from government, and high rewards. As social change in Western society increases the competence, size, and self-confidence of the professions and increases the specialized occupations whose governmental relationships differ from those of the bourgeois and proletarian occupations, then a larger number of important people may resemble American doctors by standing outside the familiar controversies among occupational interest groups and by tending toward an altogether different kind of politics.

From our review of the political behavior of doctors and from the occasional papers in which doctors propose the medical profession's ideal public policies,[64] let us conclude

[62] In the Salem study some doctors opposed all political activity because it would diminish their mystique in the eyes of their patients (Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 113–14).

[63] Unpublished data gathered by Research Services, Inc., and the Bureau of Applied Social Research. If the Colorado results were duplicated in other states, obviously they contradict the now widespread belief that doctors' direct communication with patients was frequent during the 1960 campaign and was a principal reason for many Republican victories (for one of the typical descriptions of medical electioneering during that campaign, see R. Cragin Lewis, "New Power at the Polls," *Medical Economics*, XXVIII [January, 1951], 73–78, 207–17).

[64] E.g., Willard C. Rappleye, "The Physician in Modern Society," *The Diplomate*, XXII (November, 1950), pp. 245–51. Occasionally in American history members of certain other elite professions have expressed some of the ideas summarized in my final paragraph (e.g., Benjamin R. Twiss, *Lawyers and the Constitution* [Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1942] and Roscoe Pound, *The Lawyer from Antiquity to Modern Times* [St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co., 1953]).

by sketching the kind of ideology which might be the logically appropriate belief system for a self-conscious, specialized, and politically detached profession like medicine. Such an ideology might specify that the profession (and perhaps all other groups in the society) must work not for its own self-interest but for the public interest—as the profession itself defines it. The best way to identify and satisfy human needs is by the rational application of verified knowledge. That form of government is best which permits and aids the development of scientific knowledge and which provides facilities for its prompt and efficient application. Government should be ruled either by professional experts or by intelligent laymen who minimize their own discretion and rely on the advice of professional consultants. Each profession should confine its power and advice to its own area of competence; but, ideally, knowledge and skills should be developed in such a way that every human problem can be solved by some previously existing or new profession. When professionals (and anyone else) participate in politics, they must act according to high standards of ethics and etiquette.

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NORM COMMITMENT AND CONFORMITY TO ROLE-STATUS OBLIGATIONS[1]

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ABSTRACT

Formal definitions of role and status are typically ignored in actual research analyses, and the term "role" has begun to supplant that of "status." The contexts in which "status" is still used suggest that it refers to "more institutionalized roles." All roles contain elements which are more or less institutionalized, though in any specific roles relationship there may be disagreement, concerning appropriate norms, among ego, alter, and the social networks of "third parties" involved. Thus, pressure toward fulfilment of role obligations is analyzed in terms of (1) ego's socialized emotional commitment to his appropriate role behavior; (2) alter's requirement that ego performs appropriately; and (3) the rewards and punishments of "third parties." In secular societies, where ego's role commitments tend to be weak, these other sources of social control become increasingly important. Series of propositions are developed from a consideration of these structural elements.

Recent role theory increasingly recognizes status-role as a main structural unit of social institutions.[2] The present paper aims at furthering the integration of role theory and institutional theory by presenting a revised definition of role-status and by developing several sequences of propositions about the relation of norm commitment to role-status conformity.

THE PROBLEM OF DEFINITION

After distinguishing status and role,[3] Linton not only then ignored his own distinction in his subsequent analyses but asserted that the distinction "is only of academic interest."[4] The remark proved prophetic: to this day, no line of theory has been developed from the distinction. There have, of course, been many efforts to redefine the two terms.[5] Sarbin's commendable stock-taking suggests one source of variation in the use of the concepts: role theory has ranged widely in focus, including artificial role-taking, psychopathology, class mobility, position and status, games and play, socialization, selfhood and self-consciousness, and even hypnotism.[6]

Variation in fields of application typically stimulates redefinition of a concept. However, subsequent efforts to redefine the terms were also stimulated by the ambiguity in Linton's definitions, idea versus action,

[1] Partially completed under National Institute of Mental Health Grant 2526-S.

[2] E.g., Robert N. Bellah uses role variables for an institutional analysis (*Tokugawa Religion* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957], chaps. i, ii); Neal Gross, Ward S. Mason, and Alexander W. McEachern analyze educational institutions in role terms (*Explorations in Role Analysis* [New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1958]); Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld explore mass communications through certain role relationships (*Personal Influence* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955], chaps. ix–xii); Robert K. Merton, George Reader, and Patricia L. Kendall explore the acquisition of role patterns in a medical structure (*The Student Physician* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957], Part III); and Marion J. Levy explores the family through specific status-status relationships, e.g., nephew-uncle, brother's wife-brother's wife (*The Family Revolution in Modern China* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949], chap. iv). It should be noted that this last pattern of analysis, which Gross *et al.* have refined, was used over two decades ago by W. Lloyd Warner (*A Black Civilization* [New York: Harper & Bros., 1937], chap. iii).

[3] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1936), pp. 113–14. Linton refers to status as "polar positions in patterns of reciprocal behavior" and "a collection of rights and duties" (p. 113) and to role as "the dynamic aspect of status" and "performance of the rights and duties of a status" (p. 114).

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 114. He uses "status" where his definition would call for "role" (pp. 116 ff., 257–60, and *passim*).

[5] L. J. Neiman and J. W. Hughes list the variety of usages ("The Problem of the Concept of Role: A Re-survey of the Literature," *Social Forces*, XXX [December, 1951], 141–49).

[6] T. R. Sarbin, "Role Theory," in Gardner Lindzey (ed.), *Handbook of Social Psychology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1953), I, 223–58.

an ideal versus real. If "role" includes only that part of behavior which is an *enactment* of staus obligations ("idea"), then there is little point in studying role behavior. In his role behavior the actor cannot face any moral problem, and there can be no deviation from the norm; else by definition there is no role behavior. Necessarily, all the important data on roles would then be contained in a description of statuses. The alternative interpretation is also open—that the actor *can* face a moral problem, whether to enact the status demands (i.e., role behavior) or not. Then the study of role behavior versus non-role behavior would be a study of conformity versus nonconformity. However, this interpretation is not followed by Linton or, to my knowledge, by anyone else.

If the definition of role is based, instead, on the other element in Linton's comments, that is, "real behavior" as against the "ideal" prescriptions of status (what one ought to do), then further difficulties are revealed. First, if a system of statuses is only a system of ideals, then it might properly be analyzed on only the cultural level, like a set of religious beliefs, a metric system, or a philosophy; it would then require translation to be analyzed at the level of social atcion. On the other hand, a more subtle problem appears: we might easily divide many of our concepts similarly, such as migration, segregation, or cohesion, with equally little point to the division. Indeed, an ideal itself can be divided into "ideal-real," that is, the "ideal ideals," what people believe they are supposed to feel or believe, and "real ideals," what they do in fact believe.[7] More objectionable is that this distinction then removes the norm from role behavior, since the norm is, by definition, to be found only in the status.[8]

Although Gross *et al.* have taken a conceptual step forward by classifying into three types most of the definitions used to date,[9] fortunately researchers in neither anthropology nor sociology have used these terms in such limited senses. In this, as in other substantive areas, research does not and cannot wait upon conceptual clarification. Consensus with respect to a concept grows from the social processes in a community of scientists who work on similar problems.[10] The processes are exactly analogous to those by which words spread through a language. As research continues, almost all the various definitions of role and status used in the past generation will be discarded. Meanwhile, for sociologists not engaged in specifically conceptual analysis, it is sufficient to define our terms carefully and show how they can be theoretically useful.

WHY "ROLE" HAS COME TO BE USED MORE FREQUENTLY

It is, however, conceptually instructive to consider for a moment the increasing use of the term "role." In recent social analyses it has widely supplanted the term "status," even among writers who assert a formal dis-

[7] Linton's emphasis, which viewed the role as the enactment of status, also removes the norm: if there is no possible deviation, there is no normative element in role.

[8] Empirical data about norm commitment and theoretical statements about how much commitment is needed before a norm may be said to exist are so rare that there is good reason to study the relation of "real" ideals to "ideal" ideals. However, the utility of using the distinction to differentiate between status and role seems doubtful and has led to no great results in the generation during which it has been used.

[9] The classification is as follows: (1) normative culture patterns; (2) individual's definition of his situation with reference to his and others' social positions; and (3) behavior of actors occupying social positions (Gross *et al., op. cit.*, chap. ii). They are wrong, however, in asserting that Davis defines as a status what Linton defines as a role (p. 17); Davis' definition of status is the same (cf. Kingsley Davis, "A Conceptual Analysis of Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, VII [June, 1942], 311; a later statement is made by Davis in his *Human Society* [New York: Macmillan Co., 1949], p. 90).

[10] For further comment, see William J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt, *Methods in Social Research* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1952), pp. 43–49; and William J. Goode, "Structure and Function: Four Overlapping Sets," *Sociological Review*, XLII, Sec. 9 (1950), 2–3, 7–8.

tinction.[11] The reasons for the increased use of the term "role," a vocabulary shift and a conceptual change, seem to be the following:

1. The term "status" was used mainly in macrostructural analysis, the description of a total society in broad terms, while the new masses of empirical data have increasingly come from microstructural studies, that is, studies of small sets of interrelationships, such as those of a work group, a youth gang, or a married couple.[12]

2. Social psychology carried out more research which was explicitly concerned with role-status than did any other discipline. Because of its concern with "the" individual and its relative lack of concern with formal statuses, the term "role" was more congenial to it.

3. More fundamentally, social scientists earlier tended to view each status both holistically and segmentally. Though never part of its denotation, a unitary, compartmentalized character was implied: a given status was seen as a whole, almost without explicit reference to other statuses (e.g., "shaman," "berdache," "magician," or "Republican"). This orientation, which would have been rejected had it been made explicit or definitional, may also be seen in the survey and attitude data of the past two decades, in which statuses were often used as a basis for cross-classification (e.g., "Democrat," "farm owner," "male," "upper-class," or "Catholic") but social *interrelationships* among the individuals in the survey were usually not. By contrast, the connotations of "role" had always implied the existence of the *other* person with whom the role was played. Even in the extreme case, Mead's example of the child practicing roles while playing alone, the child is playing a role *with* an imaginary playmate, such as mother, teacher, or storekeeper. Within the present decade, an increasing amount of social description has paid attention to interrelations among specific individuals, so that "role" has become more prevalent.

PRESENT DIFFERENCES IN USAGE

The increasing use of "role" seems therefore to be due to a change in *empirical* attention and not to an explicit conceptual evolution. Certain contexts remain, nevertheless, in which one, rather than the other, term is felt to be more appropriate, and these differences are useful as a basis for a

[11] E.g., as against Parsons' explicit definition in *Toward a General Theory of Action* (eds. Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951], p. 40)—"In the formal description of institutions the position of the actor is described by saying that he occupies a *status*. When he acts in this status he is said to be acting out a *role*"—his usage in *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951) is to coalesce the two. "Status" does not appear in the index of the latter book. His analyses rather focus on "role expectations," so that "role" (as contrasted with the distinction in *Toward a General Theory of Action*) cannot mean the acting-out of the status. In addition, a new coalescing term, the "status-role bundle," is introduced. Finally, the concrete analyses in *The Social System* refer mostly to the term "role."

He does attempt to make a distinction between status and role, based on "the two reciprocal perspectives inherent in interaction" (*The Social System*, p. 25). Thus, when the significance of any actor as an object comes from his position in the social relationship, it is status significance. When, however, he is oriented to other actors, i.e., acting rather than serving as object, he is playing a role. Nevertheless, that distinction does not serve as a basis of Parsons' further discussion. As phrased, it would be no more than the distinction between ego as seen from alter's eyes as against ego seen in his own eyes or Mead's "me" as against the "I."

See also Levy, *op. cit.*, p. 10. In his later book, *The Structure of Society* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1952), Levy does distinguish between the two terms while noting how frequently modern authors have used "role" when their own definition called for "status" (pp. 157–66).

[12] Of course, "macrostructural" and "microstructural" are only relative terms. One aspect of this change was a change in the United States from a reliance on data collected by others, e.g., historians of Greece or Rome or anthropologists, to a reliance on data collected by sociologists, e.g., the field data from the University of Chicago sociologists of the late 1920's and the 1930's. The former typically viewed those societies as wholes; the latter concentrated upon only specific segments of urban America.

definition which serves better to integrate role theory and institutional theory. A few of these contexts are the following:

1. When the social analyst refers to a social position which is definitely institutionalized (e.g., mother, physician), he is more likely to use the term "status." By contrast, he is more likely to use the term "role" when referring to a social relation which is *less* institutionalized (e.g., peer relations in play groups). Correlatively, when the analyst investigates an institutionalized position but concentrates upon the *deviations* of status incumbents from their institutionalized obligations, that is, focuses upon the less institutionalized aspects of their position, he is more likely to use the term "role."

2. Similarly, if the analyst can speak of the position as existing even when no incumbent is in it (e.g., chief, messiah), he is more likely to speak of it as a "status." By contrast, he is more likely to use "role" if the lack of an incumbent effectively ends that role or role relationship.

3. In the contexts in which "status" is used, only a limited number of positions is brought into view. When the term "role" is applied, a much wider range of positions is likely to be considered.

4. When the analyst pays attention to a socially recognized *sequence* of positions (e.g., "date"-fiancé-spouse-parent), he is somewhat more likely to use the term "status." On the other hand, there seems to be no sequence of positions which are called "roles," other than those which correspond to a socially recognized sequence of statuses.

A DEFINITION OF ROLE-STATUS

In the many descriptions of it, a role relationship seems to be implicitly defined as follows: a set of mutual (but not necessarily harmonious) expectations of behavior between two or more actors, with reference to a particular type of situation. These expectations are backed by normatively based sanctions applied by ego, alter, and others. Thus, both ego and alter know, or believe they know, what the other will, in fact, do in the situation. The expectations are both cognitive and normative. However, these elements are often in tension; for example, because each has somewhat different expectations; because ego may also know or guess that alter will not act in conformity with the norms and disapproves of the predicted failure; or, because the situation makes adequate performance difficult, one or the other actor may fail. In any case, when alter does fail, ego does not merely adjust his cognitive predictions, as he must if he predicts incorrectly the behavior of a physical object. Rather, he feels that *alter should adjust his performance to meet ego's expectations*, for alter's behavior has been improper, unethical, or immoral.[13] Performance also includes the appropriate emotional behavior (e.g., loving, reserved, or friendly). Under certain views about role relationships these, and not the actor, are the basic units of the social structure, that is, the make up the larger social patterns we call institutions.[14]

From the previous distinctions in usage between status and role, and from the elements which characterize any role relationship, it seems a useful step to define *statuses as the class of roles which is institutionalized*. All our status relationships, including what Merton calls the "role-set," are then included fully within the total range of our roles.[15] Since, under this definition, roles may thus be more or less institutionalized, the analysis of social change must treat of the processes by which roles do become institutionalized, that is, become statuses. Indeed, the definition suggests an important point at which to begin the analysis of social change, where the mutual expectations between actors are coming to be institutionally sanctioned. Since "role" is the broader term, we will usually

[13] I am indebted to Johan Galtung for this formulation.

[14] Parsons, *The Social System*, pp. 39, 46.

[15] Robert K. Merton, "The Role-Set: Problems in Sociological Theory," *British Journal of Sociology, VIII* (June, 1957), 106–20.

use it except when it is necessary to take explicit account of the degree of institutionalization in a given social relationship.

However, it will be remembered that all roles are normatively based. How, then, do these differ from those social relations which are institutionalized, that is, statuses? Probing the role relationship further, we note that any interaction even between strangers begins with *some* minimum normative expectations (e.g., civility),[16] and, if there is repeated interaction, both ego and alter quickly move to a wider range of mutual expectations which they view as rights and obligations, that is, which are normatively based.[17] Then alter is not only annoyed but also disapproves if ego fails to fit his expectations. However, the crucial difference between a simple role relationship and one that is based on status is that the obligations and rights of the status are much more firmly backed by the approval or disapproval of others who are in a more or less direct social relationship with ego and alter. It is enough at this point to note the following: A role relationship in even the initial stages is structured by the statuses of both ego and alter. They are old-young, male-female, businessman-customer, and so on. These status elements in all role relationships are, of course, institutionalized, that is, normatively backed by "third parties," people in role relations with ego or alter. Conversely, any status-based relationship concretely includes other mutual, normatively based expectations beyond those which ego's or alter's group will sanction.

Two further propositions are important in the application of these concepts. The further one moves from the immediate relationship of ego and alter into their respective social networks, the less will a violation by either ego or alter be opposed by sanctions from others. Correlatively, outsiders at a distance will be less motivated to apply sanctions unless the violation is more serious, more central to the status elements in the relationship.[18] Finally, these considerations suggest that whether a given relationship can be characterized as a status *is a matter of degree. Statuses are, then, the role relationships which are more fully institutionalized* or which contain a greater number of institutionalized elements. From this conception a further interesting problem emerges: the relative weight of institutionalized and non-institutionalized elements in role decisions when ego and alter disagree on the appropriate norms,[19] when ego and alter agree on the norms but their respective social networks disagree with either or both of them, or when certain elements in the relationship are becoming institutionalized or, for that matter, *non*-institutionalized (e.g., the changing status obligations of parents-children, husbands-wives). The theoretical importance of this conception may be seen in Durkheim's notion of the non-contractual elements in the contract. The role relationship, which is less institutionalized, is always structured to some extent by status elements or a status context. It occurs in a framework of institutionalized understandings. It is either supported by sets, or a set, of "third parties," people in social interaction with ego or alter, or by a still larger community. Consequently, whatever the explicit bargain or understanding between one actor and another, the relationship is further defined and clarified by this institutionalized context. Perhaps more fundamental still is the fact that the context of status creates the possibility of interaction at all between strangers and the newly met by providing

[16] Alvin Gouldner has recently pointed to the fact that even in relations between strangers the norm of reciprocity seems to be observable, i.e., if one person does something for another, such as giving him help in getting on a train or giving him food on a trip, the other feels bound to reciprocate in some fashion ("The Norm of Reciprocity: A Preliminary Formulation" [mimeographed; St. Louis: Washington University, 1959]).

[17] Just why this latter process occurs is an interesting problem in itself, though doubtless the answer is to be sought at psychodynamic levels.

[18] This is true whether one goes up or down in a hierarchy or outward in a network of peers.

[19] Gross *et al., op. cit.*, have made substantial progress in the analysis of this problem.

a structure, a set of predetermined points of agreement and social expectation, even when there is as yet no great degree of mutuality or consensus on the finer details of their possible further interaction.

In addition, such a set of status obligations, by shaping all role relationships, regulates the further working out of such finer details of a role relationship, partly by restricting conflict in especially its earlier stages and partly by assuring continued interaction on at least a status basis. Thus, pending a resolution of differences (husband-wife, professor-student), action on a status basis may occur rather than a disintegration of the relationship. Consequently, in the face of some strain, dissatisfaction, or tension, ego and alter are stabilized to some extent, so that some orderly change may occur.

But though this conception of role and status does illuminate a wide range of connections between role theory and institutional theory, the present analysis is confined, consistent with this definition, to the relationship between role-status conformity and variations in norm commitment.

The variety of possibilities of normative agreement and disagreement under this conception may be seen diagrammatically (Fig. 1).

ROLE CONFORMITY AND SOCIALIZATION

Although role conformity may be approached through the theorem of institutional integration,[20] that is, that individuals carry out institutional tasks because they have been reared to want to do so, this theorem is only an orientation and not a precise hypothesis. Many do not discharge their responsibilities while wanting to do so. The road to hell is paved with good intentions: conformity to a set of norms is not a simple function of norm commitment.

Indeed, the theorem asserts only that social norm and individual desire by and large have the same *direction*. This rephrasing of the theorem discloses, however, that it is merely self-evident. Since individual desires were created or shaped by the socialization experience in the society, and since that experience was precisely the inculcation of social norms in the individual, any other *general* direction of relationship would be surprising. As against that general influence, however, particular experiences of socialization may lead the individual to accept norms counter to those which are more widely accepted. Doubtless, too, there are "need dispositions" which are socially shaped but which may not be easily reducible to moral rules or directives.

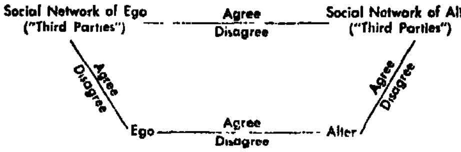


Fig. 1

As against such limitations, the theorem does serve the useful purpose of rejecting a primitive hedonistic theory, so characteristic of Western notions about sin, which views human action as arising from a choice between individual desire and the norms which oppose such desires. Such a view is erroneous, then, because almost all the individual's desires are in conformity with *some* norm or another.

But, useful as it is as a general approach, the substitution of the theorem of institutional integration in the place of a primitive hedonism fails to add much in an understanding of role-status conformity. The individual who fails in a role obligation may have chosen among several alternative norms, but the alter who censures him feels that he did not apply the *appropriate* norm for the particular role context.[21] On the other hand, the *content* of a given role is partly an organization of norms, that is, a connection among several norms, as appli-

[20] Parsons has applied this label to a general theoretical notion which can be seen most explicity developed in Durkheim's work (Parsons, *The Social System*, p. 42).

[21] Robert M. MacIver and Charles H. Page, *Society* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1949), pp. 197 ff.

cable to a particular type of situation. This organization checks the individual's tendency to range too widely in his selection of possible norms, some of which would require less of him but would yield less for institutional or alter's needs.

According to this view, the significance of socialization is thus not only that the individual acquires a commitment to the norms of the society, that is, internalizes the norms, but that he accepts the rightness of applying a particular norm or norms to a specified situation. This acceptance is, in turn, based upon an important characteristic of the socialization experience, that the censure and rewards of socialization focus on the role relationship as a unit, far more than on conformity with a single norm. The reasons are several: (1) There is no concrete norm to be observed, but there are many concrete role models (e.g., "boy," "girl," "daddy's helper").[22] Consequently, the process of conceptualization is made easier for the child. (2) Many of the broad norms must be modified by reference to the particular role relationship: "respect for elders" is in some contexts different toward uncles and aunts from that toward grandparents. (3) Especially in the earlier years the child is more likely to be punished for failure in his role performance toward a person, so that deviation from the norm is censured through the pressures of persons, that is, roles or organization of norms rather than a single norm. The norm has no independent, original source of power other than persons, and their spontaneous censure usually focuses on the role relationship.

[22] At the earliest stages of communication, the censure and reward are expressed in universalistic terms: even though familial relationships are said to be particularistic, the boy-child is exhorted to live up to the standards for all boys. MacIver and Page argue plausibly, however, that neither concept is applicable. Rather, socialization in these earlier years is "utopian" rather than "complicated," i.e., by the specific situation (*ibid.*, pp. 123-24).

ADULT RESOCIALIZATION

Socialization is not merely a childhood experience: as adults we are all being continually *re*socialized, that is, reaffirmed in our normative commitment, by the alters in our total role network.[23] Of course, the influence of these alters is greater, because the high emotional and cognitive significance of the various alters in ego's childhood develops a continuing emotional and cognitive sensitivity to others' reactions.[24] This sensitivity is of great importance in resocializing ego, that is, in maintaining the intensity of his commitment to the appropriate role performance. The process is also facilitated by a structural fact about roles: they are "public"[25] in several ways: (1) Fundamentally, they require action, including the action that is an expression of emotion. Such actions are at least partially observable by others. (2) Role obligations are defined, either in outline or in part, by other people—"third parties" with whom ego and alter are in interaction and who

[23] I use the term "socialization" in the technical sense even when applied to adults, i.e., the inculcation or internalization of values or norms, not merely learning cognitively which actions will be punished or rewarded. The concept has been applied extensively within recent years to socialization in professional roles (Merton *et al.*, *op. cit.*, especially Appendixes A and B; S. M. Dornbusch, "The Military Academy as an Assimilating Institution," *Social Forces*, XXXIV [May, 1955] 316-21; Robert W. White, *Lives in Progress* [New York: Dryden Press, 1952]; Karl N. Llewellyn, *The Bramble Bush* [New York, Oceana Publications, 1951]; Oswald Hall, "The Informal Organization of Medical Practice in an American City" [unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1944]; and Logan Wilson, *The Academic Man* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940]).

[24] The adult responds emotionally to such reactions even when he feels certain of his own moral grounds.

[25] Both Samuel A. Stouffer ("An Analysis of Conflicting Social Norms," *American Sociological Review*, XIV [December, 1949], 716) and J. P. Sutcliffe and M. Haberman ("Factors Influencing Choice in Role Conflict," *American Sociological Review*, XXI [December, 1956], 695-703) show the likelihood of different conformity patterns under different degrees of publicity.

therefore have a real concern with ego's and alter's behavior. (3) Still more concretely, though ego's duty may be accepted by both ego and alter, both also know that some third party, group, or community also knows about and evaluates both behavior and normative commitment. (4) A consequence, then, is that, even when alter has no strong emotional commitment to holding ego to his obligations, he may do so in fact because of his sensitivity to outside reactions. Alter has, then, an obligation to other alters to censure ego.[26] Therefore, even when third parties do not censure either ego or alter openly, both will know how such people actually do feel and will be responsive to presumed unexpressed censure, for example, "what the neighborhood thinks."

NORM COMMITMENT IN MODERN SOCIETY

The individual's emotional commitment to an adequate discharge of his role duties, and thus his behavioral consistency, derives ultimately from his experiences of censure and reward in his role relationships. However, such internal commitments are not sufficient to maintain even a single role relationship. Ample commentary, both literary and historical, exists to show that under certain types of situations men will abandon even well-learned role responsibilities: the nearly treasonable behavior of many American troops in Chinese prison camps during the Korean war,[27] the similarly self-oriented behavior of inmates in some Nazi concentration camps,[28] the mass flight of soldiers in various battles, the breakdown of discipline in some shipwrecks or among Europeans under jungle or polar conditions, or the infrequent near-savagery of shipwreck survivors. Such disintegration of roles may occur when the appropriate alters are absent, but the underlying variable is rather that the appropriate alters no longer have the power to censure or reward ego effectively. In turn, ego cannot perform adequately.[29]

The social theory which deals with societies as whole fits primitive societies best and has laid greatest stress on the individual's commitment to the values and norms of the society and the value consensus among its members. Modifications of it to fit a complex civilization have not been stated clearly; for example, how intense must the commitment be, and how complete the consensus, to insure what measure of individual conformity and societal stability? For a precise analysis we need to measure, for a wide range of societies, the actual level of emotional and behavioral conformity with various role obligations within them. We know that ego may feel much or little emotional commitment to a given norm, that ego's appropriate alter may care more or less whether ego does conform, and that people in their social networks but outside that specific role relationship may also care more or less whether ego or alter conforms or insists upon the other's conformity. In addition, in all three of these "layers" there may be some individuals who assert a counternorm.

Many individuals in our own society do not feel strongly committed to various important norms—Catholic dogma, the appropriate behavior of husband and wife, private property, etc.[30] Public opinion sur-

[26] Cf. Dollard's attempt to escape the southern white pressures on him to "keep the Negro in his place" (John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* [2d ed.; New York, Harper & Bros., 1949], pp. 347–49).

[27] Harvey D. Strassman, Margaret B. Thaler and Edgar H. Schein, "A Prisoner of War Syndrome: Apathy as a Reaction to Severe Stress," *American Journal of Psychology*, LXI (June, 1956), 998–1,003; Edgar H. Schein, "The Chinese Indoctrination Program for Prisoners of War: A Study of Attempted 'Brainwashing,'" *Psychiatry*, LXI (May, 1956), 149–72.

[28] Cf. Bruno Bettelheim, "Individual and Mass Behavior in Extreme Situations," *Journal of Abnormal and Social sychology*, XXXVII (October, 1943), 417–52.

[29] In a related article ("A Theory of Role Strain," *American Sociological Review*, August, 1960), I examine more thoroughly the processes by which an individual establishes a role bargain with another.

[30] Alfred W. Jones, *Life, Liberty, and Property* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1941); Joseph J. Fichter, *Southern Parish*, Vol. I: *Dynam-*

veys show that almost every question about appropriate role behavior elicits a wide range of answers.[31] If there is consensus, it seems to be loose. Moreover, observation shows that a considerable proportion of the population violates one or another important norm at some time.[32] Of course, we may fail to comply with a role prescription when we do *not* assert a counternorm or even when we *do* feel committed to the prescription, and we may assert a counternorm or feel a low commitment *without* deviating in behavior from what others expect of us. Moreover, the norm does not lose its ordering power in a social structure merely because some people disobey it. Indeed, as Durkheim saw, the reactions of others—the countersanctions of alters—may then strengthen the cohesion of the group and its fidelity to the existing social structure.[33]

ics of a City Church* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951); also his "The Marginal Catholic: An Institutional Approach," in Milton J. Yinger (ed.), *Religion, Society and the Individual* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1957); Stouffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 707–17; Gross *et al.*, *op. cit.*, chap. iv. In Germany various surveys have shown differences in the acceptance of even supposedly central norms; e.g., in the Darmstadt study it was found that 31–41 per cent of the samples approved of adults living together unmarried "in all cases" or "under certain circumstances" (G. Baumert, *Deutsche Familien nach dem Kriege* [Darmstadt: Roether, 1952], pp. 176–77).

[31] Herbert Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset (eds.), *Class, Status, and Power* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953), pp. 426–42. In an unpublished paper, "Sex Differences in the Definition of Sex Roles," Terence K. Hopkins of Columbia University has utilized opinion-poll materials to show not only the lack of consensus between men and women but the general differences of opinion in the society about sex roles.

[32] Cf. Edwin H. Sutherland, *White Collar Crime* (New York, Dryden Press, 1949); Kinsey's two studies are also relevant. Fichter, in "The Marginal Catholic . . .," presents data on nonconformity in both belief and behavior. When we question the stability of the modern social structure, however, with its apparent lack of consensus and weak norm commitment, we must measure conformity not by the proportion of people who ever violate a given norm but by a rate of violation, the proportion of violators in a given time. Thus, though perhaps everyone in our society steals at some time in his life, the proportion of adults who steal in a given year is probably not high.

NORM COMMITMENT AND CONFORMITY RATE

With reference to norm commitment and rate of conformity, several very general propositions can be stated: (1) When there is a low rate of conformity and an increasing rate of assertion of a counternorm, the older norm begins to lose its power and official standing. (2) In addition, if alters do not punish egos for their role failure, then only the norm commitment of egos is left to assure their conformity. No part of the social structure can long survive even a moderate rate of violation of norms if there is a substantial rate of alter's failure to punish ego for his violation or of failure to punish alter for his failure to punish (e.g., the gradual breakdown of the Prohibition Amendment). (3) Further, if their social network does not support the punishment, the relationship between ego and alter will change or dissolve. (4) Perhaps, similarly, the dissolution of a norm will occur when a relatively small group asserts a counternorm and punishes its violation in others without being punished in turn (e.g., the Nazis in the late 1920's).

Perhaps the social structure is under no threat under modern conditions of apparently weak consensus if the conformity to which ego is pressed is merely of a "general" nature, that is, the norms permit a wide range of rough approximations to the ideal. But whether norms in fact are general is not easy to determine. Which is in fact "the" norm? You should not lie (only a loose conformity is demanded); or you may tell lies of the following types in these situations but not in others, and the wrongness of other lies is to be ranked in the following order. The first is a general

[33] Émile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, trans. George Simpson (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949), pp. 98 ff.

norm, and of course there will be only a rough conformity with it, but it is not a correct description. The second would be empirically more accurate, but no one has established such a matrix of obligations on empirical evidence.

In addition, though a broad societal norm might require only loose conformity, the subgroups or individual role relationships of which the individual is a member require conformity to their specific versions and modifications of that norm; a rough conformity to the general norm is not likely to be acceptable. To say "general conformity is all that is required" means only that *individuals at some distance from us* in the social network demand from us only a loose conformity; those who are closer define the norm itself more specifically and require a more specific performance.

INTERLOCKING OF ROLE RELATIONSHIPS

Pursuing the problem of role conformity in a complex society, we noted earlier that role relationships embody three main sources of pressures toward fulfilment of role obligations: (1) ego is socialized to have an autonomous emotional commitment to his appropriate role behavior; (2) alter may in turn require that behavior of ego; and (3) other concerned individuals may censure the behavior of either ego or alter.[34] Thus, even if ego's norm commitment is weak, alter may demand conformity. And, even if alter is willing to demand little of ego, still others—members of a reference group, family, neighbors—may press alter to make the appropriate demands upon ego. A social structure can tolerate, perhaps, a substantial number of individuals who are not strongly committed to a given role norm, since those additional safeguards exist. Moreover, since the third parties, those in interaction with ego and alter who may concern themselves with how ego and alter carry out the relationship, is made up of a much larger number of people and role nexuses, the chances are reduced that weakly committed ego, weakly demanding alter, and entirely non-censoring, related outsiders would come together simultaneously. Without considering more empirical data, however, it is not yet possible to specify how weak these forces can be without undermining the social structure. (4) An additional interlocking support is that an individual finds it difficult to fail in any important role obligation without failing in other, related roles (in either a status-set or a role-set, in Merton's terminology), and thus incurring sanctions from more than one alter (if as a student I do not study, I fall short of the expectations of both my teacher and my family). (5) In addition, individuals in many statuses have also the obligation of serving as models for others (parents for children, officers for enlisted men, professors for graduate students). Their behavior has motivational consequences, and thus, even when they do not feel a strong commitment to fulfilling the normative requirement, they may nevertheless conform. Their peers or superiors may press them to conform at least outwardly, and especially in formal situations, so that their alters will follow their model. This pressure is lessened, of course, when they are less likely to be identified as belonging to that status (the officer in civilian clothes, parents at a party away from children).

[34] An especially interesting negative exemplification of this principle may be observed in the high illegitimacy rates in several of the Caribbean countries. An apparently widespread structural characteristic of the lower-class family is its social isolation and, correspondingly, the social isolation of the adolescent girl, so that these "network pressures" are missing. The best analysis of this pattern in Jamaica is to be found in a Ph.D. dissertation by Judith Blake on the lower-class Jamaican family ("Family Structure: The Social Context of Reproduction" [Columbia University, 1959]). For published materials, see Jehudi A. Cohen, "Character Formation and Social Structure in a Jamaican Community," *Psychiatry,* XVIII (August, 1955), 288 ff.; T. S. Simey, *Welfare and Planning in the West Indies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946), p. 18, and Remy Bastein, *La Familia rural Haitiana* (Mexico, D.F.: Libra, 1951). The pattern is analyzed for the Caribbean as a whole in my "Illegitimacy in the Caribbean," *American Sociological Review,* XXV (February, 1960), 21–30.

Here, then, the roles are interlocked through ties between the two central statuses and an indirect link between a third party and the "subordinate" status (student, child) through the superordinate status (professor, parent). (6) A last proposition is that the sanctions in such interlocking patterns need not be, and usually are not, powerful; they need only be recurring and generally unidirectional, that is, pressing toward the same kind of behavior, even when they originate in different persons.[85]

MORAL APPROVAL OF ROLE REPRISALS

The main day-to-day support for appropriate role behavior is not direct punishment or reward but alter's choice over whether he will live up to his obligations to ego, if ego fails in his own. Aside from ego's "sensitivity" to alter's feelings, ego's effective action toward his own goals depends on the supporting activities of alter, and eventually alter may not act properly if ego does not. Moreover, the opinion and behavior of the relevant third parties, or "third layer," underlie this set of expectations about failure. For not only are these interested, outside people able to predict (cognitively) that any alter is likely to reject his role obligation if ego continues to fail in his, but they approve that rejection. Even a rejection of maternal obligation, perhaps the duties which are supposed to embody the most forbearance in our society, will be approved if the child is flagrantly abusive or derelict. The rules of the game are basically set by a group or network, and they include the penalties for role failure which alter may properly impose upon ego for ego's possible role failures. And, in turn, ego's perception of both these empirical possibilities (alter's deliberate counterfailure and the group's support of it) arouses ego's anxiety or other emotional response to such eventualities.

ROLE FAILURE: EMOTION VS. ACTIVITY

Ego may fail in role performance by not carrying out the overt activities prescribed or by not feeling the prescribed emotions.[86] He may, for example, either fail to go to his kinsman's funeral or show that he is unconcerned about his kinsman's death. Several propositions grow from a consideration of the relation between covert and overt performance of roles.

First, of course, failure in role is more likely if, in fact, ego does not care, does not have the appropriate emotions. This seems to be no more than a corollary of the integration theorem. Alter, on the other hand, is less likely to know that there has been failure in attitude if the behavior follows the prescription. Indeed, if an individual expresses an intense norm commitment or the appropriate emotion but *acts* contradictorily (the professor who "loves learning" but shows no evidence of it), his appropriate alters will usually doubt the reality of his emotional commitment. Expressions of condolence are accepted as expressions of real sorrow or sympathy; salutations, gestures, the use of titles, and overt deference are accepted as indexes of real respect. Alter may, then, evaluate incorrectly the intensity of ego's real emotion. However, alter is motivated to judge accu-

[85] Processes (4) and (6) are the basis for the importance of the dispersion or connectedness of the social network in which ego lives. Elizabeth Bott has shown an association between the degree of connectedness of the social network and the degree of traditionalism or segregation in sex roles within the family ("A Study of Ordinary Families," in Nels Anderson, ed., J. C. B. Mohr, and P. Siebeck, *Recherches sur la famille* [Tübingen, 1956], I, 29–65). Essentially, both Bott and J. A. Barnes ("Class and Committees in a Norwegian Island Parish," *Human Relations*, VII, No. 1, 39–58) refer to the extent to which individuals who have role relations with ego also have role relationships with one another.

[86] Not having the appropriate emotions is not the same as rejecting the norm. A mother may grant that mothers should love sons but may still be unable to love her own, and a son may assert that sons should not defer to their fathers but may actually feel considerable deference. Of course, "showing or feeling emotion" is one kind of behavior. The distinction is, nevertheless necessary at times.

rately[37] and does have some ability to judge, while ego cannot always hide his emotion or its absence. In addition, where there are two or more role partners who owe role performances to the same alter (e.g., two children in relations with their parent or two bureaucratic subordinates in relations with the same superior), either of the two may know that the other does not have the prescribed attitudes, but they may and do attempt to measure the other's "sincerity."

Precisely because the appropriate emotional response in the role is the day-to-day working origin of our appropriate role performance—that is, because people "feel" the appropriate emotions, they do the appropriate thing—role failure in this dimension arouses more disapproval than does mere failure in role activity. And when the activity is not carried out because the emotion is lacking, alter disapproves still more. Groups have long recognized the functional importance of the underlying emotional commitment (e.g., the Church can afford to be more indulgent to the sinner than to the heretic). When the individual fails to carry out the appropriate acts or gestures, he can later assert his repentance, or his disappointment in his own weakness, or the validity of other claims. But to admit that he did not "care" is to deny that either punishment or repentance is appropriate or that the group values are the right ones.

On the other hand, because alter (whether group or individual) does respond more intensely to a failure in the appropriate emotion, ego will try to avoid letting either alter know about it or any other individual who stands in a similar relationship to alter.

A further proposition, related to the foregoing but not derived from them, is that few or no specific techniques can be used to punish ego's failure in emotion alone. The techniques of socialization—shame, physical punishment, anxiety, etc.—do not aim at actional or emotional conformity as separable goals. As noted earlier, role behavior is taught mainly in role units. Indeed, if these two goals were separated in socialization, then their disjunction would occur more often in adulthood, and, as a consequence, role conformity would be rarer. The external pressures toward conformity would not be backed as often by internal emotional commitment.[38]

Of more theoretical significance for an understanding of role maintenance in our type of society is a further proposition, which restates within the given propositional context a notion implied in the preceding section: in a secularized society, with perhaps weak commitment to norms or role emotion, role or norm conformity may depend far more on the greater sensitivity of ego to alter's response than it does in other types of societies. This is not to assert that high sensitivity is inversely correlated with high intensity of role commitment or emotion. Rather, when there is a low intensity, there must be a correlative increase of sensitivity to "alter opinion" or to "community opinion" (outsiders related to alter and ego) if role obligations are to be met generally.

This last proposition may be seen, in the foregoing context, as a structural-functional basis for the emergence or wider distribution in certain strata, groups, and statuses, or the "urban" or "other-oriented" type which observers from Plato to Riesman have described. Moreover, it suggests why the type is more likely to appear in those particular groups or strata—that is, where the appropriate emotions are mild, counternorms are not generally proclaimed, but alters are highly vigilant in the matter of these emotions.[39]

[37] Alter is motivated because, if ego's emotional intensity declines, so does the probability of ego's performing correctly in support of alter's activities. Moreover, the meaning of an intimate role relationship is lost if the emotional commitment is one-sided.

[38] It is, of course, upon this unity that James's psychology could base its notion that we feel sorry because we cry. When we "act out" a role fully, we are likely to feel the emotion, too. More people cry at a funeral and feel sad than feel sad about the person's death.

[39] Perhaps it also explains why these segments emphasize a sort of mild "friendship" as the ideal

Finally, if this line of theoretical analysis is empirically valid, then we can suppose that in such segments or groups there can be rapid social change, that is, changes in role patterns and therefore in social structures. For, although ego's guesses about alter's probable responses will hold ego in general to a proper role activity, the fact that neither is intensely committed to their mutual role obligations, while both are attentive to each other's opinions, suggests at least the possibility of a "double revelation." When both alter and ego learn that neither really cares, much of the motive power behind the relationship is removed, and their subsequent decisions about conformity may become rational calculations of an essentially hedonic sort, whereby they seek their best advantage together and ignore or evade moral demands. Under such structural circumstances, slight shifts in the balance of advantages and disadvantages to a class of individuals might lead to large shifts in their social behavior.

This revised conception of role status may be useful in other analyses which focus on the links between role theory and institutional theory, and it is already being utilized fruitfully in several related papers.

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working relationship: friendliness permits enough close observation of others to check on their behavior, but its shallowness prevents any real probe into the intensity of emotions felt by others. In *The Big Wheel* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949). John Brooks portrays the hero's gradual understanding that his boss wanted no employee on his magazine who did not agree with its aims and was shocked that anyone would expound the magazine's policies without believing them. At every level but the highest, then, emotional commitment was low, but no counternorm was invoked overtly.

AFFECT AND ITS CONTROL IN THE MEDICAL INTERN

MORRIS J. DANIELS

ABSTRACT

The modes of affective involvement with patients and mechanisms of control over involvements were studied among forty-six interns in two urban hospitals in Tennessee. Two general types of involvement were found: one based upon aspects of the illness itself, and the other upon personalities of the patients. A universalized concern appeared to be the type of emotional involvement preferred and supported by the system, though deviations were made with impunity. Normative, instrumental, and situational controls limited extreme affective involvements with patients in certain age categories. Explicit proscription limited the expression of positive and negative feelings toward the patients as persons through the caliber of treatment provided them, but this type of control was frequently ineffective.

In any system of roles a crucial area of social control centers about the expression of attitude and intent by one person toward another. These may be communicated by ordinary verbal and non-verbal symbols, by special patterns of symbolism, or through instrumental actions which are interpreted as having expressively symbolic overtones. The particular form which such expressive behavior takes will have a significant effect upon the values, objectives, and functional problems faced by social systems. In an analogous manner, the way an individual controls his expressive behavior will affect his fate within an organization in important ways. For this reason, we would expect one aspect of the organization of both social groups and personalities to be expressive patterns and controls congruent with their dominant objectives.

The major focus of attention of this paper will be upon the explicit positive and negative controls of expressive behavior built by the medical system into the role of the physician in general and that of the medical intern in particular, although some attention will also be given to certain indirect controls. Consideration not only will be limited to one segment of the medical career, that of the intern, but will be further restricted to the interaction between the intern and his patient.

The modes of affective involvement and other propositions concerning their control stated here emerged from mechanically recorded interview material with forty-six interns in two hospitals in a metropolitan area in Tennessee. Thirty-five of the interns were specialty oriented and eleven were in rotating internships. Considerable time was also spent in observation while accompanying the interns on their hospital rounds.

MODES OF AFFECTIVE INVOLVEMENT AND THEIR CONTROL

The following propositions seem to reflect the variations in the attitude of the interns toward broad categories of patients as well as gradations in the intensity of the affective involvements with them:

A. When based upon some aspect of the illness itself, affective involvement of the intern with his patient varies in content and intensity from (1) an almost complete lack of any affective involvement with the patient as of intrinsic value; to (2) a somewhat intellectualized understanding of the problem of his patient, an appreciation of his intrinsic value and the personal implications of his illness and suffering, together with a commitment to disinterested service on behalf of all whose illness leads them to need help; to (3) a complete emotional identification in which the intern empathically suffers a great deal.

B. A qualitatively different type of affective involvement emerges in the posi-

tive and negative responses of the intern to the patient's personality.

We maintain that A(2) is explicitly prescribed by the medical system; that A(1) is permitted; that A(3) is controlled in an indirect way by normative, instrumental, and situational influences; and that B is explicitly proscribed.

POSITIVELY SUPPORTED PATTERNS

Of interest, first of all, is the support provided by the medical system for certain expressive patterns which are prescribed and encouraged. The first generalization, therefore, deals with the positive encouragement given the intern to become involved expressively with the patient in a certain way.

I. The approved type of affective involvement and expression is the intermediate one—A(2). It combines the personal and impersonal in inexactly determined proportions, the balance tipping frequently either toward a profound affective involvement with the patient or toward indifference.

In its intermediate form, compassion is a mixture of impersonality and warm human interest. In the relationship between intern and patient, characterized by a minimum of uniqueness and particularity, there is still, ideally, a profound mutual sense of the common-human. Whatever compassion emerges may focus upon a particular person, but it is but a manifestation of a general disinterested and universalized compassion for all persons with similar problems. One intern put it as follows:

> As a student in medical school I tended to become more emotionally identified with the patient, or at least with those who were the loved ones of the patient. I had to learn to restrain myself, to see that this is just another case of something that will go on and on and never end completely as long as there is human life and death. . . . There emerges an increasing interest in other problems and in knowledge for the sake of knowledge. Through a process that becomes somewhat automatic, you become so detached that you can see death at one moment and sleep soundly the next, because you have done the best you can and know you cannot stop the inevitable.
>
> Even the interest that you continue to show in the patient as a person becomes somewhat detached. You learn to talk a lot to the patient because you know he needs this support. You know, intellectually, what it must feel like to be facing death or for the loved ones to know this fact, but you don't, except in a few cases, feel the deep sorrow—this you reserve for your own loved ones. . . . You are interested in human welfare and the alleviation of suffering, but this interest is directed to one patient at one moment and another later. Today, for instance, there was a man admitted with cancer of the larynx. He will never talk again after it is removed. Today and tonight he chatted cheerfully with his family. Tomorrow night, his speech will be gone forever. You can say, "I am sorry, old chap," or something of that nature, or think the same, but inwardly you cannot become too personally involved.

Though expressed in many ways, there was a general awareness among most of the interns that a certain amount of compassion and concern in its milder and more universalized form, as stated here, represented the type of affective involvement most consistently experienced. Also, this type of affective involvement and its expressive manifestation seems to be the basic one supported by the system.

PERMISSIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD INDIFFERENCE

Deviation from morally supported expressive behavior may occur in either of two directions. It may move in the direction of a further intensification of compassion and concern for particular categories of patients. Insofar as this degree of uncalled-for involvement occurs, inhibiting controls are evoked. On the other hand, deviation may move toward a state of indifference to the patient as a person. Here, neither explicit proscriptions nor the more indirect instrumental controls are operative. Rather, a certain *value emphasis* tends to stifle even the morally indicated concern. We may state this as follows:

II. A permitted direction of deviance from the preferred pattern of affective involvement is toward a problem-centered interest.

The interns were generally aware of the emotional abstraction and hardening that increases with clinical experience and leads them to overlook the intrinsic value of the patient and perhaps to repress compassion. One pediatrics intern noted that he and his friends had called to one another's attention the fact that they had begun to look more and more upon each illness and injury as just another case and less and less as something in which they got emotionally involved:

> The very same things that we once could feel deeply for and perhaps shed an inside tear—we now regard with objective and analytical eyes. Everything becomes cases and we become hardened to the feelings we once had. That is, I suppose, partly the result of the massive problem of getting around to everyone. Even so, I get attached to some of the chronically ill older children.

When developed to an extreme, this attitude becomes indifference; there is no compassion but, instead, intense attachment to the case as a problem. There is still affective involvement with the patient, but it is focused on him as a case, that is, as a means to something else. The indifference, therefore, pertains to the absence of affective involvement along one morally approved axis. It is a change of emphasis and, since the direction of it is in itself approved, is not strongly disapproved. According to twelve of the interns, in a great many cases they regarded the other staff and private physicians as treating the patients as if "interested in the patients as pathological specimens only," with little interest in their intrinsic worth. This is the antithesis of the mild compassion which the profession thinks essential to disinterested service. After expressing his concern for his patients, an intern remarked:

> We don't usually hash this over. It certainly is true with some of the fellows I work with, and I'm sure it is with most everybody. But some of the fellows, well, they treat patients as cold blocks of disease. They don't appear emotionally concerned or upset about it. And I think that is not the way I react.

Though not approved, a problem-centered orientation with its resultant indifference to the patient does not seem particularly disapproved in the medical system. A surgeon with little compassion, for example, who regards his cases primarily as little more than pathological specimens is not regarded as extremely deviant. The patient, if he senses it, might conceivably exert certain types of sanctions. Given the conditions of specialization and the elements of chance in the selection of a physician, however, it may be as difficult for the specialist to develop or manifest a great deal of concern for the patient as it is for the patient to be aware that he is concerned. Sanctions of the medical system seem more concerned with overt conduct and efficiency than with basic attitudes toward patients, which are difficult to establish and more difficult to weight.[1]

[1] Other professionalized helping roles, such as those of the minister, social worker, and psychiatrist, do not appear to provide the same opportunity for unsanctioned development of the type of affective indifference described above. In the case of the minister and the social worker, there are probably extremely strong ideological commitments to service. How strong these are in the service motivation of the medical student has not been assessed (see Howard S. Becker and Blanche Geer, "The Fate of Idealism in Medical School," *American Sociological Review*, XXIII [February, 1958], 50–56). For the minister and social worker, however, commitments are not coupled with an equally valued "problem" and "skill" orientation rooted in science and capable of providing a rationale for those who are seemingly indifferent. Lacking this alternative focus of value emphasis, the minister would probably find it difficult to retain the loyalty of a congregation, and the social worker the esteem of his colleagues, if they were indifferent toward those served.

On the other hand, the psychiatrist shares the "problem" focus as a legitimate alternative value with his medical brethren. However, as in the case of the minister and social worker, his task usually calls for frequent and lengthy contact and a high

CONTROL OF INTENSE INVOLVEMENT

The most intense and prolonged experiences and expressions of compassion and concern are focused upon particular groups of patients whose illnesses are inappropriate to their age or may perhaps bring untimely death. Expressions such as the following are typical:

I do think that young patients who are hopelessly and incurably ill certainly kind of make your heartstrings draw a bit. I think that, with children and young people who are hopelessly ill, you are inclined to regard it as particularly tragic, whereas, in the case of another person who has reached the end of his expected life span and has something which is very common and which we see time after time, certainly you don't have the same feeling. At least I don't think so.

Yes, probably such things as the deforming diseases of childhood and cancers of young women. With the extremely old, it is more expected and less emotionally provoking. I really think it is more what the normal outcome of disease will be. If you see a guy's life cut short sixty years by a disease he has, that's pretty bad, whereas if you see someone who has lived his expected number of years, why, the feeling is less.

The length of time spent with the patient enters into the intern's attitude, according to a few of the informants:

I think by and large the ones you get more interested in are the ones you spend more time with. These are also the ones with whom I get more emotionally involved. In other words, a patient who is very seriously ill—you spend an awful lot of time with him as an intern, and the ones that you really work with and strive to improve and no improvement occurs and they expire—*that sort of patient is the one that gets* you emotionally. It is partly a matter of time spent in which you get to know the patient.

Concerning the time at which the emotional impact may be felt, one intern notes:

By the time one is an intern, this process [emotional detachment] has developed to the point where "the case" looms as the crucial thing. Even then, however, there are times when I feel emotionally shaken up concerning events which happen. For instance, when I have to tell a husband sitting in the lobby that his wife has died in childbirth or from cancer, I may in a matter of fact way say, "Sorry, old boy," or something like that and go on. But recently, while seeing the movie, *The Four Poster,* the flashbacks there reminded me of similar episodes I had seen many times on the faces of husbands to whom I had to convey the bad news of the death of their wives. These came so rapidly that I had to get up and leave. I just couldn't stand it any more. I almost cried. But this isn't a problem in practice. You can't afford to get too emotionally involved with any patient. There have to be emotional reservations which are part of one's professional attitude.

Given all this, we would expect mild compassion occasionally to develop into more intense involvement and inhibitive controls to appear. We propose:

III. Controls on intensive affective involvement arising from aspects of the illness itself are negative. They emerge primarily from three sources: (1) an interpretation by the interns of certain highly general professional norms as calling for inhibition; (2) situational pressures; and (3) conviction of the interns that such controls are conducive to the patient's welfare.

Many interns recognized as controls the implications of certain general norms pertaining to their role in the hospital system:

degree of rapport and manifest concern. Though work overload in any of these may produce some of the same effects as specialization, the latter has not made quite the inroads here as in those parts of the medical profession where contact is often transitory and brief and where one is dealing with the person in terms of an isolated pathology. It seems reasonable to suggest, then, that some service professions differ between and within themselves in the degree to which the alternative attitudes toward those helped are fostered by differing situational pressures and emphases on value. Given the limited focus of this study and the lack of comparative data, we know of no way to assess how much the problem-focus characteristic of the intern in the pressured learning situation in the hospital also contributes to whatever indifference may exist among physicians in practice compared, say, with other potential sources of indifference present in specialization per se and pecuniary exploitation.

technical efficiency and the professional self-image of the physician as poised and rational in medical crises. Seeking technical efficiency, many interns recognized that they would be incapacitated should they indulge in excessive and intense identification with their patients. Second, both the interview material and the ward observations indicated that the situation prevented the emergence of intense involvement by reducing the circumstances which were most likely to produce them: a heavy patient load, specific contact, and the brevity of the intern-patient relationship.

Lastly, the interns themselves realized the deleterious effect of profuse sympathy upon the patient's welfare. As one intern suggested, "When sympathy is too profuse, the patient becomes suspicious that *that is all you have to offer.*" Here explicit proscription or prescription by the medical system is not at issue. Rather, control comes from the realization by the interns that, given certain professional objectives, inhibition is desirable.

PROSCRIPTION OF PERSONALITY-BASED INVOLVEMENT

Unlike the controls on intense affective involvement discussed above, the control over differential treatment by interns of patients based on the personalities of the latter is an explicit proscription. Concerning reactions to it, we propose the following:

IV. The interns' like or dislike of patients affects the quality of treatment provided them. There may be minimum adequate treatment for all, with an increment of better treatment for the more favored or substandard care for those who are not liked.

With few exceptions the interns agreed that whether they liked a patient or not *did* make a difference in the caliber of care. The following responses were typical:

I think it is only natural that any patient who for some reason or other antagonizes you, whether he does it willingly or not, will become the object of your dislike. I'm sure that there have been patients I have come across I have disliked and, as a consequence, I don't take quite the interest in them as a pathological specimen.

Yes, certainly! One develops positive and negative attitudes towards his patients.

One of the two directions in which such attitudes can make a difference in treatment is toward provision of superior care to the better liked, with a minimum but adequate care to those not liked. Thus, in answer to inquiry as to whether personal attitudes influence treatment, thirty of the interns answered in a fashion of which the following is typical:

I think that it is true and I think it will always be true. You have to watch it. You have to fight it all the time. I do myself. . . . For example, when you have a patient you like, you will stop if you walk by his door. On the other hand, if it is the other kind of patient who tends to be complaining and uncooperative, unless you stop and make yourself conscious of the situation, you won't. In my own experience, I have spent less time with some patients for this reason. They get adequate care, but not the extra, unless it is on a conscious level, when I make myself go by the same number of times to see them all.

Well, it probably does. I don't mind going by to see the patients I like. You don't mind taking a little extra time with them, doing little things for them . . . they are people you like to help a little bit more. On the other hand, those people who nag you every time you go into the room about what their doctor thinks, this and that, you learn to avoid the embarrassing and difficult situations of this type which keep you busy without any response from them. I think that if the patients appreciate what you do for them, you will spend more time with them.

I think the fact of liking a patient or not liking him will have no effect on the quality of medical care given to them, but I'm sure I like to go to greater lengths to do little things for one of them when I like them, such as arranging for getting telephone calls out and getting cigarettes for them . . . small personal favors.

Yet another direction in which affective involvement can affect the caliber of treatment is that of substandard care which may be given *to unpopular patients:*

I know it is true of myself. You get a patient that comes in whom you like a lot—you are going to want to spend more time with those patients and thereby you give better care. I feel quite sure about this. I know it's come up several times that you make special diagnoses of persons you like and people you don't like—well, sometimes you overlook things like gallstones and laugh off their complaints.

Q: Ideally, are you supposed to do this?

R: No, no, but, frankly, it enters in.

Controlling the feelings in the interest of professional considerations sometimes proves a rather difficult task, and constant vigilance is necessary: "You have to fight it all the time." In answer to the inquiry as to whether he ever had any difficulty in avoiding this sort of behavior, another intern observed:

Well, what you do and what you should do are sometimes different. I know. I recognize the fact that whenever a patient gets me upset at him, he's one up on me. He's got me to do something I should not do. A doctor should never let his patient get him upset.

The provocations are usually the patient's unco-operativeness, his inability to express needs, or his excessive demands and complaints:[2]

I think that the way you feel about the patient as a person has a great deal to do with the treatment he receives. I think that, if there is a little hostility, say you are very tired, and you have to get up at four to see a patient and ask them what's wrong and they say "I don't know, but I have a funny feeling," you are very likely to feel hostile toward them. Actually I know everybody does. I certainly do.

That positive or negative attitudes develop almost universally among the interns toward patients seen over some length of time seems likely. That they are expressed in action was also found to be prevalent. While there may be some question as to whether the existence of the attitudes themselves is proscribed by the medical profession, their expression in differential treatment is. There is evidence here of the conscious attempt by the intern not to let it influence treatment, although he often fails in it. Substandard care, given to patients who are obnoxious, may be rationalized as due to the unco-operativeness of the patient—yet not completely so, for the realization of its unethical nature was present.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CONCEPT OF AFFECTIVE NEUTRALITY

Of current theoretical and empirical efforts to deal with affect in role organization, one of the more prominent has been the affective neutrality–affectivity variable of Parsons. Affectivity, for Parsons, can apparently be approached from two directions. As a permissible role orientation, it is stated as the dominance of an "expressive" orientation in which immediate gratification interests are allowed relatively unhampered expression. Illustrative of this orientation are the erotic and other aspects of a romantic relationship, collective recreational celebrations, etc.[3]

On the other hand, negatively, affective neutrality involves, by definition, a potential conflict between the particular gratification interests of an individual and the stability of some broader system of interests or cathexes, social or individual. Such interests and the affectivity are therefore "evaluatively" restricted in terms of dominant moral or instrumental (i.e., cognitive) considerations. Affective neutrality is thus the "holding back, i.e., the inhibition of need dispositions from 'discharge' into action. . . . This is what we mean by affective

[2] See Patricia Kendall and Robert Merton, "Medical Education in Social Process," in E. Gartly Jaco (ed.), *Patients, Physicians and Illness* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958), pp. 342–43, for a condensed description of similar problems of affect control faced by the undergraduate medical student. For related problems faced by the psychiatrist see August Hollingshead and Frederick Redlich, *Social Class and Mental Illness* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1958), chap. ix.

[3] Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951), pp. 384–85.

neutrality; a potential motive fails to operate in the given specific situation."[4] When Parson's label of affective neutrality is applied descriptively to some aspect of a role, it does not mean neutrality (i.e., inhibition) of the total affective aspect of behavior. Rather, it refers to the proscription of a special type of affective involvement labeled "affectivity." Parsons' role orientation of *affective* neutrality appears to reduce to *affectivity* neutrality, the called-for suppression or elimination of those impulses, and/or their expression, which disturb a social or individual system of interests in particular contexts of interaction.

If this be so, we may reasonably point out that, even in those roles where certain types of affective expression are inhibited, there may still remain intense or mild evaluationally supported affective involvements and expressions, such as normatively expected in-group loyalty, the universalized concern expected of the intern, etc. There is no outright inhibition of such motives with reference to other persons from movement to discharge. Rather, they are supported and encouraged. Parsons, of course, recognizes this in what he calls "evaluative symbolism."[5] In referring to the development of the affectively charged attitudes of student and teacher, he suggests the "fusion of evaluative and cathetic elements" to be the "fundamental basis of the motivational integration involved in the institutionalization of affectively neutral pattern."[6]

No longer, then, is a role orientation affectively neutral just to the extent that it stipulates the inhibition of certain motives from discharge. Rather, a pattern which is positively regarded is also affectively neutral. Presumably, the label of affective neutrality is appropriate because the involvement and its symbolization are contingent upon whether each member of the relationship (e.g., student-teacher) lives up to certain standards of performance. Impulses of affectivity are suppressed. Other expressive patterns of behavior are approved in terms of dominant moral standards. We are thus confronted by affective neutrality as a term applied both to roles calling for complete inhibition of certain feelings and intent, relative to another social object, from discharge into action *and* to those patterns which, through evaluation for "fitness" in a system, are given a clean bill of health.

In his own essay on the medical profession, Parsons labels the physician's role vis-à-vis the patient as affectively neutral, on the basis of the types of expression of affect which are explicitly prohibited.[7] Beyond this, analytic insight is dim. Are we to call the institutionally supported attitude of concern an "affectively neutral affective involvement" or an "affectively neutral expressive pattern"? To answer this question affirmatively within Parsons' scheme, alternative lines of thought present themselves. First, it is, after all, a restrained involvement, controlled against the possibility of its becoming too intense or being expressed too freely. In this sense, perhaps, we may regard it as affectively neutral by virtue of what it is not rather than what it is; that is, devoid of affectivity, it is to this extent *affectivity* neutral. Second, we might conclude that the attitude is itself expressed in ways that are subject to evaluative considerations which not only rule inappropriate patterns *out* but rule appropriate ones *in*. Thus the instruments and techniques of medicine, and especially the manner in which these are administered, are ideally supposed to be a medium through which a concern for the patient may be expressed. While the instrumental apparatus of medicine may, in the nature of the case, at times sustain a most tenuous relation to this concern, it

[4] Talcott Parsons, Robert Bales, and Edward Shils, *Working Papers in the Theory of Action* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953), p. 60.

[5] Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 385–94.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 392.

[7] *Ibid.*, chap. x.

tainly affects the evaluated "fitness" of e expressive patterns functioning simulteously as instrumental patterns. Or we y perhaps note the therapeutic value of h expressive patterns, relative to the pportive needs of the patient, etc.

One of the many problems, therefore, in derstanding and applying Parsons' contual scheme at this point lies in his fail- to integrate adequately his concept of ective neutrality as outright inhibition of tives detrimental to a broader system of erests, with the idea that evaluative apaisal may rule expressive patterns into well as out of such systems. Having deed neutrality primarily in terms of supessing motives from discharge into acn, Parsons thereby implicitly relegates e encouraged patterns of affective inlvement and expression to something of residual status. The approval of expree patterns would have to be labeled "aftively neutral" in terms of what they do t include, rather than what they do inde. On the other hand, should one label tterns "affectively neutral" in terms of at they include, he would have to inke the broader criteria of fitness in a stem, not just restraint and inhibition of pulse. Parsons invokes both criteria at rious points without clearly relating the o.

That Parsons defines affective neutrality terms of the failure of a motive or innt to operate in a given interpersonal sittion suggests yet a second source of difulty. Even if we confine our thinking to e type of neutrality arising from inhibin and proscription, we note that a moe need not be expressively *manifest* to ose with whom one is directly interacting, r it to be a dynamic factor in action. That expressive patterns of intent may dirge from active but covert motivational tterns; what is inhibited may not be the sic intent but its manifest obviousness others.

Even in a role like that of the salesman a highly competitive market, there is tentially an intense emotional loading of the customer in terms of his "means" value. Occasionally, roles of this type may permit manifest expressive demonstration of manipulative intent. More frequently, they are probably characterized, not by a neutrality (i.e., inhibition) of basic intent, but by a neutrality in which there is a disjunction between a "means" orientation which remains dynamic, on the one hand, and the divergent pattern of symbolized intent, on the other.

Analysis of the frequent disjunction of affect and expressive pattern as well as the control of vagrant impulse in the interest of maintaining appearances is one of the central contributions of Goffman's recent work on the expressive aspects of interaction.[8] We assume with Goffman that such disjunction is, in unknown quantity and distribution, a feature of the performance of most roles. Leaving aside the question as to the degree to which congruence or disjunction actually exists in some roles, as compared with others, there is another more manageable line of inquiry pertaining to public expectations as to what is the case.

One might, for example, hypothesize that when the public believes and expects that the performers of a particular role with a public facet typically are highly concerned with them as objects of intrinsic and end value, they are also more likely to see the expressive gestures as corresponding with basic intent. That is, the performers are more likely to be accepted as that which they present themselves to be. To the extent, then, that the public sees the helping professions or subparts thereof as inculcating or selectively recruiting personnel with a genuine concern for those to whom services are rendered, the perception of congruence between intent and expressive gesture should theoretically be high. Though we may speculate along these lines, data are lacking as to what is in fact perceived and what cues are important in such perception. Nor is it clear how much the attempt by

[8] Erving Goffman, *Presentation of Self in Everyday life* (Edinburgh: Social Science Research Center, 1956).

the performers in many business roles to present themselves as having a paramount non-exploitative concern affects the collective image of them held by the public and the self-image of the actors themselves.

Given the resistance of persons to being treated purely as means, it would be surprising if, in those roles where exploitative manipulation is a pervasive part of the routine, the expressive behavior and basic attitude should not often diverge systematically. However, caution is in order at this point. Who is to say that the mask of expressed concern may not in time often become real, the means emphasis muted, and shadows of responsible professional concern emerge—even in some of the business roles? Furthermore, roles are usually fragmented, and the type of affective involvement of those in any role with the occupants of various related roles will often vary greatly. Since variation by role sectors occurs, it is by no means clear that roles with gross functional or structural similarities will have the same type of organization of affective and expressive patterns, even with reference to the same counterrole. Thus both Francis and Stone, on the one hand,[9] and Blau, on the other,[10] have emphasized that the development of a service or procedural orientation by employees in public bureaucracies toward those served is a function of conditions as yet largely unspecified. The Useems,[11] as well as Henry,[12] report different attitudes held by executives toward categories of subordinates.

In a similar manner, it is likely that differences will also be found to prevail between and within professional roles, or at varying stages in the development of professional careers, in both their public and their non-public facets. The manner in which roles handle the problems of the control and expression of affect toward related social objects as well as the conditions under which the expressive aspects of roles assume varying structural forms are problems which remain, as yet, largely unexplored.

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[9] Roy Francis and Robert Stone, *Service and Procedure in Bureaucracy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956).

[10] Peter Blau, *Dynamics of Bureaucracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), chaps. ii–vi.

[11] John and Ruth Useem, "Social Stresses and Resources among Middle-Management Men," in Jaco (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 85.

[12] William E. Henry, "The Business Executive: The Psychodynamics of Social Roles," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIV (January, 1949), 286–91.

SIBLING CONFIGURATIONS OF SCIENTISTS[1]

S. STEWART WEST

ABSTRACT

Birth order and number of siblings are reported for 813 scientists in six research organizations. Frequencies of the first, fifth, and sixth orders of birth are found to be enhanced and frequencies of the second, third, and fourth orders depressed, relative to chance expectation. Siblings of respondents are distributed randomly with regard to sex. Comparison of the sample distribution in number of siblings with the distribution expected from the general population demonstrates a rapid decrease of the ratio of observed to expected frequency with increasing size of sibship. The latter data support either a hypothesis that relative isolation in childhood is a prerequisite for successful pursuit of research or a hypothesis that mothers of scientists tend to have fewer children than normal.

For several decades it has been known that samples of gifted children[2] or eminent men[3] show frequencies of first-born persons larger than chance expectation from their distributions in number of siblings. However, little attention has been given to other orders of birth or to the shape of the distribution in number of siblings and its relation to expectation from the general population. At least one large sample of eminent scientists[4] has been described without computation of expected frequencies. Samples of psychotics[5] and of neurotic patients[6] are available for comparing failure in social adjustment with outstanding success.

This report describes the sibling configurations of a sample of persons engaged in research, the criterion of selection being occupation only, without regard to eminence. (The term "scientist" will be used to mean any person engaged in the production of new knowledge, either in basic research or in applied research or development, including research engineers.) The purpose of the report was to obtain clues to the relationship between early socialization in the parental family and choice of research as an occupation. The data were obtained as part of a larger investigation of research organizations by means of questionnaires distributed to the entire research personnel of each of five industrial laboratories and seven science departments of a large midwestern university (Table 1).

Comparison of sites in respect to distribution of respondents in birth order and to distribution in number of sibs by means of chi-square test showed no significant difference between the academic site (Site I) and any one of the industrial sites (II–VI). No two of the industrial sites differed significantly in distribution in size of family, although either II or IV differed from either III or VI as to distribution in birth order (at the .05 level of chi square). It was therefore not appropriate to treat the sites separately, and their distributions were combined. Table 2 shows the distribution of

[1] Data for this paper were collected in collaboration with Dr. Donald C. Pelz of the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan. The work was supported by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

[2] L. M. Terman *et al.*, *Genetic Studies of Genius*, Vol. I: *The Mental and Physical Traits of a Thousand Gifted Children* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1925).

[3] J. McK. Cattell and D. K. Brimhall, *American Men of Science* (3d ed.; Garrison, N.Y.: Science Press, 1921; H. Ellis, *A Study of British Genius* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1926); Anne Roe, "A Psychological Study of Eminent Psychologists and Anthropologists, and a Comparison with Biological and Physical Scientists," *Psychological Monographs*, Vol. LXVII, No. 2, Whole No. 352 (1953). See also the summary and discussion by H. E. Jones in *Manual of Child Psychology*, ed. Leonard Carmichael (1st ed.; New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1946), pp. 607–8.

[4] S. S. Visher, *Scientists Starred 1903–1943 in "American Men of Science"* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1947), p. 537.

[5] Benjamin Malzberg, *Social and Biological Aspects of Mental Disease* (Utica, N.Y.: State Hospitals Press, 1940), pp. 265, 270.

[6] Alan Norton "Incidence of Neurosis Related to Maternal Age and Birth Order," *British Journal of Social Medicine*, VI (1952), 253–258.

the total sample in sibship size and birth order; Table 3, the distribution in mother's birth cohort and father's occupational class according to the Kinsey scale.[7]

Expected frequencies of birth order were computed from the distribution in number of sibs by assuming an equiprobable distribution among the possible positions in a sibship of given size, according to the method of Greenwood and Yule.[8] Table 4A com-

[7] A. C. Kinsey, W. B. Pomeroy, and C. E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948), pp. 77–79.

[8] M. Greenwood, Jr., and G. Udney Yule, "On the Determination of Size of Family and of the Distribution of Characters in Order of Birth from Samples Taken through Members of the Sibships," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, LXXVII (1913–14), 179–97.

TABLE 1

CHARACTERISTICS OF SITES

	Site I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total
Type of research*	R	A, D	R, A, D	A, D	D	D	
Percentage of persons with doctorate	97 7	11 8	43.4	3.7	2.5	..	34.7
Total questionnaires distributed	238	60	218	213	129	70	928
Total questionnaires completed	178	54	212	189	118	62	813
In mathematics, physics, or chemistry	80	54	118	189	118	62	621
In biological science	38	...	94	.....	.....	..	132
In social science	60	....	....	.....	.....	..	60

* R = basic research; A = applied research; D = development.

TABLE 2

ORDER OF BIRTH AND SIZE OF SIBSHIP

Size of Sibship	No. Respondents in Stated Order of Birth: 1	2	3	4	5	6	7 or More	Total
1	125	.....	.....	....	....	...	....	125
2	149	113	.....	....	...	....	....	262
3	67	47	63	...	...	....	...	177
4	41	29	24	22	....	...	....	116
5	14	10	12	9	15	...	....	60
6	5	3	4	4	5	7	....	28
7	2	3	1	3	2	4	2	17
8	....	2	1	4	3	3	1	14
9	.....	1	1	....	1	2	....	5
10 or more	...	1	2	2	..	1	3	9
Total	403	209	108	44	26	17	6	813
Expected	366.3	241.3	110 3	51.3	22.3	10.3	11.2	813

TABLE 3

MOTHER'S BIRTH COHORT AND FATHER'S OCCUPATIONAL CLASS

Mother Born	No. Respondents with Father in Stated Kinsey Class: 8 or 9	7	6	5	F*	4	3	2	Unknown	Total
1916–20	..	...	...	...	...	2	..	..	..	2
1911–15	..	3	3	6	1	9	3	..	..	25
1906–10	..	11	15	26	5	21	13	1	2	94
1901–5	3	10	29	32	9	16	12	3	5	119
1896–1900	1	38	34	54	5	35	25	5	13	210
1891–95	4	15	24	28	6	13	12	2	5	109
1886–90	1	11	18	21	13	15	5	2	6	92
1881–85	..	10	13	19	6	8	4	1	7	68
1876–80	..	4	12	13	8	5	1	..	..	43
1871–75	..	3	5	11	4	1	..	..	1	25
1866–70	..	2	4	5	2	2	..	..	1	16
1846–65	..	2	1	2	2	3	..	..	..	10
Total	9	109	158	217	61	130	75	14	40	813

* Class F contains all farmers, normally included in classes 4 and 5.

pares fractional deviations of observed frequencies from expected values so obtained (only children being excluded) for the distribution in Table 2 and for seven other distributions cited in the first paragraph of this paper. Three of the samples were not large enough to make their deviations significant by chi-square test, but their positions in the sequence of Table 4 may provide grounds for useful conjectures. The data from Terman's sample of gifted children suggest, for example, that intelligence as measured by the Stanford-Binet scale is not a sufficient (or perhaps even necessary) condition for success in research, a conjecture supported by Roe's tests[9] of eminent physicists and biologists.

Frequency of first-born persons is enhanced and frequencies of second-born and third-born are depressed in each of the first six samples. Fractional deviations at higher birth orders were estimated by combining the four samples of scientists, which can overlap only slightly, the sum of deviations being divided by the sum of expected values at each birth order to obtain the data of Table 5. Deviations are positive for Orders 1, 5, and 6, and negative for Orders 2, 3, and 4. The absolute deviations at Orders 5 and 6 are small, but probably indicate real enhancements.

Alternatively, one may assume that the expected number of persons in each order of birth for sibships of size N is the average of the numbers in the second and higher orders, summing as before over all values of N. This is equivalent to an expectation that the first, and only the first, order will show a frequency different from chance. When equiprobability is thus assumed only for the second and higher orders, the Cattell and West samples show fractional deviations (Table 4B) from which one may infer that the fifth position is also associated with a larger than average probability of choosing research as an occupation.

Table 6 shows that probability of inclusion in the sample is not appreciably dependent on the sex distribution of an individual's siblings. The frequencies of the various proportions of male siblings are consistent with binomial distribution at equal probabilities for male and female. $P(\chi^2) = .85$ for one to five siblings, inclusive. Older siblings are likewise distributed randomly in sex, with $P(\chi^2) = .47$.

To explain the enhancement of frequency of first-born persons, the "isolation" hypothesis of Faris is still attractive. Faris points out that, in order to develop into a competent scientist, one must have an organized and consistent childhood, pursue knowledge rationally and without accepting customary formulas of behavior, and be confident of success where the greatest authorities have failed.[10] These things are presumably possible only as results of minimal interaction with siblings (as in the case of the first-born), with parents, and with peers.

If isolation from siblings is important after the first few years of life, the frequency of only children should be enhanced more than is that of first-born children of multiple sibships. One way of ascertaining whether such an enhancement does in fact occur is to determine the distribution function relating number of mothers to number of children in the completed family on the basis of the sample data for families of two or more children and, from this, to predict an expected number of one-child families which can be compared with the number in the sample. As a first approximation, we shall neglect the small birth-order effect and assume that, except possibly for only children, the probability that a given child will become a scientist is independent both of birth order and of sibship size. When this probability is small, say of the order of .01, the distribution of mothers is closely approximated by dividing each frequency of sibship size in Table 2 by the number of members of the sibship.

No satisfactory mathematical model for such a distribution appears to have been de-

[9] Anne Roe, "A Psychological Study of Physical Scientists," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, XLIII (1951), 231.

[10] R. E. L. Faris, "Sciological Causes of Genius," *American Sociological Review*, V (1940), 689–99.

TABLE 4

COMPARISON WITH SAMPLES OF OTHER INVESTIGATORS
A. Deviations from Equiprobability of All Birth Orders
(Only Children Excluded)

Source*	Population	Sample Size	No. Children per Mother	Percentage Deviation from Expected Value for Stated Birth Order			Level of Significance
				1	2	3	
Roe	Scientists, upper 1 per cent...	64	2.09	54	−17	−70	.05
Cattell	Scientists, upper 25 per cent..	855	3.21	40	−17	−20	.001
Visher	Scientists, upper 25 per cent	824	2.81	21	−20	−19	.001
West	Scientists, total...........	813	2.22	15	−13	−2	.05
Malzberg	Manic-depressives.........	498	4.05	16	−6	−1	n.s.
Terman	Gifted children.......	574	2.27	12	−7	−8	n.s.
Malzberg	Schizophrenics.......	549	3.54	−1	−1	5	n.s.
Norton	Neurotics........	2,500	3.15	−8	−3	−5	.05

B. Deviations from Equiprobability of Second and Higher Birth Orders
(Only Children Excluded)

Source*	Percentage Deviation from Expected Value for Stated Birth Order					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Cattell ..	66	−3	−6	−6	21	9
West..	29	−3	6	−7	17	

* For source see nn. 2–6 in text

TABLE 5

DEVIATIONS IN TOTAL OF FOUR SAMPLES OF SCIENTISTS*

Birth Order	No. Observed	No. Expected	Deviation		Percentage of Sample
			No.	Percentage of Expected No.	
1	1,134	956.0	178.0	18.6	7.0
2	573	688.0	−115.0	−16.7	−4.5
3	341	405.0	−64.0	−15.8	−2.5
4	203	230.6	27.6	−12.0	−1.1
5	144	128.3	15.7	12.2	0.6
6....	85	73.1	11.9	16.3	0.5
7..	41	38.3	2.7	7.0	0.1
8 or more	35	36.7	−1.7	−4.5	−0.1

* N = 2,556.

TABLE 6

SEX OF SIBLINGS*

No. Siblings	No. Respondents with Stated No. Male Siblings							Total
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6 or More	
0	125		...	.	.	..	.	125
1	132	130	.	..	.	.	..	262
2	38	90	49		..	..	..	177
3	14	40	47	15	..	..	..	116
4	6	16	27	11	..	.	.	60
5	2	7	8	7	4	.		28
6 or more		4	8	10	8	8	7	45
Total..	317	287	139	43	12	8	7	813

* Total male siblings = 828; total female siblings = 816.

veloped by demographers. It is somewhat like a Poisson distribution, but frequency does not decrease rapidly enough with sibship size to make it Poissonian. Brass[11] proposes the truncated negative binomial as a distribution function, but its parameters are often indeterminate in practice, and it fits both our data and census data rather poorly. However, the cumulative lognormal distribution[12] is an excellent representation of observed cumulative distributions of mothers with respect to number of children in the completed family when class intervals are taken as bounded by half-integral values of number of children. This can readily be verified by plotting distributions from census data on logarithmic probability paper. What is needed here is a descriptive formula, and we shall not consider theoretical implications.

The computed distribution of mothers according to number of children is well fitted by a cumulative lognormal distribution with mean 0.63 and standard deviation 0.55 (in units of natural logarithm of number of children). Computing from the fitted distribution of mothers to the distribution of children on the assumption of small and constant probability for all children of all sibship sizes, one obtains the fitted distribution shown in Table 7, which is not significantly different from the observed distribution ($P[\chi^2] = .58$). The lognormal function, therefore, gives an excellent fit by Fisher's criterion. That it has also the same shape as distributions found in census data can be seen by comparison with the distribution of ever married white women who had completed high school and were forty-five to forty-nine years old in 1950, the two being almost identical. In this sense, the frequency of one-child sibships is consistent with the rest of the distribution.

From the bivariate distribution of respondents in mother's birth cohort and father's occupational class (Table 3) and tabulations of census data given by Grabill, Kiser, and Whelpton,[13] a sufficiently good approximation to the expected distribution of mothers can be constructed as follows: Mean number of children ever born per white woman of the United States, married once and husband present, is available for each of the several occupational classes from the censuses of 1910, 1940, and 1950. From these data, mean number of children among women with essentially completed families is known for each occupational class of each of six cohorts (five-year ranges of woman's year of birth). Values for other cohorts can be estimated by interpolation and extrapolation of curves of mean number of children as a function of mean year of cohort.

TABLE 7

NUMBER OF SIBS

No. S of Siblings	Observed	No. Respondents By Lognormal Fit	Expected	Observed/ Expected	$2e^{-(S/4)^{3/2}}$
0	125	125	64	1.95	2.00
1	262	262	138	1.90	1.78
2	177	189	129	1.37	1.40
3	116	107	107	1.08	1.05
4	60	57	80	0.75	0.74
5	28	29	63	0.44	0.49
6	17	15	54	0.31	0.32
7	14	9	51	0.27	0.20
8 or more	14	20	127	0.11	0.12
Total	813	813	813		

[11] W. Brass, "The Distribution of Births in Human Populations," *Population Studies*, XII (1958), 51–72.

[12] For mathematical background see J. Aitchison and J. A. C. Brown, *The Lognormal Distribution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957).

[13] W. H. Grabill, C. V. Kiser, and P. K. Whelpton, *The Fertility of American Women* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1958), pp. 46, 132, 321.

These are values for survivors only, but the mean number of children per *mother* among the survivors of a cohort differs by zero to at most 5 per cent from the mean number per mother of the total cohort and was used here to replace the latter quantity.

It was then assumed that the distributions of mothers in total cohorts constituted a one-parameter group, definable by mean number of children only, and, further, that the distributions of subdivisions of cohorts by occupational class were members of the same group as those of total cohorts. For each number of children in the completed family, percentage of mothers having this number was plotted as a function of mean number of children per married woman. Corresponding to the value of mean number of children estimated as in the preceding paragraph for each cell of Table 3, values of percentage were obtained from these curves for each cell of that table. Averaging percentage of mothers in Table 3 for each number of children then yields an expected distribution of mothers, from which the expected distribution of respondents in Table 7 is obtained by multiplying each frequency of mothers by the corresponding number of children. This indirect procedure is necessitated by the nature of the available data, and any errors thus introduced will be those of smoothing only, being almost certainly small in comparison to sampling deviations in the data to which comparison is made.

The mean of this expected distribution is 3.14 children per mother, whereas the mean computed from the sample on the assumption of equiprobability is only 2.22 children per mother. The ratio of observed to expected frequency decreases monotonically with increasing number S of sibs and can be fairly well approximated by a function $2e^{-(S/4)^{1/2}}$ (Table 7). That the same relation holds for all mothers' cohorts and for all fathers' occupational classes is indicated by Table 8, in which are listed mean numbers of children per mother estimated from the general population (a) on the assumption of small, constant probability, (b) on the assumption of an exponential decrease

TABLE 8

NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER MOTHER, BY MOTHER'S BIRTH COHORT AND BY FATHER'S CLASS

	No. Respondents	Mean No. Children per Mother: From General Population, Assuming Equiprobability	From General Population, Assuming Exponential Decrease of Probability	From Sample, Assuming Equiprobability
Mother born:				
1911–20	27	2.68	2.07	2.22
1906–10	94	2.73	2.09	2.12
1901–5	119	2.80	2.10	2.08
1896–1900	210	2.90	2.13	2.12
1891–95	109	3.10	2.20	2.35
1886–90	92	3.52	2.33	2.30
1881–85	68	3.53	2.34	2.35
1876–80	43	3.93	2.44	2.44
1846–75	51	4.30	2.59	2.72
Total	813	3.14	2.22	2.22
Father's class:				
7, 8, or 9	118	2.59	2.04	2.03
6	158	2.88	2.13	2.12
5	217	2.64	2.06	2.13
Farmers	61	5.34	2.92	3.13
4	130	3.46	2.32	2.33
3	75	3.62	2.38	2.31
2	14	3.82	2.43	2.18
Total	773			

of probability as in Table 7, and (*c*) computed from the sample on the assumption of constant probability. (Constant probability here means probability of choosing research as an occupation, which is the same for all orders of birth and all sizes of sibship.) Even the larger differences between (*b*) and (*c*) are not statistically significant in terms of comparison between the observed distribution of respondents in sibship size and the expected distribution derived on the assumption of exponential decrease. The same probability function was used in all computations of type (*b*).

The preceding discussion suggests two alternative hypotheses: (1) that scientists are produced chiefly by mothers of a specific kind, who have a tendency to have fewer children than normal, or (2) that interaction among siblings inhibits the development of the scientific personality. An exponential decrease of probability with sibship size could as readily result from the first situation as from the second. If the sample has been derived by equiprobable selection, the distribution of mothers is as if the probability of bearing the $(N+1)$st child, having had the Nth, were about 70 per cent of the corresponding probability in the general population, for $N \geq 2$.

Recent data of Schachter do not seem to accord with hypothesis (2), in that, in addition to indicating that greater anxiety is aroused in first-born children than in those later born by a given situation, the data show that need for affiliation under stress is stronger in the first-born than in the later born and decreases with increasing sibship size.[14] The first of these findings is compatible with Roe's observation of a high level of free anxiety in eminent physicists and biologists, but the second conflicts with their relative lack of social interests. However, although Schachter's subjects were female and most scientists are male, the discrepancy seems more likely to be due to alternative means for reducing anxiety than to sex.

If some degree of early isolation is a prerequisite for producing a scientist, then the probability that a given child will become a scientist should vary inversely with sibship size, but so many circumstances affect the interaction of siblings that theoretical construction of the discrete probability function of which the exponential form is an approximate envelope becomes very difficult. Extrinsic variables, such as availability of money for education or current attitudes about scientists, appear to be unimportant, since the same function applies to all classes and to all cohorts within the limits of sampling variation. They may, however, enter into the selection by birth order, since the oldest child will tend to have first call on limited resources for education. In addition, the effectiveness of interaction between siblings is likely to depend on differences in their ages. Interaction may focus on some sibs and leave others relatively unaffected, as Bales, Strodtbeck, Mills, and Roseborough found in small groups.[15] Somewhat more can still be done with demographic variables, but, for the most part, investigation must proceed in the area of the dynamics of family life.

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[14] Stanley Schachter, *The Psychology of Affiliation* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1959).

[15] R. F. Bales, F. L. Strodtbeck, T. M. Mills, and M. E. Roseborough, "Channels of Communication in Small Groups," *American Sociological Review* XVI (1951), 461-68.

ACCULTURATION WITHOUT ASSIMILATION? THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF CHICAGO, ILLINOIS[1]

ERICH ROSENTHAL

ABSTRACT

The settlement pattern of the Jewish population of Chicago has been interpreted in terms of the successive stages of the "race-relations cycle" from acculturation to assimilation. An examination of the recent relocation of this population at the northern city limits and beyond indicates that this spatial concentration is a result of the housing market as well as of the desire for voluntary segregation. Voluntary segregation in a high-status area combined with a modicum of Jewish education appears to be effective in preventing large-scale assimilation.

It is no exaggeration to say that the most outstanding social change in our industrial cities since the end of the war has been the tremendous shifting and moving about of the entire urban population. Nearly every individual and every household has moved at least once within his urban area during the past fifteen years. We have become keenly aware of the in-migrants from the southern United States, white as well as nonwhite, and from Puerto Rico—newcomers who have settled in the older sections of our cities and to some extent have put the total resident population in motion. We are aware, too, of the new communities that have sprung up at the edges of cities, within the corporate limits and beyond, in so-called suburbia where farms and pastures have given way to ranches, split-level houses and shopping centers.

For over forty years American sociologists under the leadership of the Department of Sociology of the University of Chicago have paid close attention to the distribution of population within our northern industrial cities, of which Chicago may well be taken as the prototype. They have found that at a given time racial, ethnic, and religious groups are not randomly scattered but are concentrated in neighborhoods and that the movement of an ethnic or religious group from one neighborhood to another follows a pattern. Usually the movement is directed away from older neighborhoods near the center of the city toward newer and more desirable residential areas, at or near the periphery, where both the physical condition of housing and social conditions are better than those in the area left behind.

While a number of studies have measured—in miles—the procession of all major nationality groups through the city from their respective areas of first entry,[2] the Jewish population of Chicago was singled out for a detailed qualitative analysis. In *The Ghetto*—first published in 1928 and reissued in 1956—the late Louis Wirth gave a detailed description of the area of first settlement around the turn of the century, its eventual liquidation, and the movement of the Jewish population to areas of second and third settlement.[3] However, he was not satisfied with describing the movements from area to area but looked upon the sequence of moves as symbols of cultural, social, and social-psychological processes. Such movement is the expression of a further step toward Americanization and acculturation. Whenever a family moves to a "better" location, it does so in the hope of improving its social status, of getting "rid of the handicap of foreignness and

[1] Financial support for this study was provided by a field work grant from the American Philosophical Society.

[2] Paul F. Cressey, "Population Succession in Chicago: 1898–1930," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (July, 1938), 59–69; Richard G. Ford, "Population Succession in Chicago," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVI (September, 1950), 156–60.

[3] *The Ghetto* ("Phoenix Books," No. 7 [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956]).

Jewishness at one clip."[4] Finally, according to this theory, the move from a Jewish neighborhood is motivated by the desire to flee, to alienate oneself from one's fellow Jews, to live in a neighborhood that has lost all traces of ethnicity. Assimilation and integration are the terminal phases of these processes.

It is the purpose of this paper to pick up the thread and describe the flow of Jewish communal life since the late twenties and to examine whether and to what extent the cultural, social, and psychological forces that were projected have made an impact upon the community.[5]

In the late twenties a newcomer to Chicago learned rather quickly that the Jewish population of the city was dispersed over all parts of the city, not evenly, of course, but in well-defined local communities. Each community offered its residents a specific type of housing, a particular set of Jewish and public institutions, and a differential level of status.

In 1930 the Jewish population of the city was estimated at 270,000, of which just about half lived in local communities on the West Side. Of these, North Lawndale, with its 75,000 Jewish residents, constituting about 67 per cent of the total population of the area, was the most distinctive Jewish community of the city. As the successor to the old "ghetto," the area of first settlement, it had become the center of Jewish life. An additional one-fourth of the Jewish population—about 69,000—lived on the Northwest Side, with the community of Albany Park containing the largest Jewish settlement, about 23,000 persons. On the North and South Sides the Jewish population amounted to about 12 per cent each. Rogers Park on the North Side and South Shore on the South Side contained the largest Jewish settlements, with about 11,000 persons each.[6] Within the city a residence in a South Side neighborhood conferred the highest status, followed by the North, Northwest, and West Sides, in that order. Outside the city, residence in a North Shore suburb bestowed the highest status, surpassing any area within the city limits.

This pattern of spatial distribution was well correlated with the pattern of acculturation: the West Side, with the largest number and proportion of foreign-born, was the seat of orthodoxy and of secular Jewish movements. Albany Park to the northwest was a transitional community characterized by one reform and a few orthodox synagogues, while the North and South Side communities were dominated by reform temples. At the same time, the pattern of internal migration functioned in accordance with the sociological scheme: the West Side was losing population in a small but steady stream which was directed to the other neighborhoods in a predictable manner.

A study of the shifts in the distribution of the Jewish population between 1930, the onset of the depression, and 1946, the end of World War II and the height of the housing shortage, corroborated the sociological expectations: the older communities with the largest numbers and highest concentrations experienced the greatest losses,

[4] The phrase is taken from a discussion of name changes by H. L. Mencken, in *The American Language* (4th ed.; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1936), p. 501.

[5] This study is based on a combination of sociological methods. The writer spent most of his time in local communities, where he studied the signs of physical change, collected local newspapers, and studied the history of the neighborhood. The directors of social agencies, schools, libraries, and religious organizations were interviewed to determine the nature of the change in the neighborhood, the impact of the change upon local institutions, and their adaptation to it. Since many institutions are trying to meet the threat to their survival by a systematic study of the changes in their constituency, the personnel made excellent informants who were anxious to exchange ideas with a specialist who had made the effort to come all the way from New York. The research staffs of city-wide public and private planning agencies furnished the writer with the most recent demographic and economic analyses.

[6] Erich Rosenthal, "The Jewish Population of Chicago, Illinois," in *The Chicago Pinkas*, ed. S. Rawidowicz (Chicago: College of Jewish Studies, 1952), p. 76, Table 16.

while the neighborhoods near the edges of the city showed the greatest gains.[7] The fact that the North Side communities showed a considerably greater gain than the older South Side communities was interpreted as a continuation of the existing trend toward a more even distribution of the Jewish population over all parts of the city and toward a continued process of acculturation and rise in status.

Today we know that the spectacular growth of the Jewish population on the North Side between 1930 and 1946 was the initial step toward high concentration. Since the end of the war, the nearly even distribution of the Jewish population over all parts of the city, together with the orderly streams of internal migration from one status area to another, has given way to a high concentration in the northern neighborhoods and suburbs. Today, of the total Jewish population of the Chicago area —estimated at 282,000—nearly 60 per cent have settled into one area, stretching from Albany Park in the southwest within the city to Highland Park, the northernmost suburb on Lake Michigan.[8] While the overall proportion of Jewish to non-Jewish residents in this area appears to be about 40 per cent in the city and 30 per cent in suburban towns, each contains neighborhoods where the density is as high as 90 per cent or more.[9] The next step, then, is to discover the cause for this reversal of a long-time trend and to examine whether these facts require a revision of long-cherished social theories.

The settlement pattern of the Jewish group—or, for that matter, of any group—is determined by the "push," the pressure that other ethnic and racial groups exert, as well as by the "pull" that draws a group to a new neighborhood. It is well to remember that "pull," as well as "push," is involved in shortening the period of occupancy of an area by a given group and in shortening the life span of the unique set of institutions designed to serve the group during its tenure. The current settlement pattern of the Jewish population of Chicago has been greatly influenced by the "push," the pressure exercised by the influx of southern in-migrants, white as well as Negro; of the two, Negro in-migrants have been by far the stronger force in the relocation of the Jewish population and its communal institutions. The Negro population of Chicago increased from 282,000 to 509,000 between 1940 and 1950.[10] Between 1950 and 1957 the Negro population has increased by an estimated additional 240,000, bringing the total up to 749,000 or 20 per cent of the total population of the city.[11] The absorption of this large wave of in-migrants was aided to a considerable extent by the removal of the Jewish population from West Side communities, particularly from North Lawndale, which between 1915 and 1945 had the highest concentration of Jewish population and which, through its array of institutions, was the most distinguishable Jewish community of the city.[12] Although in 1946 North Lawndale had been all white, by 1954 the area had become an all-Negro community.[13]

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 78, Table 17.

[8] *Report on Jewish Population of Metropolitan Chicago* (mimeographed; Chicago: Jewish Federation of Philanthropies, May, 1959), pp. 5, 12, 14.

[9] Maurice G. Guysenir, "Jewish Vote in Chicago," *Jewish Social Studies*, XX (October, 1958), 197; the figure of 30 per cent is from unpublished research by the Chicago office of the Anti-Defamation League.

[10] Otis D. Duncan and Beverly Duncan, *The Negro Population of Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 27.

[11] Chicago Community Inventory, *Population Growth in the Chicago Standard Metropolitan Area, 1950–1957* (Chicago, February, 1958), p. 10.

[12] Erich Rosenthal, "This Was North Lawndale: The Transplantation of a Jewish Community," *Jewish Social Studies*, XXII (April, 1960), 67–82.

[13] The number of Negroes in North Lawndale increased from 380 in 1940 to 13,146 in 1950, constituting 0.4 per cent of the total population in 1940 and 13.1 per cent in 1950 (Philip M. Hauser and Evelyn M. Kitagawa [eds.], *Local Community Fact Book for Chicago, 1950* [Chicago: Chicago Community Inventory, 1953], p. 123).

In eight years about 100,000 whites, of whom an estimated 64,000 were Jewish, had evacuated the neighborhood and were replaced by an estimated 120,000 Negroes. A considerably smaller number of Jewish persons was displaced from the lakefront communities on the South Side as the so-called Black Belt began to expand eastward into Kenwood, Woodlawn, and parts of Hyde Park at about the time that the Supreme Court issued its ruling against the enforcement of race-restrictive covenants.

While the Negro in-migrants have made their homes on the West and South Sides of the city, the southern white in-migrant, the so-called hillbilly, has found his new habitat on the North Side, mainly in the Uptown community.[14] It is estimated that this group displaced about 25,000 Jewish persons.[15]

Although the settlement of southern in-migrants is undoubtedly the largest force in the relocation of Jewish neighborhoods, there are other, comparably smaller forces at work in uprooting Jewish neighborhoods. According to one informant—whom I shall call Rabbi Brightman—the Jewish residents of the North Side community of Logan Square, which is far removed from the scenes and problems of racial succession, have left the area because of a change in the rules governing admission to public high schools.[16] It appears that, until recently, the students of this area had a choice of attending the local high school or one outside the district in a large Jewish community to the north. The Jewish families had made intensive use of this option and sent their high-school youth to the school outside the area. When the Chicago Board of Education issued a new ruling under which the students would have to attend the local high school, the Jewish parents who had disapproved of the standards of the local school all along left the neighborhood for the far North Side as soon as possible.

The rapid evacuation of Jewish neighborhoods and the concomitant lack of resistance to the possession of these areas can be attributed to three attributes of the Jewish population of the city, namely, relatively low home ownership, relatively high income, and demand for residence in high-status areas. The surrender of an area to another group is probably greatly facilitated if the majority of the residents do not own their own homes, as was the case with the Jewish population. In 1940, five years before the population exchange began, only 13.5 per cent of foreign-born Jewish persons were home-owners, compared with an average of 36.9 per cent of foreign-born persons from "old" countries and 39.2 per cent from "new" countries. The difference between native-born Jews of foreign or mixed parentage and the averages for such persons from "old" and "new" countries is of the same magnitude. Although income data for the total Jewish population are not available, returns of the 1950 census indicate that foreign-born Jewish persons had higher incomes in 1949 than did foreign-born persons from other ethnic groups.[17] Therefore, some segments of the Jewish population did not have to resist the newcomers for economic reasons but were able and, as will be shown below, rather eager to move to newer and better housing in higher-status areas eight miles or more from the old neighborhood.

It has been demonstrated that the demand for high-status areas by the Jewish

[14] Bert P. Schloss, "The Uptown Community Area and the Southern White In-Migrant," (mimeographed, unpublished study; Chicago: Chicago Commission on Human Relations, May, 1957); and Albert N. Votaw, "The Hillbillies Invade Chicago," *Harper's Magazine*, CCXVI (February, 1958), 64–67.

[15] *Report on Jewish Population of Metropolitan Chicago*, p. 10.

[16] For a recent survey of the area see "A Study of the Logan Square Community" by the Research Department of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations (mimeographed; Chicago, February, 1958).

[17] Data in this paragraph are from Otis D. Duncan and Stanley Lieberson, "Ethnic Segregation and Assimilation," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXIV (January, 1959), 371.

population precedes the surrender of older neighborhoods to the non-white population. A detailed study into the causes of the liquidation of North Lawndale, the most "ghetto-like" Jewish community of Chicago, revealed that the young adults had left the area for other neighborhoods in the city. The loss of 10,000 people between 1930 and 1940 was confined to persons under forty-five years of age, while the population aged over sixty-five years increased by 50 per cent. The same pattern was repeated for the next decade.[18] This vacuum was filled by the Negro population, which needed housing desperately. Since cities up to now have not succeeded in developing and maintaining racially mixed neighborhoods, even those people who would be better off by staying in the old area are compelled to swell the stream of migrants. This is particularly true of old persons and households with marginal status.

Since the displacement of the Jewish group is in large measure due to the settlement of a large body of non-white in-migrants, the question arises whether the resettlement pattern of the Jewish population, namely, the heavy concentration on the North Side, has also been influenced by the arrival of about one-quarter million Negroes in the last decade. To the extent that a combination of the growth of the non-white population together with continued and increased segregation (and a recent study has found an increase in segregation[19]) begets increased white segregation, the answer must be affirmative. But the major reason for the concentration of the Jewish population to the north of the city must be sought elsewhere, namely, in the fact that the Jewish population directs its housing demand toward—and perhaps even limits it to—the area of highest status. This drive for residential status is by no means limited to the Jewish population of Chicago. In a recent study the historian John Higham has shown that settlement in the area of highest status has been a goal of many Jewish communities in the country.[20]

Although the North Side had steadily gained social ascendancy over the South Side since the end of the first World's Fair in 1893,[21] within the Jewish community a residence in a lakeside community on the South Side conferred very high status at least until the end of World War I. The preference for the North Side and North Shore, however, was evident as early as 1925, fully twenty-five years before Jews arrived there in any large numbers, and was commented upon in a Jewish newspaper: "It is unfortunate that the Jewish population has the moving spirit and neighborhoods change practically overnight. First it was Douglas and Independence Boulevards, then the North Shore district, then Rogers Park: now it is Wilmette, Winnetka, Glencoe, etc."[22] It appears that at the same time young people were consciously oriented toward the North Shore suburbs. The director of the Jewish People's Institute, which in 1925 was still located in the area of first settlement, recorded in his annual report that the students in the JPI evening school had, under the guidance of their teachers, organized summer outings to the North Shore, namely, to Highland Park and to Ravinia Park, the site of the outdoor music festival.[23]

It therefore comes as no surprise when one informant says that his strong desire to leave the North Lawndale area for Wil-

[18] Rosenthal, "This Was North Lawndale," p. 74.

[19] Duncan and Duncan, *op. cit.*, pp. 95–96; see also *The Management of Neighborhood Change*, abridged proceedings of the City-Wide Workshop, April 10–12, 1959 (Chicago: Chicago Commission on Human Relations, n.d.).

[20] "Social Discrimination against Jews in America, 1830–1930," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, XLVII (September, 1957), 18–19.

[21] Homer Hoyt, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933), pp. 304–6.

[22] *Chicago Chronicle*, January 16, 1925 (quoted in Wirth, *op. cit.*, p. 257).

[23] Philip L. Seman, *The Jewish Community Center* (Chicago: Jewish People's Institute 1925), pp. 13–14.

mette had been formed when, as a youngster, he gained the impression from the local newspapers that all the good things in life could be found in the North Shore suburbs. That the northward orientation is as strong as ever can be seen from the report of the athletic director of a boys' club in the North Side community of Albany Park, which has become the southernmost Jewish community in the city. The youngsters, many of whom are recent arrivals from neighborhoods to the south, have refused to visit the bathing beaches at Montrose Avenue nearest their homes. Instead, they, insist on going to the beaches to the north near the city limits and beyond. A recent survey reveals that the North Side is continuing to attract Jewish residents from other parts of the city: for example, thirty-four out of thirty-eight respondents who were planning to leave a West Side community had indicated a preference for the North Side.[24] The attraction to this area is buttressed by the fact that it is predominantly, if not exclusively, white.[25] It therefore relieves its residents from psychological anxiety about status and economic anxiety about problems of tenancy and home ownership in a neighborhood threatened by racial succession.[26]

Since the housing market is, of course, composed of supply as well as demand, we shall now turn to the question of how the demand of the Jewish population for housing on the North Side of the city and in the North Shore suburbs has been met. Based on past experience, it cannot be taken for granted that the existing supply of housing is made available to the Jewish population in an unlimited manner. The nature and extent of discrimination against Jews in the field of housing in the Chicago area has been the subject of a recent study.[27] From it we learn that, while large-scale systematic discrimination is not practiced within the city, "pockets of discrimination" against Jews as tenants of apartments are found in all areas. Restrictions covering co-operative apartments appear to be in effect in "more than half of at least 5,000" such units. According to the same report, among the North Shore suburbs the towns of Kenilworth and Lake Forests "are almost completely closed to Jews." In the other North Shore suburbs it was found that the older neighborhoods which had been built up before the war were not open to Jewish families. However, the relocation of the Jewish population to the North Side and the North Shore was not effectively barred by discriminatory practices in the resale of existing housing units: The bulk of the Jewish population moved into new subdivisions developed since the end of the war. However, the existing barriers were found to contribute to "the growth of segregated communities," where the proportion of Jewish families is often as high as 90 per cent. Since many of the new neighborhoods were developed by Jewish builders and promoters, prospective Jewish families, far from being discouraged, were actively solicited by advertisements in Jewish news media to move into these new areas.[28] The speed of the relocation of the Jewish population, particularly into West Ridge (popularly known as West Rogers Park) and the suburb of Skokie was facilitated by the postwar availability of large tracts of vacant land which

[24] Jewish Community Centers of Chicago, "JPI Survey of Jewish Population in West Garfield Park" (mimeographed; Chicago; July, 1959).

[25] "Areas of Negro Residence in Chicago" (map), compiled and mapped by the Research Department of the Chicago Urban League, February, 1959.

[26] It is against this background that the "threat" of a racially mixed neighborhood in the northern suburb of Deerfield must be seen (*New York Times*, January 16, 1960, p. 22, col. 3; January 17, 1960, p. 16, col. 5).

[27] "Housing Discrimination against Jews," *Rights* (New York: Anti-Defamation League), II (January–February, 1959), 42.

[28] For a detailed study of the volume of new construction in West Ridge and Skokie see Research Division, Chicago Department of City Planning, *1958 Residential Construction and Trends, 1950 to 1958* (Chicago, August, 1959).

had been prematurely subdivided in the real-estate boom of the late twenties.[29]

In summary, then, the housing market behavior of the Jewish population results from the combination of regional and neighborhood factors, on the one hand, and of the forces of voluntary and enforced segregation, on the other. If the desire to move to the North Side and the northern suburbs had not been reinforced and become a necessity through the surrender of the West and South Sides, one could attribute the over-all density of the Jewish population—amounting to about 40 per cent on the North Side and about 30 per cent in the northern suburbs—to the forces of voluntary segregation. Those suburbs that practiced a restrictive housing policy contributed to enforced segregation, which amounted to as much as 90 per cent in their new developments. Within the city, in West Rogers Park, however, such a high concentration appears to be the result of an intentional effort to create a Jewish community and to relocate many of the special institutions that were abandoned in the surrender of North Lawndale.[30] The combined effect of the demand for and sometimes restricted supply of housing on the North Side and the northern suburbs is one of segregation.

Before an attempt is made to relate this recent spatial consolidation to the sociological scheme of acculturation and assimilation, status gain, and alienation, the most salient feaures of the new community of the North Side will be described. First of all, the recent consolidation of the Jewish community has not done away with income, housing, or status differentials. As a matter of fact, the resettlement in the new area proceeded in such a manner as to maintain these differentials. The swift relocation of the Jewish population was accomplished in a two-step move. Those Jewish families who at the end of the war had been residents of the North Side within the city limits made space for the newcomers by moving into the north suburbs. A study of the recent migration of Jewish families to these suburbs shows not only that each town attracts a specific income and occupational level but also that the newcomers typically come from one area rather than another.[31] For example, a former resident of Albany Park is more likely to settle in Skokie, while a family from West Rogers Park will probably move to Glencoe or Highland Park. For the local communities within the city similar regularities of migration streams can be observed between sites of departure and arrival. This differential income and status pattern is reflected by the distribution of religious institutions: There is a predominance of orthodox synagogues in the communities within the city limits, of conservative congregations in Skokie, and of reform temples on the North Shore.

The second most salient attribute of this new community is the fact that the center of strictest orthodoxy is no longer far removed from the relatively well-acculturated areas. Rather, it forms the southernmost tier of the new area of Jewish settlement and is within walking distance from the adjacent Jewish neighborhoods. It fell to Albany Park to become the center of strictest orthodoxy and the seat of the most "foreign" expression of Jewish life. Apparently, at one time Albany Park had played a crucial role in the process of acculturation and status gain for the Jewish population. Unfortunately, a detailed social history of this area is not available.[32] However, there are

[29] See "Vacant Areas," *Master Plan of Residential Land Use of Chicago* (Chicago: Plan Commission, 1943), pp. 113–18; Housing Authority of the County of Cook, Ill., *"Dead" Land* (Chicago, March 8, 1949), Appendix V.

[30] For the details of this transfer of institutions see Rosenthal, "This Was North Lawndale," pp. 76–79.

[31] For a statistical analysis based on "Welcomers" reports of the origin and destination, occupational status, and family composition of Jewish migrants to the northern suburbs see *Report on Jewish Population of Metropolitan Chicago*, pp. 40–51.

[32] For a sketch of its early history see Hauser and Kitagawa (eds.), *Local Community Fact Book for Chicago, 1950*, p. 62.

some indications that in the early twenties, when Albany Park had its heyday, this community was the launching platform for families with the greatest impetus for rapid economic advancement, rapid secularization, and Americanization. By the end of the thirties, however, this neighborhood had taken on the characteristics of older neighborhoods to the south, such as a growing number of orthodox synagogues, a community centers, and a boys' club.[33] It appears that the local leadership had not realized the slow aging and downward drift of the area and reacted with severe shock after the war when they were confronted with the fact that this area was in the process of becoming the most "ghetto-like" community of the city. Today, Albany Park has become the residential area for those households which would have prefered to stay in the old neighborhoods—particularly in North Lawndale—but were swept into the stream of migration by the onrush of the Negro population. These newcomers to Albany Park have the following characteristics: They are, according to the local merchants, less affluent than the previous residents. The new families probably comprise the weakest economic stratum of the Jewish community of Chicago. Among the new residents are a great number of aged people. Their economic plight has been recognized by the Jewish Vocational Service, which has recently opened an office in the area in order to find employment for this group. In addition, a group of Hasidim has settled here and thus contributed toward giving the area the stamp of strict orthodoxy as well as "foreignness." This "foreignness," in particular, seems to have disturbed long-time residents most and caused them to look for new residential quarters farther north.

We can now examine the question as to whether and to what extent this spatial consolidation of the Jewish community has affected the processes of acculturation, accretion in status, and alienation. According to the theory known as the "race-relations cycle," increased segregation of an ethnic group should signify the stoppage, if not the reversal, of these cultural, social, and psychological processes. According to this scheme, which calls for progressively smaller clusters, as well as progressively lower densities of Jewish residents, the process of alienation has been reversed. Apparently, the Jewish population was willing to pay this price for residence in a high-status area. While the process of Americanization has probably been only minimally affected, another aspect of acculturation, namely, secularization, appears to have been reversed. Witness the growth in the new area of religious institutions, temple and synagogue membership, religious-school attendance, and the revival of selected ceremonials, Bar Mitzvahs in particular. Finally, the very fact that an ethnic group occupies a new area in such large numbers may tend to lower the status of the area in its own eyes and in those of the community at large. To sum it up, the race-relations cycle which ran its course up to the end of World War II seems to have been brought to a standstill and experienced a serious setback. It should be of some interest that the American Council for Judaism has drawn exactly this conclusion and defined the current situation as one of "self-segregation, secular withdrawal and self-ghettoization" resulting from Zionist activity and propaganda.[34]

This view is not unrelated to the thesis developed by Wirth in *The Ghetto*. After he had described the area of first settlement, "The Chicago Ghetto" (chap. xi), and the social forces that make for "The Vanishing Ghetto" (chap. xii) he undertook to describe "The Return to the Ghetto" (chap. xiii). The major force that moves an individual to return to the "ghetto" is anti-

[33] "The Jewish Community of Albany Park," Section II of *Report of Study of the Jewish People's Institute, Chicago, Ill.* (mimeographed; New York: Jewish Welfare Board, 1937). (On deposit at the University of Chicago Libraries.)

[34] American Council for Judaism, *The President's Annual Report* (New York, 1957), pp. 15–16.

Semitism, the rejection and hostility encountered in a cold and unresponsive outside world.[35] In reaction to this experience "he tends to return to the flock and become an ardent 'Jew' and sometimes even a rabid advocate of orthodoxy and Zionism as the only fitting answer to a world that excludes and insults him."[36] This final chapter of the book ends on a note of indeterminacy. No attempt was made to forecast the spatial distribution in terms of dispersal or concentration, nor was it clear whether the return to the ghetto should be viewed as a temporary cyclical fluctuation around the long-term trend toward assimilation or whether the theoretical scheme of the race-relations cycle need be revised.[37]

However, the relocation of the Jewish population can be interpreted in a different —and, in my opinion, a more correct— manner by putting the race-relations cycle into historical perspective as well as by reexamining the causes for the spatial mobility of the Jewish population. To start with the latter, I question the validity of investing the spatial movement of the Jewish population with such a high degree of cultural, social, and psychological significance. It was Wirth himself who in 1945 cautioned against such excesses and who, in Shils's paraphrase, assigned ecology "the function of describing the unintended social consequences of market and quasi-market situations."[38] It might be more correct to give the housing market a greater weight as a determinant in the location of the Jewish population. Such factors as changing land use, changing land values, racial segregation of non-white populations, a marked shortage of adequate housing, and attempts to restrict this short supply to selected groups combine to define the location of a social group at a given time within an urban area. As was shown above, the surrender of the West and South Sides to the non-white population, the availability of residential vacant land on the North Side, the desire and economic ability to get housing that meets today's standards, all contributed to the relocation of the Jewish population in a specific area. Similarly, the encroachment of industry and railroads, street widening, and the influx of Negroes were important factors in the destruction of the original "ghetto" on the Near West Side of Chicago as was the desire for more healthful housing in a better neighborhood. It appears that the liquidation of the area of first settlement was more in the nature of upward *economic* mobility than of "social mobility altering occupation and status."[39] I propose to put the race relations cycle into historical perspective with the aid of the following considerations, namely, the difference between the process of acculturation in the United States and the process of assimilation in Europe and the difference in the rate of speed of acculturation between the Jewish group and other ethnic groups. In central and western Europe assimilation was the price demanded from the Jews for their legal and social emancipa-

[35] Louis Wirth, "The Ghetto," in *Community Life and Social Policy: Selected Papers by Louis Wirth*, ed., Elizabeth Wirth Marvick and Albert J. Reiss, Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), p. 273.

[36] Wirth, *The Ghetto*, pp. 267–68.

[37] For a stimulating reappraisal see Amitai Etzioni, "The Ghetto: A Re-Evaluation," *Social Forces*, XXXVII (March, 1959), 255–62. For a recent summary and critique of the theory of the race relations cycle as well as an interesting psycho-metric approach to the problem see Irwin D. Rinder, "Jewish Identification and the Race Relations Cycle" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1953).

[38] Louis Wirth, "Human Ecology," *American Journal of Sociology*, L (May, 1945), 483–88; Edward Shils, *The Present State of American Sociology* (Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1948), p. 9.

[39] Nathan Glazer, "Social Characteristics of American Jews, 1654–1954," *American Jewish Year Book*, LVI (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1955), 17. See also Leo Grebler, *Housing Market Behavior in a Declining Area: Long-Term Changes in Inventory and Utilization of Housing on New York's Lower East Side* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), chaps. ix, x.

tion. It was the individual person or nuclear family which, in expectation of economic and social rewards, severed its tie with the relatively small Jewish community.[40] However, for the Jews in the United States there were internal as well as external reasons for becoming acculturated in a collective rather than an individual manner. Based on the much more pronounced attributes of peoplehood, such as language, autonomous community life, and size and settlement pattern of the population, for the descendants of Jews from eastern Europe, cohesion and group survival rather than assimilation are supreme values. Therefore, the group must do everything in its power to prevent assimilation.[41] Concrete experience with the economic, social, and political organization in the United States has helped to sustain the value of group cohesion, at least until very recently. Since immigration to the United States occurred in waves of ethnic groups, each group started at or near the bottom and was moved upward by an escalator set in motion by succeeding "waves." In addition, many Jewish immigrants, rather than trying individual betterment, attempted to "better the condition of the entire Jewish working class group; and this attempt was remarkably successful."[42] The organization of trade unions was accompanied by the formation of political pressure groups and parties trying to protect their interests.[43] Moreover, the existence of Jewish neighborhoods facilitated the organization of voters into parts of political machines which rewarded the loyalty of the voters.[44] Altogether, then, with the inheritance of a strong ingroup feeling and successful collective organization for survival, assimilation was not a desirable goal.

The available evidence indicates that the Jewish population has gone through the process of acculturation at a faster rate than have other ethnic groups that arrived in the United States at about the same time. Since acculturation and social mobility are interrelated, it appears that the Jewish population has achieved a high economic, educational, and occupational status.[45] Rabbi Brightman has found that the young people of his North Side congregation are willing and eager to follow their fathers' occupations. He interprets this as a sign that a satisfactory level of income, occupation, and status has been reached.

The collective approach to, as well as the rapid rate of, social mobility has an important bearing on the process of alienation, the need to flee one's fellow Jews. It appears, first of all, that the extent of alien-

[40] The current status of acculturation of the Jewish population of England has been analyzed by Howard Brotz, "The Position of the Jews in English Society," *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, I (April, 1959), 94–113.

[41] Marshall Sklare has observed that "Jews have shown themselves *particularly* desirous of retaining some form of group identity" (*Conservative Judaism* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955], p. 34). According to him, the conservative movement owes its existence and impetus to the desire for survival. Nathan Glazer, in his survey of the literature ("What Sociology Knows about American Jews," *Commentary*, IX [March, 1950], 279) found that "Jews show very little tendency to assimilate."

[42] Glazer, "Social Characteristics of American Jews, 1654–1954," p. 16.

[43] For a description of the intimate relationship between Jewish trade unions and political activities see Lawrence H. Fuchs, *The Political Behavior of American Jews* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956), p. 125.

[44] It has been asserted that in Chicago "voters in the 24th Ward [which is, by and large, the community area of North Lawndale] had not only good but the best connections in City Hall" and that "there were always plenty of jobs open for 24th Ward voters" while Colonel Jacob M. Arvey was alderman, from 1923 to 1941 (Arthur Hepner, "Call Me Jake," *New Republic*, CXVI [March 24, 1947], 31). In the context of this paper the role that Jewish political leaders and interest groups played in the recent controversy over public housing in Chicago should be of particular interest (see Martin Meyerson and Edward C. Banfield, *Politics, Planning and the Public Interest* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955]).

[45] See the data on religious preference and educational attainment, occupation, and income in Donald J. Bogue, *The Population of the United States* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959), pp. 700–708; see also Glazer, "Social Characteristics of American Jews," pp. 16, 27, 29.

ation cannot have been as great as it would have been if acculturation and social mobility has proceeded exclusively by individual efforts. In recent years a definite case of alienation occurred in the local community of Albany Park, the most "ghetto-like" neighborhood in Chicago in the last decade. There, acculturated Jews resented the influx of a Hasidic sect whose members not only have a "foreign" appearance but also reject acculturation in principle. This instance leads me to believe that alienation was most pronounced in the first stage of acculturation and was directed particularly sharply against those persons and groups who insisted on their foreign ways and that the intensity of alienation was progressively reduced with increased Americanization and rapid upward mobility. There can be no doubt that the cessation of Jewish mass immigration, over three decades ago, has contributed significantly to the decline of alienation as well as to rapid social mobility.

The decline of this centrifugal force, then, contributes its share to the consolidation of the Jewish community. Are there any other factors that are responsible for the current voluntary segregation? When I asked Rabbi Brightman—as I asked all my informants—what his explanation is for the recent aggregation of the Jewish community on the North Side of Chicago, his reply was that the one thing that parents fear more than anything else and fear more than at any other time in history is amalgamation, the marriage of their children to "outsiders." While at one time Jewish identity was no problem for the individual who lived a distinctively Jewish life in his home, his synagogue, and the community, today there is little that marks the Jew as a Jew except Jewish self-consciousness and association with fellow Jews. If one were to depend on the religiocultural rather than on the associational tie, large-scale amalgamation would be the order of the day. To forestall this, the parents favor residence in a neighborhood that has such a high density of Jewish families that the probability of their children marrying a Jewish person approaches certainty.

An empirical survey has confirmed the desire of Jewish families for greater residential propinquity. In *The Riverton Study* adult respondents were asked about their preferred place of residence. It was found that, "if adult wishes were suddenly to become the sole deciding factor, Riverton Jews would live closer together than they actually do, with even fewer opportunities for neighborhood contact with non-Jews."[46]

In Chicago's North Side community of West Ridge (West Rogers Park) the child population is virtually segregated because of the existence of parochial schools. Five Catholic parochial schools, with an enrolment of over 1,600 students in 1959, and two Evangelical parochial schools, with an enrolment of about 400 students, have the effect of turning most of the public schools of the area into nearly exclusively Jewish schools.

In Rabbi Brightman's opinion, the process of acculturation has run its course so effectively that, if it is not threatening group survival itself, it is leading to "a predisposition stage of final assimilation."[47] Sklare and Vosk, on the basis of their empirical study, have come to an identical conclusion:

> As mutual understanding between Jew and non-Jew grows, as discrimination lessens, as traditional differences are progressively eliminated, group preservation more and more depends on the individual's decision to marry within the faith. And since there is an almost universal desire among parents to preserve the group, they engage in elaborate efforts to transmit this desire to their offspring, and to create conditions which make it easily fulfilled. This means that Jews, in effect are setting up obstacles to easier associations between them-

[46] Marshall Sklare and Marc Vosk, *The Riverton Study* (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1957), p. 37.

[47] This phrase was coined by Abraham G. Dukers ("Impact of Current Trends on Jewish Center Membership," *The Jewish Center*, X [October, 1949], 19).

selves and non-Jews, and this at a time when less and less divides them in customs, culture and ideology.[48]

The one factor which currently operates against assimilation, the final step in the race-relation cycle, is Jewish self-consciousness, or identification with the Jewish group. The decline in cultural differences has not been accompanied by a decline in Jewish self-consciousness; on the contrary, it appears that the latter has increased. Many persons have what amounts to a "false consciousness," where the behavior pattern and value system cannot be reconciled with the practices and religious beliefs of Judaism. To a considerable extent this heightened self-consciousness is a result of the growth of anti-Semitism in the thirties and of the Nazi definition of Jews along "racial" and ancestral lines. Recent studies indicate that experience with or fear of anti-Semitism contribute to this high level of self-consciousness. In the immediate postwar period a study of Jewish youth in Brooklyn revealed a state of "apathetic identification" which was defined as "motivated by extraneous considerations rather than by enthusiasm for the object of identification as such."[49] This finding is confirmed by the results of *The Riverton Study*: "While the desire to maintain a Jewish identity serves to separate Jews from Gentiles, the most decisive factor is, of course, anti-Semitism."[50] In my opinion, Sklare and Vosk's finding comes very close to Wirth's thesis, namely, that rejection and hostility of the outside world generate a high level of Jewish consciousness in one form or another. The second major event in the recent history of the Jewish people, the creation of the state of Israel, is commonly held to have contributed to a heightened Jewish self-consciousness of a more positive nature. However, this assumption seems not to have been subjected to any empirical tests.[51]

[48] Sklare and Vosk, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[49] Werner J. Cahnman, "Suspended Alienation and Apathetic Identification," *Jewish Social Studies*, XVII (July, 1955), 223.

[50] Sklare and Vosk, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

Jewish educators and rabbis are keenly aware of the rift between the decline in the practice of Judaism and the height of Jewish self-consciousness. To the question whether there can be Jewishness without Judaism, they answer that "Jewish survival requires both."[52] Jewish educators are eager to use this high consciousness as a motivating force to give this formal commitment a substantial base through Jewish education. It appears that this attempt has been eminently successful: The enrolment in Jewish schools increased by 131 per cent between 1948 and 1958.[53] But a closer examination of the performance of the Jewish schools reveals that, compared to the twenties and thirties their standards have been lowered considerably. A generation ago the average afternoon school provided each student with eight to ten hours of instruction per week, forty-eight weeks per year, as compared with current average of four to five hours per week, thirty-eight weeks a year.[54] While the professional educators want to achieve a maximum of commitment, a thorough knowledge of Hebrew, and a continuity of study through high school, the average afternoon falls far short of this goal and provides only a minimum program of education that prepares for and ends at the Bar Mitzvah ceremony at the age of thirteen years. The result is that "hundreds of thousands of Jews enter the threshhold of adult Jewish life with little understanding and less knowledge of their Jewish heritage."[55] The resistance to a more intensive Jewish education stems from the parents.[56] While Pilch does not examine

[51] Abraham G. Duker, "Some Aspects of Israel's Impact on Identification and Cultural Patterns," *Jewish Social Studies*, XXI (January, 1959), 34.

[52] Richard C. Hertz, "Can There Be Jewishness Without Judaism?" *Jewish Digest*, III (September, 1958), 30.

[53] Alexander M. Dushkin and Uriah Z. Engleman, *Jewish Education in the United States: Summary Report* (New York: American Association for Jewish Education, 1959), p. 6.

[54] Judah Pilch, "Changing Patterns in Jewish Education," *Jewish Social Studies*, XXI (April, 1959), 99.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 102. [56] *Ibid.*

the cause of this parental resistance, the historian Ismar Elbogen, in recording the occurrence of such resistance one hundred years ago, attributes it to parental concern "lest too much Jewish knowledge should serve to isolate their children, burden them with a heavy load, render them unfit for the struggle of life; and so they [the parents] hindered rather than promoted intensive Jewish education for their children."[57] It appears, then, that the basic function of Jewish education is to implant Jewish self-consciousness rather than Judaism, to "inoculate" the next generation with that minimum of religious practice and belief that is considered necessary to keep alive a level of Jewish self-consciousness that will hold the line against assimilation.[58]

A modicum of Jewish education and voluntary segregation are two parts of a three-part device designed to forestall large-scale assimilation. The third is residence in a high-status area. We are now in a position to understand more fully the quest of the Jewish population for residence in such an area. Settlement there removes the stigma that is usually attributed to a separate ethnic community which, according to the scheme of the race-relations cycle, is reserved for unacculturated immigrants. Residence in a high-status area indicates the voluntary nature of the settlement of Jews as well as non-Jews and lifts the burden of alienation from the younger generation in particular.

How does this formula for survival differ from that used by the Hasidim, a sect which at this time presents the most genuine expression of Jewish religious life? This sect thas settled—voluntarily—in the most undersirable neighborhoods of New York City, trains its children in schools of their own, and rejects acculturation in principle. The most basic difference between the Hasidim and all the other Jewish groups in the United States is in the attitude toward secularization, to which the Hasidim are unalterably opposed. Although acculturation without secularization may be possible,[59] for Jews in the United States secularization preceded acculturation and contributed to their readiness for and rapid rate of acculturation. It has become customary to attribute the current state of American Jewry mainly to acculturation; however, Herbert Parzen has shown that the process of secularization had a considerable impact upon the Jews of eastern Europe before they arrived in the United States. He emphasizes that the "decline of traditional Judaism, the loss of faith are problems arising out of the internal development of Judaism itself in the modern world. America as such is not the destructive solvent of Judaism, but is at most a catalyst that has deepened and accelerated a process begun long ago."[60] For Chicago of the twenties and early thirties, we have in Meyer Levin's "realistic novel," *The Old Bunch*, a detailed case study of the strength of secular forces in the lives of the immigrants and particularly of their children.[61] It therefore comes as no surprise that, compared with Protestants and Catholics, Jews

[57] Ismar Elbogen, *A Century of Jewish Life* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society: 1953), p. 100.

[58] See Herbert J. Gans, "The Origin and Growth of a Jewish Community in the Suburbs," in *The Jews*, ed. Marshall Sklare (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958), p. 243. Two recent empirical studies have confirmed the positive correlation between the thoroughness of Jewish education and the intensity of Jewish identification (Ludwig Geismar, "A Scale for the Measurement of Ethnic Identification," *Jewish Social Studies*, XVI [January, 1954], 33; Bernard Lazerwitz, "Some Factors in Jewish Identification," *Jewish Social Studies*, XV [January, 1953], 15).

[59] The "Separatist-Orthodox" Movement under the leadership of S. R. Hirsch in Frankfurt, Germany, may have been such a case.

[60] Herbert Parzen, "When Secularism Came to Russian Jewry," *Commentary*, XIII (April, 1952), 362. For a most interesting account of the effect of secularization upon Jews in Germany and Austria see Rudolf Bienenfeld, *Die Religion der Religionslosen Juden* (Vienna: Wilhelm Frick Verlag, 1944).

[61] *The Old Bunch* (New York: Citadel Press, 1946).

exhibit the highest degree of secularization.[62]

The question thus arises whether the survival formula—voluntary segregation in a high-status area plus a modicum of Jewish education—is successful in preventing the final step of assimilation. To my knowledge, there does not exist an empirical study which has tested the adequacy of the formula. Heiss has recently reported on an exploratory study of the effect of background factors upon the decision to intermarry. The findings, particularly for the Jewish population, are inconclusive.[63] If one is satisfied with taking intermarriage as a simple and convenient index of assimilation, the picture is as follows: Private communal surveys undertaken in the thirties revealed that about 6 per cent of Jewish families were intermarried.[64] The first government survey of the religious composition of the American people revealed that in 1957, 7.2 per cent of all Jewish families had a non-Jewish marriage partner.[65] A recent survey of the Jewish population of Washington, D.C., found that 11.5 per cent of all households were intermarried.[66] An analysis of marriage licenses in the state of Iowa for 1953 showed 31 per cent of Jewish marriages to be mixed.[67] A recent survey of the Jewish population of the San Francisco area indicated that the proportion of mixed marriages was 17.2 per cent in San Francisco, 20 per cent on the peninsula, and 37 per cent in Marin County.[68] In Canada, where government statistics on intermarriage are available, the rate of Jewish intermarriage has steadily increased from 4.9 per cent in 1926–30 to 11.7 per cent for 1951–55.[69]

I now propose to examine the meaning of these statistical findings in the context of the race-relations cycle. Because of the possibility of a differential rate of acculturation for the Jewish population of Canada I would prefer not to generalize from the Canadian experience for the United States. If we accept the findings of the 1957 survey of the United States Bureau of the Census of a national intermarriage rate of 7.2 per cent, and if, at the same time, we assume that the statistics for Iowa and the San Francisco area are merely regional variations of the over-all rate, we can probably be justified in defending the current survival formula as adequate for the preservation of the Jewish group. If we assume, however, that the findings for Iowa and San Francisco are the first indications of the future over-all rate of intermarriage, then the efficacy of the survival formula must be seriously doubted. There can, however, be no doubt that the likelihood of intermarriage increases with increased acculturation. The recent Washington survey was detailed enough to show that persons born in the United States with an educational achievement beyond high school and with high professional status are most likely to enter into intermarriage.[70]

QUEENS COLLEGE

62 Will Herberg, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1956), pp. 235–40.

63 Jerold S. Heiss, "Premarital Characteristics of the Intermarried," *American Sociological Review*, XXV (February, 1960), 47–55.

64 Nathan Goldberg, "Jewish Population in the United States," *The Jewish People Past and Present*, II (New York: Jewish Encyclopedic Handbooks, 1948), 29.

65 "Religion Reported by the Civilian Population of the United States, March 1957," *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 79 (Washington, D.C., February 2, 1958), p. 8.

66 Stanley K. Bigman, *The Jewish Population of Greater Washington in 1956* (Washington, D.C.: Jewish Community Council, May, 1957), p. 125.

67 Loren E. Chancellor and Thomas P. Monahan, "Religious Preference and Interreligious Mixtures in Marriages and Divorces in Iowa," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXI (November, 1955), 235.

68 Fred Massarik, *The Jewish Population of San Francisco, Marin County and the Peninsula, 1959* (San Francisco: Jewish Welfare Federation, November, 1959), p. 44.

69 Louis Rosenberg, "The Demography of the Jewish Community in Canada," *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, I (December, 1959), 231.

70 Bigman, *The Jewish Population of Greater Washington in 1956*, pp. 131–33.

HOWARD PAUL BECKER

1899–1960

The news of the sudden and unexpected death of Howard Becker came as a great shock to me. With his powerful physique and boundless energy, Howard had always seemed to me veritably indestructible.

My first contact with Howard Becker came in the winter of 1929–30. I had accumulated a vast amount of data for a book on the history of sociological theory. I experimented with several possible collaborators, but they were all overwhelmed by the magnitude of the resources and the task. I broached the project to Howard. It struck fire with him at once. In 1938, the material reappeared, all cut and tailored and with many additions, as *Social Thought from Lore to Science*, a title supplied by Howard. He played a far less important role in the planning and preparation of *Contemporary Social Theory* (1940), but even here he rendered invaluable assistance, providing two excellent chapters and making indispensable suggestions.

In the spring of 1930, when I decided to leave Smith College, I naturally thought of Howard as my successor. He had come to Smith as an associate professor in the autumn of 1930, and remained there for some seven years. He was not only an impressive and popular teacher but, as usual, took a prominent part in faculty and student social activities on the campus, especially dramatics.

When he went to Wisconsin, I saw him only occasionally, although we kept up a correspondence which was warm and friendly but devoted mainly to various aspects of literary and ideological ventures. My later contacts with him were chiefly indirect and mainly through his graduate students, who invariably brought with them interesting yarns and reports of Howard's teaching and campus activities and also invariably showed awe of his erudition, energy, and versatility.

During and after the war decade, Professor Becker did much distinguished work in administrative activities, research, and writing in Europe, especially in the Germany that he knew so well. While I knew him as the most learned man in the field of social theory, I realized from his work on the family and ethnography that he also had his feet on the ground. But I am certain that his main interest was always abstractions and theoretical formulations.

His premature death is an irreparable loss to American sociology. I am sure it deprived the participants of the recent meeting of the American Sociological Association of an address which would have been more likely to raise their hair than anything since the presidential address of Edward A. Ross in 1915. He was as dynamic as Ross or Franklin Henry Giddings, as learned as Pitirim Sorokin, and he could be as suave and ingratiating as Herbert Blumer. If modesty was not his outstanding virtue, he had plenty of which to be proud.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

Malibu, California

Upon the retirement of E. A. Ross from the University of Wisconsin in 1937, Howard Becker moved to Madison, joining the faculty with the rank of professor, and remained there until his death. He was chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology from 1953 to 1955. He was very active both professionally and in developing his hobbies. The latter included archery, metal- and wood-working, poetry, and Scottish folk music. Perhaps one could say that books interested him both professionally and as a hobby. He read omnivorously, and his personal library was one of the largest and most extensive at the university.

Howard Becker was physically strong, with both a seemingly inexhaustible supply of energy and a constantly functioning, imaginative mind. He worked long and diligently to achieve his ends. One could see that even in departmental staff meetings he was constantly appraising the situation, planning and modifying his plans according to developments, in an attempt to achieve his goal.

He was a strong-willed man, and when he had reached a decision, he did what he could to implement it.

His professional activities took him from the campus a number of times. During World War II he served with the Office of Strategic Services, 1943–45, in England and Germany, as the leader of a morale operations unit for Germany. He returned to Germany, 1947–49, as chief of higher education for the American Military Government in the state of Hesse, and acted as head of four universities. The following year he toured the major English universities as a guest of the British Ministry of Education. He returned to England in 1951, a Fulbright fellow, as a visiting professor at the University of Birmingham. As part of this sojourn, Howard and his wife, Frances—who is a sociologist in her own right—lived with a Scottish shepherd family for more than six months in Ettrick Parish. This stay was planned because of his well-known interest in comparatively uncomplicated societies and their members. It is an index of his conception of sociology and of methods of research.

Howard's first book appeared in 1932, the Wiese-Becker *Systematic Sociology*. *Social Thought from Lore to Science*, in which he collaborated with Harry Elmer Barnes, was published in 1938; and *Contemporary Social Theory* was published in 1940, with his wife, Frances Bennett Becker, and Barnes as coeditors. *German Youth: Bond or Free* was published in 1946. The first edition of *Family, Marriage, and Parenthood*, with Reuben Hill as junior editor, appeared in 1948, the second edition in 1955. The third edition of *Man in Society* appeared in 1950 (Don Martindale had worked on the revision of the second edition in 1947). *Through Values to Social Interpretation*, a collection of previously published articles, also appeared in 1950. In 1956, *Man in Reciprocity* was published. This was followed in 1957 by *Modern Sociological Theory*, with Alvin Boskoff as coeditor. Wiese-Becker, *Systematic Sociology*, will be published in a paperback edition in 1960. In addition, several of his works have been published in German.

As to his sociological theory, it seems appropriate to quote Becker himself: "It becomes more and more plainly apparent that without culture case study, both of documentary and field-work character, there is danger of treating sociological theory as an end in itself rather than as an indispensable tool in the scientific enterprise. That enterprise hinges on the attainment of sound predictive knowledge, capable of systematic transmission and expansion." In his own words he has perhaps more succinctly summarized the essentials of his own sociological view than have any of his commentators. Although Howard Becker is primarily identified as a social theorist and it is likely that his reputation will persist most strongly in the area of social theory, over the years he became increasingly empirical and pragmatic in orientation. His growing concern over the premature closure of theoretical systems and what he conceived of as the abuse of general theory led him to focus more intensively on the development of intermediate theoretical and methodological devices. As he put it: "If sacred-secular theory can be fruitfully applied in empirical research, fine; if it cannot be so applied, it represents sadly wasted effort." Throughout his career sacred-secular theory served as a vehicle for his substantive interests in values, in the normative aspects of behavior, and in the processes of social change, and for his methodological interests in working-level theory and construct-formation. An avowed enemy of conceptual jugglery, he did skilful and meticulous work with sacred-secular theory that has long been an exemplary attempt to interweave theory and empirical observation in delicate balance so as to maximize the value of each. Despite his breadth of erudition, it may be that it will be the modesty of his central focus that will constitute the most lasting contribution of Howard Becker to the intellectual development of sociology.

FRANK E. HARTUNG

Wayne State University

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

PHILOSOPHIE UND SOZIOLOGIE

June 4, 1960

To the Editor:

I should like to thank Mr. Burkhart Holzner for his detailed review of my *Philosophie und Soziologie.* If I, nevertheless, venture to reply to his criticism, I hope it will not be misunderstood as a protest: for it concerns simply a difference of opinion.

Now, as always, I seek to learn from criticism. In the third paragraph of his review he observes that, with my remarks on social philosophy, Part A, my presentation "takes a curious turn"; and he later remarks: "But an organized picture does not emerge, since the rationale for selecting his 'antitheses' remains hidden." I fear that on these points, and, indeed, in the whole monograph, I was too cryptic, so I shall enlarge on them here. It was not my intention to provide an outline of an introduction to philosophy or a system of philosophy. It was simply the matter of the question: Which concepts, in the main, does sociology borrow from logic (epistemology)? And the further question: How are these concepts most simply and briefly interpreted? Answer: By proof of their contrary opposites. For that purpose an "organized picture" is not necessary. The principle which underlies this opposition ("rationale") is simply the customary usages of speech. The manner of presentation, then, is just the result of experience; I asked myself: What concepts are in common use, and how are they, as a rule, put together?

But of course there are, of necessity, many misunderstandings and differences of opinion which are reducible to the unclear and arbitrary exposition of logical terms (as, for example, the case of the concept *form*, which can best be explained by contrasting it with the concept *content*).

It distresses me that I appear not to have succeeded in making my purpose perfectly clear, and I am grateful to Mr. Holzner for drawing attention to the shortcoming, for I place the greatest value upon clarity.

Leopold von Wiese

Meister Ekkehartstrasse 9 (II)
Cologne, Germany

Translated by Helen MacGill Hughes

NEWS AND NOTES

Brandeis University.—Lewis A. Coser, recently promoted to a full professor, has received a Fulbright fellowship to visit the Institute for Social Research in Oslo during the second semester of the next academic year. During his absence he will be replaced by Professor Lawrence Frank.

Robert A. Feldmesser is returning to the University after having spent a year studying factors affecting social mobility in the Soviet Union on a grant from the Social Science Research Council.

Mason Griff, who has been visiting assistant professor, is returning to Montana State University.

Suzanne Keller will be on leave of absence during the next academic year. She will continue her research on the formation of elite ideologies and attitudes.

Morris S. Schwartz will be on leave of absence for the next academic year at Stanford University. He will give courses and assist in a research program in mental health.

Edward T. Sherwood is joining the department as a lecturer in sociology. Mr. Sherwood formerly taught at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg and also did research at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa.

Maurice R. Stein has been promoted to associate professor. He is working on a book in social theory, as well as on a book on social change, in association with Arthur Vidich.

Robert S. Weiss, formerly of the University of Chicago, is joining the department as assistant professor. He will give courses in methodology and also a course in the Florence Heller Graduate School of Social Service.

Kurt H. Wolff is the editor of and a contributor to *Georg Simmel: A Collection* of essays, with translations and a bibliography, published by the Ohio State University Press in October, 1959.

Alvin D. Zalinger of Boston University will be teaching in the Department for the first semester.

University of California, Berkeley—John A. Clausen of the National Institute of Mental Health has been appointed as a professor of sociology and director of the Institute of Human Development.

David Matza of Temple University has been appointed assistant professor of sociology.

Herbert F. Schurmann, Hanan C. Selvin, and Neil J. Smelser have been promoted to the rank of associate professor.

Philip Rieff, associate professor of speech, has also been appointed as a lecturer in sociology and will offer a course on the sociology of religion.

Anselm Strauss, formerly assistant professor at the University of Chicago, has been appointed as an associate professor of sociology in the School of Nursing.

William L. Nicholls, II, and Hanan C. Selvin of the sociology department are joining the staff of the Berkeley Survey Research Center on a part-time basis.

Among the visiting foreign scholars who have been in residence in the Berkeley sociology department during 1959–60 are: Professors Julian Hochfeld and Maria Ossowska of the University of Warsaw; Dr. Adam Sarapata and Dr. Alexander Galla of the University of Warsaw; Dr. Jerzy Wiatr of the University of Kraków; John Torrance, Fellow of Nuffield College, Oxford; Garry Runciman, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and a Harkness Fellow; Dr. Ulf Himmelstrand, Docent at the University of Uppsala; Ulf Torgersen of the Institute for Social Research, Oslo; and Oddleiu Grimsø of the University of Bergen.

During the academic year 1960–61, S. D. Clark of the University of Toronto, Albert K. Cohen of the University of Indiana, Gino Germani of the University of Buenos Aires, and César Graña of the University of Chicago will be visiting professors.

A number of department members will be on leave for one semester during 1960–61. These include Wolfram Eberhard, now in Burma on an Asia Foundation grant; Leo Lowenthal, William Petersen, and Neil J. Smelser, as members of the Center for Social Science Theory; Erving Goffman, to conduct research; William A. Kornhauser, on sabbatical leave; and Martin A. Trow, as a member of the research staff of the Center for the Study of Higher Education.

Three members of the department will be on leave for the academic year 1960–61: Seymour Martin Lipset who will be at Yale University as the Henry Ford Research Professor of Political Science; Herbert Franz Schurmann who will be in Hong Kong on a Guggenheim Fellowship conducting research on Communist organizational methods; and Philip Selznick who will be a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences in Palo Alto, California.

Educational Testing Service.—The Educational Testing Service is offering for 1961–62 its fourteenth series of research fellowships in psychometrics leading to the Ph.D. degree at Princeton University. Open to men who are acceptable to the Graduate School of the University, the two fellowships each carry a stipend of $3,750 a year, plus an allowance for dependent children. These fellowships are normally renewable. Fellows will be engaged in part-time research in the general area of psychological measurement at the offices of the Educational Testing Service and will, in addition, carry a normal program of studies in the Graduate School.

Suitable undergraduate preparation may consist either of a major in psychology with supporting work in mathematics, or a major in mathematics together with some work in psychology. However, in choosing fellows, primary emphasis is given to superior scholastic attainment and research interests rather than to specific course preparation.

The closing date for completing applications is January 6, 1961. Information and application blanks are now available and may be obtained from the Director of Psychometric Fellowship Program, Educational Testing Service, 20 Nassau Street, Princeton, New Jersey.

Illinois Academy of Criminology.—At its Tenth Annual Meeting, held at Northwestern University on May 6 and 7, 1960, the Academy devoted its program to the discussion of emerging medicolegal issues; community organization and street-gang work in the prevention of juvenile delinquency; crime control in metropolitan areas; and current research in corrections. Officers elected for the 1960–61 term include Solomon Kobrin, Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research, president; Francis A. Allen, University of Chicago Law School, Bernard F. Robinson, Illinois Reformatory for Women, and S. Kirson Weinberg, Roosevelt University, vice-presidents; Harvey Treger, United States Probation Service, secretary; Harold Finestone, Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research, treasurer; and G. Lewis Penner, Juvenile Protective Association, archivist. Charles H. Shireman, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, will head the program committee. The five meetings of the coming year will be devoted to an assessment of the prospects for constructive change during the decade of the 1960's in the areas of prevention, correction and criminal law. Inquiries regarding time and place of these meetings should be addressed to Mr. Harvey Treger, United States Probation Service, 219 South Clark Street, Chicago 4. Membership in the Academy is open to all persons with a professional interest in the field of criminology.

Kansas City Study of Adult Life.—Wayne Wheeler, who has resigned as chairman of the Department of Sociology, Park College, has become field director of the Kansas City Study of Adult Life. The Study is a project of the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago under a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health. Wheeler is succeeded at Park College by Paul C. P. Siu, formerly of Kansas Wesleyan University.

University of Miami (Coral Gables, Florida).—Thomas Carroll of the University of Minnesota joined the staff in September as an instructor.

William W. Stein has received a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health for the analysis of data collected in a Peruvian mental hospital last year.

During the summer Murray and Rosalie Wax taught at the University of Colorado. Rosalie Wax is director of the Workshop on American Indian Affairs. Murray Wax and Aaron Lipman continue in collaborative research with the School of Medicine's Geriatrics Clinic.

Bryce Ryan spent June in Israel under a grant by the American Faculty Committee on the Israel Fellowship program.

Midwest Sociological Society.—Newly elected officers of the Midwest Sociological Society for the current year are Ruth Shonle Cavan, Rockford College, president, and Raymond W.

Mack, Northwestern University, vice-president. Wayne Wheeler, of the Kansas City Study of Adult Life, continues as secretary-treasurer, and Paul J. Campisi, Southern Illinois University, has succeeded Joseph K. Johnson as editor of *The Sociological Quarterly*.

Harold W. Saunders of the State University of Iowa has been chosen to be the Society's representative on the Council of the American Sociological Association. He replaces George W. Vold, University of Minnesota, whose term of office expired. Current state representatives on the Society's executive committee are Benjamin J. Keeley, William F. Kenkel, E. Gerdon Ericksen, Richard Videbeck, William L. Kolb, Warren A. Peterson, Courtney B. Cleland, Edward Saylor, and Douglas G. Marshall.

The next annual meeting of the Society will be held in Omaha, Nebraska, April 27-29, 1961. E. G. McCurtain, University of Omaha, is chairman of the committee on local arrangements.

University of Minnesota, Duluth.—Robert G. Schmidt has been promoted to associate professor.

Holger R. Stub has received two grants-in-aid for research from the Graduate School to study "The Social Origins of Contemporary Church Leaders" and "The Social Structure of the Teaching and Administrative Staff of a Public School."

University of North Carolina.—Harry J. Crockett, Jr., joined the Department in September as assistant professor.

Donald P. Irish of Ohio Wesleyan University, who taught in the 1960 summer session, is remaining during the 1960–61 academic year to collaborate with Charles E. Bowerman in studies of adolescent orientations.

Richard L. Simpson has begun a four-year study of factors related to occupational self-images among school teachers. The study is supported by the United States Office of Education.

Ernest Q. Campbell has received a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health for a three-year study of adolescent socialization processes, with special reference to the internalization of norms related to drinking.

S. H. Hobbs, Jr. has retired as professor but will continue to teach part-time and to conduct research on rural society.

The Department conducted a program of undergraduate research participation during the summer of 1960 under a grant from the National Science Foundation. Five undergraduate students from the University of North Carolina and Wooster College took part in research on adolescent orientations, changing roles and attitudes of southern Negroes, and therapeutic resocialization of retarded children in a state training school. Faculty members who worked with the undergraduate participants were Ann C. Maney, Daniel O. Price, Ruth Searles, Richard L. Simpson, and Charles E. Bowerman, director of the program.

The Social Research Section of the Division of Health Affairs, under the joint sponsorship of the Institute for Research in Social Science, is in its ninth year of training graduate students of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology for research in the sociology of health and the health professions. The section also offers specialized training in the sociology of mental health. The work of the Section is integrated with the degree granting requirements of the Department. There are currently fifteen graduate students in the program. Members of the staff also teach and do research in various units of the health center and in those of the state hospital system. Funds for research assistants and trainees in the program have come from the Russell Sage Foundation, the Commonwealth Fund, and the National Institute of Mental Health. Harvey L. Smith is director and Ann C. Maney assistant director of the Section.

University of Pittsburgh.—Burkhart Holzner, sociologist and psychologist, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology. A native of Germany, Dr. Holzner received the doctor of philosophy degree in psychology from Bonn University. Since 1957 he has been teaching at the University of Wisconsin and completing work on a Ph.D. degree in sociology.

The Population Council, Inc.—The Council is offering about twenty-five fellowships for study in population at the predoctoral and postdoctoral levels. These fellowships are available to qualified students from all countries; particular consideration is given to students from the economically underdeveloped areas. Applicants should have completed at least one year of

graduate study beyond the college level and must have sufficient training in the social sciences to do graduate work in demography. The plan of study and choice of university are made by the applicant. These fellowships are for training in demography, although related study in sociology, economics, biostatistics, and other relevant fields may form part of a total program.

The basic stipend is $2,700 for twelve months, which may be supplemented to provide for tuition, travel, maintenance of dependents, and other expenses. Deadline for receipt of completed applications for the 1961–62 academic year is February 1, 1961.

Further information and application forms may be obtained from the Population Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.

University of Rhode Island.—The new chairman is Ralph W. England, Jr., formerly of the University of Illinois. He succeeds L. Guy Brown, who retired after fourteen years at the University, the last thirteen of which he served as department head.

Irving A. Spaulding and Robert V. Gardner have been promoted to professor and associate professor, respectively.

Other staff members are: Assistant Professor Arthur H. Richardson, who is studying dimensions of alienation among selected groups, and Assistant Professor Erwin H. Johnson, who is making an archeological survey of an Indian site in Rhode Island.

San Fernando Valley State College.—The newly formed Department of Sociology and Anthropology includes the following: Joseph B. Ford, professor and chairman of the department; Albert Pierce, formerly of Bucknell University and the University of California, associate professor of sociology; Mamoru Iga and Peter Geiser, assistant professors; and James Rollins, instructor. In anthropology are Raoul Naroll and Edward Carpenter, from the University of Toronto. Both were promoted to associate professors as of September, 1960. Professor Naroll received a three-year grant from the National Institute of Mental Health to continue his studies of an index of cultural stress and a grant from the National Science Foundation for his studies in war and civilization. Both are long-term, continuing studies. Mhyra Minnis, who has been acting chairman of the sociology department at the University of Idaho, also joined the department in September.

Joseph B. Ford has returned after a year's leave as a Fulbright Visiting Professor at the University of Vienna.

Albert Pierce was a visiting professor at the University of Saskatchewan during the summer.

Society for International Development.—The Society is a professional organization of persons interested in the economic and social development of the less developed parts of the world. Persons of all professional backgrounds are welcomed to membership, which, at present, exceeds one thousand and includes persons from over fifty countries. Academic, government, international agency, and business-organization employees are also included.

Membership includes the receipt of the *International Development Review.*

Requests for information regarding membership should be addressed to Mr. Marion Clawson, Executive Secretary, 1145 Nineteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

University of Southern California.—Otis Dudley Duncan was visiting professor of sociology during the summer session, 1960.

Thomas E. Lasswell was visiting professor of sociology at Northwestern University during the summer.

Harold A. Nelson, who was visiting assistant professor of sociology at the University of Nevada during the summer, has accepted an appointment as assistant professor of sociology at Colorado State College.

Harold G. Hubbard is now associated with George Fry & Associates, management consultants.

Edward C. McDonagh, chairman of the Department of Sociology, has been appointed chairman of the Division of Social Sciences.

An Erle F. Young Memorial Library is being established at Bar Ilan University in Ramat Gan, Israel, in memory of Dr. Erle Fiske Young, who taught sociology at the University from 1924 to 1953. Recent sociology books are needed for this collection. They may be mailed direct to the Librarian, Bar Ilan University, and designated for the Erle F. Young Memorial Library. Names of

authors and titles of the books may be sent to Dr. Pauline V. Young, Bar Ilan University.

Emory S. Bogardus, dean emeritus of the University's Graduate School and past president of the American Sociological Association, spoke on the forty years' contribution of Alpha Kappa Delta to sociology at a celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the Society, of which he was the founder.

Recent publications of faculty members include *Social Distance* and a fourth edition of *The Development of Social Thought*, by E. S. Bogardus; *New Foundations for Industrial Sociology*, by Melvin J. Vincent and Jackson Mayers; *Social Change*, by John E. Nordskog; and *Toward a Successful Marriage*, by James A. Peterson.

State University of South Dakota.—Carroll M. Mickey, chairman of the Department, has recently published the first part of a series of reports to the South Dakota Governor's Committee for the White House Conference on Aging under the aegis of the University's Social Research Center.

Edwin A. Christ is engaged in preliminary work in connection with mental health research in co-operation with the South Dakota Mental Health Association, the University's Social Research Center, and the Government Research Bureau.

The Department now includes Professor Mickey; Neil M. Palmer and Wesley R. Hurt, associate professors; and Edwin A. Christ and Irvin E. Larson, assistant professors.

Wayne State University.—The Journal learns with regret of the death of Louis B. "Jack" Laughlin (1908–60). Professor Laughlin was the head of the Department of Sociology, Detroit Institute of Technology. His career as a teacher of sociology was interrupted many times by illness. He received his M.A. degree in sociology at Wayne University in 1951.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait. By MORRIS JANOWITZ. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. Pp. xiv+464. $6.75.

The basic thesis of this work is that technological and other developments have produced major changes in the military establishment. The hypothesized changes are: (1) "a shift from authoritarian domination to greater reliance upon . . . group consensus," (2) a "narrowing difference in (occupational) skill between military and civilian society," (3) a broadening of the social base of recruitment of the military elite, (4) a greater tendency for those with "unconventional" careers to enter the nucleus of the military elite, and (5) the development of "a more explicit political ethos" in the profession. Janowitz attempts to demonstrate the truth of these assertions, and the social and political consequences that emenate from them, by proposing and discussing hypotheses of a lesser order. These concern professional motivations, career patterns, style of life, identity, ideology, and political orientations and pressure techniques.

In his analysis of the family Talcott Parsons writes of the "competent domestic," the "good companion," and the "glamour girl." A woman may play any of these roles and still receive the respect afforded the status of wife. In his analysis of the military Janowitz writes of the "military manager," "heroic leader," and "military technologist"—all acceptable roles for the professional soldier.

The attributes of the glamour girl, though quite effective for a "young-married," are not appropriate to her eventual entry into the community's matriarchal elite. Similarly, the skills of the technologist, useful as they are at the company-grade level, entail an overspecialization which tends to bar him from eventual entry into the nation's military elite. And, like the glamour girl, he may find such readily available opportunities for the employment of his talents "on the outside" that the premature termination of his career is highly probable.

The heroic-leader role will remain with us so long as small units are to be led, dangerous and irksome assignments are to be performed, and selfless dedication is to be exacted within the context of a profit-oriented economy. But the heroic leader tends to reject technological change, while the military manager makes it routine. The increasing necessity for creating, organizing, and co-ordinating routine, specialized operations has given highest priority to the role of the military manager.

Management needs policy to guide decision-making. Janowitz sees two conflicting "schools" of policy among the military: the absolutist and the pragmatic. The absolutists are more likely to believe in war for total victory, in the inevitability of atomic war, in Fortress America, in massive deterrence, and in aid to new nations only for purposes of resisting Communist expansion. They tend to be found in the Strategic Air Command, to have been part of General Douglas MacArthur's coterie, to have served in the Far East during World War II, and to become far-right Republicans after retirement.

The pragmatists tend to view war as but one of the instruments of international relations. They regard alliances as desirable, preparedness as entailing graduated deterrence capabilities, and aid to new nations as an effort to enhance the internal stability of those nations. They are more likely to be found in the Army, to have been influenced by the late General Marshall, to have served in the European theater, and to be and remain politically neutral.

Janowitz casts his lot with the pragmatists. He proposes the "constabulary concept," which involves a constant state of readiness, with a diversification of weaponry and organization. The "constabulary" would exercise appropriate and minimal violence within a milieu of viable international relations. He supplements his proposal with a statement of the problems, related to the changes listed above, that are inherent in it. He suggests that a balance will have to be maintained between domination and group consensus in the authority structure and among the heroic leaders, technologists, and managers in the skill structure, with a priority given the managerial arts. In addition, he proposes that the base of recruitment should be expanded even more, with greater emphasis upon the granting of commissions to career enlisted personnel; that career development

should include not only geographic, line, and staff rotation but assignments with other armed services and in civilian organizations (to develop "generalists"); and that indoctrination should include a candid political education so that the officer gains a realistic appreciation of the limits of the use of force.

Janowitz has suggestions for civilian political leaders, as well. In his view their inactivity, short-range reactions, and concentration upon budgetary trivia have allowed a vacuum to develop in policy-making which the military has entered or had to enter.

There are many areas of sociological interest not discussed by the author, though he brushes their periophery in his portrait. But such sins of omission are not to be regarded as faults of his. Indeed, the success of this work—and it is a major contribution—will be determined, to a great extent, by the interest and new research it provokes among non-service-connected, academic sociologists. Besides, there are sins of commission, methodological and conceptual, for which we can criticize him.

There are methodological deficiencies in the work. The extensive use of documentary, biographical, and historical sources provides illustration, not proof. The three primary sources of data that were used are insufficient to support an analysis as extensive as the author attempts. And many hypotheses, essential to a line of analysis, go undocumented, unsupported, and unproven.

There are conceptual deficiences in the work. The classification of military men into managerial, heroic, and technological types is a matter of ad hoc categorization, a low level of conceptualization. The use of the "absolutist" and "pragmatic" policy dichotomy verges on the employment of stereotypical thinking—not a virtuous thing in scientific circles. The author's analysis of the seniority system concentrates upon the dysfunctions of its ascriptive qualities without a presentation of either its functions as an ascriptive device or the functions of its universalistic quality.

But military sociology is a difficult area in which to do important systematic primary research. Rather than simply allowing the obstacles to provide an excuse for not doing the job, Janowitz presents a clear analysis with explicit hypotheses, and he has made the attempt to illustrate, document, or otherwise support his assertions by his own research or by references to others. He has entered an area in which few sociologists dare to tread, and, unlike some of those few, he has continued to operate as a sociologist. He may not have "proved" all the assertions made in his analysis, but they can be proved if the rest of us have a mind and the means to do so. Compared to its contribution, the book's deficiencies, though worth stating, are understandable and minor.

LAWRENCE PODELL

City College of New York

The Population of the United States. By DONALD J. BOGUE. With a special chapter on fertility by WILSON H. GRABILL. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959. Pp. xix+873. $17.50.

The reader should be forewarned: I review this book not in the capacity of a technical demographer. Instead, I address myself to the question: What are the general implications of Bogue's volume for social theorists and empirical practitioners of the art?

Unquestionably, Bogue's work stands out as a major landmark in the study of American society. Within the confines of a single volume Bogue has systematized a vast body of materials. No thoughtful social scientist can ignore it. This work demonstrates rather conclusively, if there has been any doubt on the matter, that sociologists possess a respectable amount of "hard" data on American society.

The volume covers a wide range of topics, including population distribution by rural and urban communities, metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas, and other divisions as well. Age, sex, mortality, and fertility are given extended treatment. The data on immigration and internal migration are equally extensive. Aside from these more traditional demographic topics, Bogue discusses such social structures as marriage and the family, education, economic organization, and religion from the viewpoint of the student of population. In the end he assumes the mantle of prognosticator of population trends.

The reader will perceive that this book was published almost on the eve of the 1960 census. But it is by no means out of date! Bogue has used Bureau of the Census estimates of the late 1950's, and he includes a special chapter on Hawaii and Alaska. Furthermore, his study is much more than a commentary on American population at mid-century, for he has wisely

chosen in many instances to analyze the trends over a series of decades. And, most significant of all, this work is not merely descriptive, for the author has, on the basis of his analysis, set forth a wide range of propositions about American demographic patterns and social structure.

All this is not to imply that the various chapters are of uniformly high quality or of equal value to sociologists. I am not convinced that the chapter on Hawaii and Alaska was really worth the added effort, nor am I overly impressed with the chapter on housing and population. Although these and one or two other questionable sections present informative data, a discussion of, say, political structure would have done more to round out Bogue's analysis of American society.

I would single out for special merit the various chapters that relate to economic structure. The data on occupational patterning have much theoretical import—in part because Bogue seems to be championing a point of view. He is attempting to show, for example, that a detailed breakdown of occupational categories is eminently worthwhile to the social scientist. A common assumption in sociology is that a person's occupational position does much to determine his status within, and perspective upon, the broader society. If this belief is valid, then Bogue's analysis would indicate that sociologists in a number of specialties—for example, social stratification—would do well to re-examine some of their conclusions, particularly when they generalize on the basis of such broad occupational categories as professionals, managers, clerical and kindred workers, and the like. The author spells out some of the differentials within these groupings—that within them certain occupations are expanding rapidly, while others are shrinking; that some occupations are opening up to women, while others are closing; and that in some groupings—say, the professional—much variation in income exists. Actually, the differences within the gross occupational categories may be as significant as, and perhaps at times more so, than those among them. That the status system in America is more nebulous and complex than some students of stratification are willing to admit seems supported by these materials.

Among the various chapters pertaining to social structure, that on religion should interest many readers. Bogue has worked out various relationships between income and religion, between education and religion, and so forth. So far as I know, no one else has abstracted these patterns so clearly. Here, as in certain other sections of the book, Bogue does not rely solely upon data collected by the Census Bureau. With respect to religion, for example, he utilizes data gathered by the National Opinion Research Center in addition to information from a sample survey by the Bureau of the Census.

One of the many strong points of this volume is the author's broad perspective on population and demographic patterns. Interestingly, he seems to have abandoned, in part at least, the more strictly ecological framework that he espoused in his *Structure of the Metropolitan Community*. Thus, he interprets many of the patterns he delineates in terms of the broader social structure and value system.

At the risk of seeming hypercritical I would argue that Bogue has not gone far enough in setting his discussion within the context of general sociological theory, although his retort might be that such would have violated the volume's intent. Yet he, or someone else, will have to do this in order to arrange a more suitable marriage between the study's data and propositions and the looser theorizing of other writers on American society. Actually, the title of this book is a misnomer; it might well have been "American Population and Social Structure." But to justify the selection of some data and the rejection of others, to examine the relationships between the more strictly demographic variables and various sectors of the social structure, and to pinpoint the nexus among various elements of the social structure, we will need a more explicit statement of the theory. But that would require another volume. Until then, we would all do well to study carefully and to absorb the many implications of this highly valuable work.

GIDEON SJOBERG

University of Texas

American Society. By DON MARTINDALE. Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1960. Pp. 570. $6.75.

Although this book is described on the jacket as a "new introduction to sociology," one is left somewhat puzzled as to the identity of the audience for which it is intended. The author fails to enlighten us in his Preface. While many of the conventional topics discussed by

contemporary sociologists are included, they are parceled out in what often appears to be a haphazard fashion among chapters on historical trends in American institutions and in Western civilization at large. Nor is the book, in contrast to Robin Williams' volume with the same title, a systematic sociological interpretation of American society seen as a whole: it is too eclectic in approach both theoretically and in the range of topics treated, to say nothing of topics omitted or dealt with cursorily. The demography of the United States receives only four pages, for example, while the family is covered in nine, government and political parties are allotted eleven, and deviant behavior is not discussed at all although there are six pages on the police.

Some of these omissions are presumably explained by the author's declared objective of describing America as a "mass society." This purpose leads him to deal extensively with some interesting and important subjects that are usually neglected in sociology textbooks. An entire chapter is devoted to the history of mass production. Another chapter covers the history of American consumption habits and modern advertising. Nationalism as an ideology and "complex of institutions" is discussed at length, although the author's argument that the nation is the distinctive modern "community," replacing the rural village and the city, seems to express his hopes more than it reflects realities. A whole section of the book is devoted to the culture of mass society, including chapters on the sociology of play, the history of leisure and entertainments in America, the sociology of the arts, and the history of the arts in America.

Yet, if the "mass society" notion has largely determined the contents of the book, it cannot be said that the author makes more than casual and uneven interpretative use of it. Many of the chapters are no more than accumulations of information. The chapter on the arts in the United States, for example, is largely a roster of names and dates, in no way distinguishable from like chapters in popular works of history. Other chapters are loaded with descriptive statistics interspersed with summaries, often unrelated to one another, of the writings of leading thinkers and scholars—Maine on village communities, Mumford on the industrial city, Turner and Paxson on the American frontier, Lasswell and Kaplan on values and power. There may be advantages in including so much between the covers of a single book, but the concept of mass society is not greatly clarified.

Indeed, the author's occasional explicit discussions of the concept are highly simplistic. Rejecting the "purely negative estimations of the mass society," he argues that its critics "fail to appreciate the dynamic role played in its growth by the concept of economic democracy." (By "economic democracy" he presumably means material equality.) One wonders whom he can have in mind. The leading critics of mass society—Ortega, Jaspers, Mannheim, T. S. Eliot, Arendt—have usually *defined* it as a wealthy and economically egalitarian society and have indeed attributed its existence to mass appetites for material goods. For that very reason some of them have adopted conservative and even reactionary positions, critical of democracy, industrialism, and the modern world in general. Martindale may be unsympathetic to this point of view, but it hardly represents a denial of the attractions to the many of the high standards of living made possible by modern methods of production and distribution. Since Martindale appears to reject the "negative" view of mass society, one wonders why he includes summaries of the anti-Utopias (he wrongly calls them "Utopias") of Zamiatin, Huxley, and Orwell under the heading "Elites of Mass Society and the Future."

Occasionally, the author does make fruitful use of the concept, as when, after an able review of Goffman's theory of social interaction, he relates the latter's theatrical perspective to mass society "as the back drop to the self." Yet the impression the book gives of being a potpourri of facts and ideas might have been somewhat lessened if he had included a theoretical chapter on mass society and considered, even critically, the formulations of others.

DENNIS H. WRONG

Brown University

Governing New York City. By WALLACE S. SAYRE and HERBERT KAUFMAN. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1960. Pp. xviii+815. $8.50.

For almost the first time, a comprehensive, richly factual treatment of the political organization and administration of the nation's largest city is available. It is scholarly, accurate,

and well documented, reflecting a thorough examination of an immense number of written sources. Anyone who has attempted empirical research in New York City politics is aware of the great need there has been for a book such as this. It presents an overview of the formal governmental apparatus, offers a synthesis of all the existing published materials, and thus in a real sense makes possible further, specialized research into uncharted areas.

In a period in which the study of city politics and community power is undergoing a profound revision, this book is basically a traditional study. The intent of the authors, however, was that it be more than this. The only criticism that can be brought against the book arises from their efforts to make it theoretically relevant as well as descriptively useful. The book purports to have a theoretical point of view and to offer a conceptual framework. In fact, however, that framework is little more than a series of chapter titles. It is not an analytical tool by which the data are imbued with significance, nor does it produce the "set of propositions and hypotheses" which we are promised on page 2.

The theoretical point of view holds city politics to be a "contest" in which participants seek "stakes and prizes" within the context of a set of "rules." Each contestant pursues these prizes by adopting various strategies. These concepts do not, by and large, illuminate the materials of the book; they only provide a means of arranging them. Little would be lost if these terms were eliminated from the text and the more conventional titles (constitution and charter, nominations, elections, administration, elective officials, etc.) substituted.

Indeed, something might be gained if this conceptual phraseology were abandoned. An impression is conveyed, perhaps inadvertently, that the politics of the city consists of the outcomes of moves made by a large number of single-minded, highly rational actors with clearly understood interests. Although the authors clearly state that there are both intangible (or ideological) and tangible stakes in this contest, the book as a whole suggests the overwhelming predominance of the latter. Indeed, in Chapter ii, when the stakes are described, fewer than two pages are devoted to "Ideological and Intangible Rewards," while twenty-one pages are given over to various kinds of material prizes. The body of the book does not convey the intent of the introductory chapters, which is to show how prizes are thoroughly intertwined.

The book views city politics as a "process" which cuts across the lines that formally distinguish governmental from non-governmental agencies. It describes five groups of contestants: party leaders, public officials, bureaucracies, nongovernmental groups, and officials of state and federal governments. In fact, however, the focus of the study is the formal governing apparatus of the city, and politics is seen as a "process" only to the extent that outside agencies press upon that apparatus. There is little sense of the manner in which issues are raised, agitated, and settled, nor any assessment of the sources and distribution of influence. The book avoids the pitfalls of postulating a "power elite" or "power structure" at the expense of eliminating any real consideration of the policy-making process. Rather, the book describes, in a straightforward manner, the legal, administrative, and party mechanisms. One chapter, totaling thirty-four pages, is devoted to "Nongovernmental Groups and Government Action." The empirical research necessary for an understanding of the political role of the press, businessmen, labor unions, minority groups, voluntary associations, and neighborhood organizations has yet to be done.

These qualifications should not detract from the merits of the book. In great part, little first-hand empirical research has been done in New York City politics because a comprehensive treatise, such as this, has been lacking. One of the most important contributions of this volume is that it will facilitate such research by giving the student and scholar a sense of the whole.

James Q. Wilson

University of Chicago

Class in American Society. By Leonard Reissman. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. Pp. xii+436. $6.75.

There are various ways of organizing a body of materials consisting of theories about class, the methodology of studying class, and substantive findings about class in the United States. In this book, the latest addition to several volumes now in the field, Reissman uses a plan of organization that makes as much sense as any. The analysis begins with a sec-

tion on historical factors that have affected sensitivity to class in American life. The author proceeds to a discussion of theories of class which embraces Marx, Weber, the functionalists, and Warner and then deals with the methodology of the study of social class. There follows a series of chapters which consider class phenomena on the contemporary American scene with reference to social structure, social psychology, and social mobility. Reissman concludes with a chapter on the role of change in class systems.

The book is a useful one, and there are a number of features which seem to me particularly commendable. Reissman's discussions of Weber and of the functionalists are extensive and generally thoughtful. His section on social-psychological correlates of class position and the dynamics of interaction among these variables is cogent. Of special interest, too, is his consideration of the "lonely crowd" and "organization man" theories of middle-class mass conformity against the background of views which emphasize increasing power stratification on the national scene instead.

On the other hand, some demerits must be assigned. Reissman has a penchant for setting up straw men and then demolishing them. For example, it was quite a surprise to this writer to learn that "the theoretical suggestions of Weber . . . have been almost completely overlooked either as a guide to research or as a basis for theoretical modifications" (p. 165), when the dominance of the multidimensional approach of Weber in the field of stratification and its considerable elaboration and refinement have been documented in recent studies. In another area, the role of sociological theory in class (or any other kind of) analysis, I would argue strongly against Reissman's justification for the intrusion of ideological commitments. The task of sociological theory is to identify relevant variables and set up cogent and testable hypotheses about the relationship of these variables. One must make a distinction between studying the role of ideology as a relevant variable and allowing ideological considerations to compromise the objectivity of one's own theoretical analysis. Furthermore, I cannot agree with an important aspect of Reissman's historical analysis, which concludes that status considerations have been important and salient in American life only in recent years. One must decline to assume that what sociologists did not previously study thereby did not previously exist.

MILTON M. GORDON

Wellesley College

The Soviet Citizen: Daily Life in a Totalitarian Society. By ALEX INKELES and RAYMOND A. BAUER. With the assistance of DAVID GLEICHER and IRVING ROSOW. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959. Pp. xx+533. $10.00.

This is an extraordinarily comprehensive and explicit analysis of life patterns in Soviet society. Its quality testifies as much to the maturity of sociological methods as to the temerity of the authors and collaborators in attempting so ambitious a survey of a society into which access was precluded. Initial skepticism about the dependability of any information elicited from defectors and refugees is worn down as much by the coherence of the total picture as by the meticulous tests applied to informants' responses. Except with respect to the predictions of prospective trends, where the authors adhere only loosely to their findings, the data appear capable of bearing the interpretations. Despite claims that this is a comparative analysis, use of material from other societies is sporadic and casual. There is some tendency to overexplain each point, but this practice may widen the audience.

The presentation rests on two broad piers: the occupational and educational relationships implicit in industrialism and the political loyalties and tensions in response to totalitarianism. It is shown that the occupational structure, prestige ranks, aspirations, and satisfactions closely parallel those present in other advanced industrial societies. Despite the forced-draft and much touted programs of schooling, educational opportunities are patterned as in this country. Moreover, education bears about the same relation to occupation and level of living, to mobility, and to persistent status levels (even prerevolutionary) as elsewhere.

With surprisingly few exceptions (apart from the older persons), Soviet citizens appear to "accept the system and reject the regime," reacting strongly only against the more coercive elements in the paternalism of the party.

Though the top leaders are suspect and mistrusted, few major aspects of the politicoeconomic system are attacked. The broad welfare aims are indorsed, though restiveness at their slow fulfilment is overt. As in "outside" nations, it is the technical and professional elite who are most involved through mass media and jobs in the ongoing system and who have the least hostility to it. In neither economic nor political sphere does much flavor of proletarianism come through. The patterns of snobbery, suspicion, and misinformation among the social classes have not been eliminated by a generation of indoctrination. Contrary to what other reports would lead one to expect, ethnic tensions are found to play a minor role.

One might expect the two chapters on the family to reveal some of the more intimate linkages between economy and polity. Apart, however, from interesting data on selectivity in marriage and friendship, this portion of the book seems superficial. If one abstracts from the impact of industrialization, urbanization, and collectivization of agriculture, little distinctive about "the Soviet family" is reported.

Some of the findings are surprising. For example, except at the extremes, the correlations among education, occupation, and income are as moderate as in this country. Education certainly has aided fortunate Soviet peasants and workers—and the offspring of the demoted Tsarist elite—to move up the ladder. Yet as in other countries, education appears not to be the dominant factor in mobility.

It is when one ponders the authors' judgments about "the future of Soviet society" that he begins to take issue. The respondents accept socialization of heavy industry but have doubts about light industry; the period of the New Economic Policy seems to be preferred. They are willing to let the government run things, provided terror is eschewed, but they do not want to be pushed around. But one doubts whether a sustained period of gentle inducement, relaxation of controls over part of the economy, and rising levels of living would leave the political system so much a matter of indifference.

The tenuousness of the authors' predictions stands out even more when it is noticed that two important topics are untouched: religion and the arts. Particularly in the latter sphere—especially if the social sciences revive—can one expect heretical movements to emerge and ramify into the political sphere. When one considers also the condescending attitudes of the upper strata toward the lower, one suspects the authors have underestimated the sources of dissent. If one further allows for prolonged contact with outside societies, tolerance of the party's paternalism may well expire. The intelligentsia and the managers may today be politically apathetic, but the real diversities of interest and of ideological or cultural orientation presumably will find political expression.

More than ever, after reading this brilliant study, one wonders what is distinctive of Soviet society which has emerged beyond that which was implicit in the industrializatiton and expansion of education before the revolution. How different, for example, have been the educational, welfare, or status transformations from those occurring contemporaneously in Sweden? Will we come to conclude that the terrorism of the recent period was epiphenomenal?

C. Arnold Anderson

University of Chicago

Mobilidade e Trabalho: Um Estudo na Cidade de São Paulo ("Mobility and Work: A Study in the City of São Paulo"). By Bertram Hutchinson *et al.* Rio de Janeiro: Centro Brasileiro de Pesquisas Educacionais, 1960. Pp. viii+451.

This book is the report on what was probably the largest and most sophisticated project in empirical sociology yet undertaken in Latin America. The research was directed by a British sociologist, Bertram Hutchinson, who was under contract to UNESCO. He had the collaboration of Carlo Castaldi, an Italian anthropologist; Carolina Martuscelli Bori, a Brazilian social psychologist; and Juarez Rubens Brandão Lopes, a Brazilian sociologist. The work was sponsored by the Brazilian Center for Educational Research of the Ministry of Education and Culture and had as its central purpose the illumination of educational problems through greater understanding of contemporary social structure.

The main skeleton of the research was a study of father-son occupational mobility, following the model set by D. V. Glass and colleagues in *Social Mobility in Great Britain* (1954). A sample of twenty-five hundred per-

sons representative of the adult population of the city of São Paulo was interviewed in 1956 (only the males were included in the mobility calculations). Six occupational categories were used; the bottom two in Glass's seven-level scale were combined into one. The validity of the scale was tested through reference to a prestige rank-order of occupational titles executed by seven hundred first-year university students, who produced the ranking that is now known to be standard in all industrial societies. This prestige ranking correlated highly with the six a priori occupational categories, but by no means perfectly, so one wonders why Hutchinson (and Glass before him) did not construct his scale directly out of the empirical results of the prestige ranking.

Complex and interesting calculations were made which relate mobility through three generations to age, education, and immigrant status. Separate measures were computed to indicate exchange or individual mobility, that is, movement that occurred by exchange of positions within a theoretically stable structure (one without technologically induced expansion in the proportion of upper-level positions). In reality, São Paulo is a city with one of the highest rates of growth and industrialization in the world. Thus, two-thirds of the mobility was due to alterations in the occupational structure, and only one-third to exchange of positions. For most sociological purposes, such as the analysis of the effects of mobility on the mentality of the people, the rates of total mobility are more meaningful than the rates of exchange mobility.

Hutchinson erroneously concluded that immigrants were more mobile than natives. He forgot that the immigrant fathers were concentrated in the lower levels of the system, and thus their sons had no place to go but up. And he made illegitimate comparisons with the British study, for he failed to recognize that a division of data into six levels will automatically show less mobility than a division into seven levels. These statistical problems make exact comparisons with the British study, which covers a nation and not just a city, or with the Indianapolis study of Rogoff impossible. In a general way, however, one can conclude that São Paulo shows the effects of rapid industrial change with high rates of upward and low rates of downward mobility and that at the same time the elite continues to guarantee its sons top positions through a quasi-monopoly of university eduction (three-quarters of the university students come from the two highest occupational levels).

The major innovation of the research consisted in the interweaving of subsidiary studies with the main statistical sample in order to give psychological and cultural depth to the interpretation of the figures. Castaldi interviewed two hundred and fifty Italian immigrants and their sons. He qualitatively portrays the patterns through which the fathers came, peddled, traded and climbed, and then produced an educated generation of sons who continued the expansion of the fathers' businesses. His data raise two unanswered questions: Did immigrants before World War I, entering an unstructured commercial market, face an easier challenge than do current migrants (external or internal) who move into a bureaucratized industrial structure? Why are southern Italians thought of as ambitious and successful in São Paulo but backward and apathetic in Italy itself? Perhaps the difference has more to do with structural opportunities than with cultural values.

Martuscelli Bori used a Thematic Apperception Test type of interview, with drawings of typical occupations, and gathered rich materials on the cultural values used in judging occupations. She also attempted a psychological study of eighty men drawn from the main sample who had climbed two levels or more above their fathers, of fifty who had remained stationary, and of thirty-eight who had fallen, basing her analysis upon Rorschachs, intelligence tests, achievement-motivation measures, and value-orientation questionnaires. Unfortunately, the results are too complex to be reported here. Lopes contributed an insightful analysis of the occupational ideology of semiskilled workers in a metal factory, most of whom were internal migrants from agricultural areas.

This book is an important addition to the list of studies on social stratification and mobility in various parts of the world. What we now need is a standard set of measures that will allow us to make appropriate comparisons among them. A recent attempt to synthesize these studies, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society* (1959), by Lipset and Bendix, made comparisons by adopting the standardizing device of measuring mobility across the line from non-manual to manual occupations. That is a useful beginning but far too simple to

cover the range of available data. We have to measure elites separately from masses; urban workers separately from rural ones; exchange mobility separately from structural mobility. We have to find ways of standardizing studies that use slightly different occupational categories, different numbers of levels, and have populations differently distributed among the levels. And we need a general theory of stratification and mobility at various phases of the industrialization process that will indicate the important comparisons that *must* be made, so that we will do more than make the easy comparisons that *can* be made in terms of the existing data.

JOSEPH A. KAHL

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Professional Satisfaction among Swedish Bank Employees: A Psychological Study. By UNO REMITZ. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1960. Pp. 422. Danish Kr. 86.

This long and detailed statistical analysis of the answers of 1,241 employees of ten Swedish banks to a mailed questionnaire is to be commended for its thoroughness and technical sophistication. Its readability, however, is very much impaired by lack of expository clarity and by tedious presentation. The aim of the author is to substantiate and measure the hitherto vague and abstract concept of "professional" or occupational satisfaction. He tries to achieve this by using an ingenious type of questionnaire which allows better mathematical analysis. However, even though the results of the measuring are, indeed, very often interesting, not much light is really brought to bear on what is being measured.

The level of professional satisfaction appears finally, like intelligence, as a primary psychic function. Ten per cent of the variance can be explained by such external factors as position (supervisory–non-supervisory), salary ceilings (limited to contract scales or exceeding them), amount of salary, education, and health. Another 10 per cent is accounted for by the specific character of the employing bank. But differences in sex and intelligence, the type of personality, and neurotic disturbances (the latter two ascertained by graphologic tests) do not seem to affect the satisfaction level at all. No systematic exploration is made of the possible relevance of social background and aspiration level of the subjects. The author presents interesting data on the influence of education and on the characterological differences between the least satisfied and the most satisfied employees. Higher education produces lower satisfaction; least satisfied employees, at the same time, are more active and more sensitive, have more contact with people, and are more ambitious.

These correlations point to the necessity of a better understanding of how the requirements of banking jobs accord with education and specific character traits and to the overall problem of the influence of promotions and career patterns on the kind of individual adjustment prevalent in large-scale organizations. If the degree of congruence between status and aspirations may indirectly appear as an important factor of variance, one may wonder whether the problem of occupational satisfaction can be fruitfully approached on a mere statistical basis, even when starting with a sound psychological scheme.

MICHEL CROZIER

Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences

The Role of the District Superintendent in the Methodist Church. By MURRAY H. LEIFFER. Evanston, Ill.: Bureau of Social and Religious Research, Northwestern University, 1960. Pp. vi+201. $3.00.

This research report, apparently written as a kind of job analysis for lay and clerical religious leaders of the Methodist Episcopal Church, no doubt merits the evaluations on its jacket of bishops and district superintendents who, themselves, must have contributed to the practical success of the study. Leiffer's concern is the empirical examination of the tasks of an office in an episcopally structured religious organization. His practical objective is the data for their reassessment, with a view to increasing effectiveness in terms of the objectives of the church and, at the same time, reducing some of the strains an conflicts experienced by the mere mortals occupying office. It can only be my friendly wish that his efforts prove successful, since I am in no position to judge on these points.

Sociologists interested, let us say, in the

comparative study of religious role systems will find the data presented very useful, but explicit sociological analysis is all but nonexistent except for the most cautious, unobtrusive use of role analysis. Given his audience, Leiffer is to be congratulated rather than condemned for his playing down of formal analysis.

The importance of this study to sociologists rests upon the data it provides for the comparative analysis of complex religious role systems. Examined from this perspective, the following observations, positive and negative, can be made: First, American studies in the sociology of religious organization have focused too much on movements approximating the sect. Studies of methodism, from "sect to church or denomination," have emphasized either original forms or their transformations, or both, and not the "church" or "denomination." Allusions to this latter form seem to have served only as a kind of typological backdrop, assumed but not examined with any great care. Leiffer's contribution lies in presenting his data in a manner readily adaptable to a variety of analytical purposes. The direction for future research to take, which this style of description suggests, is that the long-abused typologies in this area might be dropped or so radically revised as to be unrecognizable to their refiners (I include myself in that number). Some new typology might emerge, using the reservoir of case studies but developing a multidimensional continuum of serial attributes in which the attributes of the role system would constitute one or more dimensions.

The principal unfavorable observations—while not wholly legitimate, since they go beyond the apparent intentions of the author—relate to the several things he might have done, but did not. His discussion of the recruitment and training of district superintendents is limited to their career patterns within the clerical system before their appointment and includes nothing of their general social origins. This tendency to isolate the phenomena under examination from its larger setting is quite consistent except for occasional references to "regional traditions" intended to account in some tentative way for the variations in data as ordered by church jurisdictions. Time and again I found myself tantalized by an interesting variation between his major variables—for example, area of the country—and variables in the attitudes of persons in the superintendent's role-set toward his office. Almost as frequently, he appears intent upon "letting the facts speak for themselves" and not going beyond what can be sought in his tables.

I sense that Leiffer has published only a small part of his data and that much more remains in his files which either he or his associates might present on some future occasion. It seems likely that this book will prove scintillating only to concerned Methodists and/or Methodist clerical politicians. For the reader sensitized to religious variation through some knowledge of the literature in the scientific study thereof, this volume should suggest a whole series of comparative studies.

JOHN T. FLINT

University of Kentucky

Old Age and Political Behavior: A Case Study. By FRANK A. PINNER, PAUL JACOBS, and PHILIP SELZNICK. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959. Pp. xi+352. $6.00.

Old Age and Political Behavior is a case study of the California Institute of Social Welfare (CISW), a semi-interest-group, semi-mass-movement type of organization which champions the various causes of aged pensioners in California. It contains data which will be of use to sociologists interested in reform movements, techniques of propaganda and mass communication, and problems of leadership and membership.

The study contains historical information on old-age movements in California, the CISW, and the charismatic leadership of George McLain, its founder and leader. A sample of members, when contrasted with a control group of non-members, shows that, while both groups are quite similar, members tend to experience more intense "status-anxiety" and are also "slightly privileged." The book contains descriptions of mass media and other devices used to reach the CISW's membership as well as a typology of membership ranging from most to least involved. Finally, there is a description of the political action of both the CISW and the "Opposition" and an account of the process of change in the CISW's form from that of a rather disreputable California reform movement to a fairly

respectable lobby lodged in the nation's capital.

The authors made use of various methods of social research, the chief of which was a questionnaire mailed both to CISW members and non-members. It is hardly necessary to belabor the issue of the shortcomings of the mailed questionnaire: the authors point out that, of 4,969 questionnaires mailed to members, there were 2,224 responses and, of 3,430 mailed to non-members, only 915 replied. In addition to the questionnaires, intensive interviews were administered to forty-two relatively active members. However, no sample of non-members was interviewed. Content analyses of letters from members, radio speeches, and institute publications were also carried out.

Several words should be said about the theoretic framework of this study. The theoretic starting point is sociological and centers around the question: Will the aged unite to become a troublesome political bloc composed of dependent, irresponsible people? The authors go on to ask: "Given a clientele made up of the aged poor, what sort of politics will arise? . . . Does a dependent old-age population produce a characteristic leadership and mode of action?" The following series of hypotheses then arises:

1. "A dependent social group attempting concerted action is vulnerable to political exploitation" (p. 14).
2. "The weaker the internal cohesion of the group, the more dependent will it be on ideology, dramatic action, and a forceful, colorful leader to provide a focus of loyalty and a sense of common identity" (p. 23).
3. "Social movements desiring to mobilize people for unfamiliar and unconventional behavior must tap non-routine, extraordinary and strong motivations" (p. 119).
4. "An isolated constituency, low in status, is likely to be organized by a marginal leader" (p. 272).

Unfortunately, these questions cannot be answered, nor can the hypotheses be substantiated or refuted by data collected for the study of a single organization.

In conclusion, it should be stressed that the authors of this informative and well-organized study raise some important theoretic questions about the formation and functioning of reform movements.

RUTH GRANICK

Columbia University

On the Threshold of Delinquency. By JOHN BARRON MAYS. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1959. Pp. xi+243. 25*s*.

This book reports an interesting and creative effort in juvenile delinquency prevention carried out in an English urban slum. The core of the project was a small evening recreational club for boys eight to thirteen years old. In addition to supervised group activities in the club, advice and counseling were given by the club staff to the boys and their families, and efforts were made to co-operate with teachers, clergy, and probation officers. This "casework-groupwork" approach was developed in response to the reported lack of success of either casework or groupwork alone in such projects as the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study and in the boys' club movement. Several significant ideas emerge from reading this report. The most important are that the total social milieu of the potential delinquent must be involved in the effort at prevention; that co-operation between agencies must exist on a case-by-case basis as well as on the level of policy; and that psychologically disturbed youngsters express their problems by selective use of delinquent patterns.

The design of the project is neither experimental nor comparative, so that evaluation of results is difficult; however, some evidence is offered that the project helped "problem cases" to be as "successful" as were "non-problem cases." Some interesting data are presented on the culture of the area, the nature of the boys' families, and relations among these variables. Unfortunately, however, the usefulness of the report is seriously reduced by lack of sophistication in handling tabulated data and in using case histories. Thus, needed cross-tabulations are not given, so that some results are not clear or are inconclusive and potentially interesting relations are simply not investigated. Similarly, the case histories fail to illuminate the relations suggested in the tabulated analysis and in the description of the culture of the area and do not illustrate sufficiently the nature of the "casework-groupwork" approach and the problems encountered with it. In short, a report much more useful to practitioners and to social scientists could have been prepared from this significant attempt to grapple with an important social problem.

THOMAS P. WILSON

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Case Histories in Community Organization. By MURRAY G. ROSS. New York: Harper & Bros., 1958. Pp. ix+259. $3.50.

This book consists of case records of the way in which social workers in the field of community organization deal with individuals, community groups, and special committees in helping to solve local problems. The introductory chapter outlines several essential aspects of community social work and suggests a number of possible styles of work. Ross advocates concern with local manifestations of the problems created by mass society as well as with more traditional welfare issues. Sociologists will welcome this broadened focus despite possible reservations about particular practical proposals. The case studies show the effects of professional social work ideologies on the practitioner's capacity to initiate novel programs. Questions at the end of each report highlight plausible alternative programs as well as hidden value implications of the programs put into effect.

The quality of the case reports varies, and a few are so congratulatory as to lose the flavor of complex reality. Thus, the Horatio Alger-like story of Jack Barnes' success in Elmsville, despite its length, is far less satisfactory than the pointed description of the Civil Liberties Union in Melville where crucial choices facing similar organizations are exposed in three pages. The saga of Mrs. Fisher, a physician's wife who organized her own Traveler's Aid Society and her own Old Folks Home against the protests of local professionals, provides a vivid object lesson in the virtues of non-co-operation. Perhaps we can all gain some comfort from the words of Mr. Wicket, an intransigent member of the Watertown Rotary Club, who says: "I tell you, men, that group [a committee composed mainly of professionals into which he had been co-opted] talks the greatest amount of rubbish you ever heard. I don't understand what it's all about, but they're kind of nice fellows and for all that I know they may come down to earth yet."

MAURICE R. STEIN

Brandeis University

The Open and Closed Mind. By MILTON ROKEACH. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1960. Pp. xv+447. $7.50.

Of the twenty-two chapters in this book six are modifications of earlier published reports. Fourteen of the remaining chapters present previously unpublished research by Rokeach and his associates.

The Open and Closed Mind is essentially a progress report on research which began with the author's original work with the group responsible for *The Authoritarian Personality*. There are two major differences between the studies reported and those of the Berkeley group. The first is the strong emphasis upon cognitive correlates of ideology which was foreshadowed in Rokeach's often cited (but difficult to replicate) dissertation on the greater rigidity in problem-solving on the part of those who were higher rather than lower in anti-Semitism. The second is the contention that those who are extremely non-authoritarian as measured by low scores on the F scale are as authoritarian or dogmatic as those who score high. Available evidence indicates that the F scale does not tap authoritarianism per se but only rightest authoritarianism.

Rokeach's resolution of this problem was to construct a forty-item Likert scale of dogmatism which did not have ideological content. This scale has been administered to a number of samples, and its reliability hovers in the low .70's for American college samples and from .78 to .91 for English samples (p. 90). Correlation of this scale with the F scale ranges from .54 to .77 (p. 77). Given the reliabilities of both scales, psychometricians might be forgiven for wondering if these are not roughly equivalent measures of the same elusive but persistent syndrome. The dogmatism scale does, however, have lower correlations with various measures of conservative-liberal orientation than does the F scale. These differences are greatest in the most politically sophisticated samples (English college students). One of the most telling of Rokeach's points is that those English students who identified themselves as Communist in political orientation were lowest on the F scale but were higher on the dogmatism scale than those identifying with the major British parties.

Most of the research reported, however, does not deal with subjects who are polarized along a right-left political continuum. The Michigan State University students used as the primary subjects appear to have no observable political opinions—the correlations between specially constructed measures of "right and left opin-

ionation" are not significantly different from zero among them, although the measures correlate in the minus .60's in three English samples (p. 92).

In most of the experimental studies reported the subjects were selected from extremes of the distribution on the dogmatism scale, for example, in chapter xx the fifteen highest and fifteen lowest scorers from the tested sample of two hundred and twenty-five were selected to respond to Thematic Apperception Test cards. That such a focus on the upper and lower extremes of the distribution ignores important data is indicated in one of the few instances in which the entire array of scorers on the scale were studied: it was the middle-scoring subjects who, contrary to prediction, idealized their parents more (p. 360).

There is another methodological problem which complicates any simple interpretation of Rokeach's findings. Several recent independent studies have indicated that there is a tendency to agree indiscriminately with the items of the dogmatism scale, similar to the agreement with F-scale items, and the current generation of college students has surprisingly marked tendencies to agree to almost any ideological or quasi-ideological statement. This does not pose any problem in interpreting the scores of those low on the dogmatism scale who are disagreeing with dogmatically worded statements. It is impossible to determine, however, whether those relatively high on the scale are basically dogmatic or whether their scale scores simply indicate a complacent indorsement of dogmatic statements and the probability that they would also indorse non-dogmatic statements.

The most provocative aspects of this book are the wide-ranging and ingenious attempts to relate dogmatism to other criteria. Such matters as preference for modern music, problem-solving, and the relationship between ratings of situational threat for the Catholic Church and the degree of dogmatism expressed in the canons of ecumenical councils are discussed in detail.

One of the most disappointing aspects of the treatment of open and closed minds is a pronounced sociological innocence. In chapter xvii, among other analyses, there is an analysis of interfaith marriages among students at Michigan State University. Various religious denominations had been ranked as to degree of similarity by various groups of judges including a sample of clergymen. Table 17.5 (p. 324) presents rank-order correlations between judged similarity of beliefs of various churches and weighted frequencies of interfaith marriages in this sample. Rokeach's assumption appears to be that religious beliefs serve to promote homophily (at least in marriage). There happen to be many factors affecting interfaith marriage besides congruences of systems of belief, especially among students whose religious membership is probably more a function of family membership in one rather than another denomination and of attending a particular church rather than another because it is closer, because such conforming behavior is expected, etc. The fact that more Catholics marry other Catholics, or Baptists other Baptists, *may* have something to do with individuals' private systems of religious belief. But the fact can be accounted for more parsimoniously by membership in one social group rather than another. If the assumption is made that members of the same faith have greater opportunity to meet one another, regardless of their formal religious beliefs, rank-order correlations should be based upon the frequency of interfaith marriages rather than intrafaith ones in order to be meaningful in the present context. When this is done, the correlations drop to a range of $-.20 — +.85$ instead of $+.54 — +.94$. Only Baptists and Methodists displayed a significant tendency to marry those of other faiths judged to be similar to their own.

Rokeach is undoubtedly correct in his contention that individuals vary in the extent to which they have open or closed minds and that *The Authoritarian Personality* focused only on the closed minds of the political right. Although his arguments are varied and ingenious, they suffer from undue reliance upon a scale measuring dogmatic content rather than the structure of belief systems, from the use of subjects who appear to have few consistent beliefs about social issues, and from an exaggerated tendency to view behavior in a psychological frame of reference with a consequent neglect of the effects of membership in social groups. There are enough provocative data presented to stimulate further research and to make a serious reader question some of his own assumptions as well as those of Rokeach.

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THE CLUBS IN CRISIS: RACE RELATIONS IN THE NEW WEST AFRICA[1]

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ABSTRACT

This is an attempt to consider race relations in a British West African colony by the approach of small-group sociology. Changes in the structure of society, notably in and through the civil service, have affected the standing of the exclusive white clubs. These clubs, under official pressure and African challenge from outside and inside, have felt the impact of younger Europeans strongly identified with Africans. The article describes the reaction of a particular club and the methods by which it has met the crisis and contained the challenge.

Britain, as we know, is committed to giving independence to the West African colonies. These territories, whether already independent or not, are now ruled by elected Negro governments. Colonial civil servants, most of whom in the righer ranks are British, serve under local ministers with whom lies, in theory at least, responsibility for policy. At the head of the hierarchy stands the governor himself, a nominee of the Colonial Office. In the separate ministries are the permanent secretaries, of whom the financial secretary ranks as the most senior. Then, within the technical departments which, for the sake of economic development in countries short of capital, have had to be created by central government are those officials who have risen to managerial status, such as the general manager, railways, the director of the public works department, and so on. Below these also rank many grades and sorts of technicians. The result is that colonial society tends to be hierarchical in the upper-income groups. In provincial administration, again, regional and district commissioners execute the will of the government and, in an inoffensive way suited to the times, maintain a little state. Characteristically, on formal occasions most of those listed here are entitled to wear dress uniforms.

The coming or proximity of independence has not seriously disturbed the Europeans who serve in these countries. Since there are no settlers among them, they are not concerned with handing on political or social privileges. They are transients and know it.

[1] G. Balandier has discussed the social relations of colonial situations in Africa in *Sociologie Actuelle de l'Afrique Noire* (Paris, 1955) and in *Sociologie de Brazzaville Noire* (Paris, 1955); in *Race Relations in World Perspective* (ed. A. W. Lind [Honolulu, 1956], pp. 145–66), Balandier has considered the social effects of the increased number of European women residents in Africa since 1945. Ione Acquah (*Accra Survey* [London, 1958]) gives a most comprehensive survey of a West African city and includes European activities. C. Sofer and R. Ross ("Some Characteristics of an East African European Population," *British Journal of Sociology*, II [1951], 315) deal with Stonetown, a middle-size (i.e., one-club as against no-club or more-than-one-club) East African European community. Melville J. Herskovits ("Some Thoughts on American Research in Africa," *African Studies Bulletin*, I [November, 1958]) comments on the need for further social analysis of European groups in Africa.

What has perturbed them, however, is the official policy of "Africanization,"[2] that is, the systematic replacement of Europeans in senior posts by local Africans as, by training and experience, they become eligible. The educated part of the local population presses for jobs and promotion. Though confident of their superiority in technical posts, at least, Europeans feel insecure and resent appointments made from confessedly racialist motives.

Moreover, it is "Africanization" rather than independence which threatens their traditional social life. After the day's work, with its inevitable strain of culture contacts and language problems, it was pleasant to withdraw into the expatriate clubs. These, though they varied among themselves, were alike in being exclusive and became both symbols of communal unity and agencies of social control.[3] Club servants, indeed, were Africans but drawn normally from among tribal illiterates—that is, from among economic dependents, not competitors. "Africanization," however, by lifting Negroes in the social hierarchy, made it difficult to exclude them from club life. The color bar became too obvious to ignore; it could no longer be represented as the distinction between the upper and the lower grades of the colonial service hierarchy or as that between management on the one hand and mere employees on the other.[4] Here was a direct challenge to the clubs, a challenge at times openly offered in the newspapers.

[2] Following local terminology, we use "African" henceforth for a black man and "European" for a white man.

[3] Sofer and Ross point out that the major social division among Stonetown Europeans has come to be that between the clubbable and the non-clubbable (*op. cit.*).

[4] It is ironic that Sofer and Ross, observing a European club in the very different political situation of East Africa, found it in a similar dilemma. There it was expected to promote white unity, but failed when the arrival of a large group of low-status Europeans made racial inclusiveness incompatible with social exclusiveness. Then the club, by marking off the main division within the European group, had the reverse of the desired effect (*ibid.*).

Sierra Leone is a small colony, and even its capital city has a population of only about one hundred thousand. Of these, something under three thousand are Lebanese and Indians, and about one thousand Europeans (men, women, and children). This handful of Europeans, however, has long maintained three clubs in the city.

The Government Club of higher civil servants and their peers, being the most susceptible to influence from above, was the first to accept the social implications of official policy and admit two or three African members. True, there is a report, generally accepted, that the decision even here was precipitated by a crisis: the brigadier of the local army detachment, whose mess included one or two African officers, let it be understood that he would resign his own membership if all his officers were not equally eligible. Moreover, the governor of the colony himself has set an example of social mixing with Africans and is reported to have expressed himself vigorously on its desirability. In such circumstances the compliance of his subordinates was inevitable.

The Government Club and the Golf Club overlap considerably in membership, while the third, the Railway Club, with which this paper is more particularly concerned, is much more plebeian than, and quite different from, the other clubs. What is locally thought of, par excellence, as "government" (a useful if unfamiliar concept embracing the senior civil servants in the ministries and in provincial administration) is hardly represented within it. All European railway men, however, are expected to belong—the subscription is automatically deducted from their salaries unless they protest. These are the only full members. Honorary members are drawn mainly from other government technical departments, such as those of road transport and public works, from the younger employers in commerce, and from the local university college staff, who, not being government servants or confined by the restrictions of mining compounds, go where their tastes lead them. Women are admitted neither to membership nor even to

the status of guests. They are welcome, but their existence is not constitutionally recognized.

The amenities of the Railway Club are certainly the best in the city: a safe swimming pool, a paddling pool for children, an excellent playing field, nets for cricket practice, tennis courts, a large and well-kept billiard room with two full-size tables, a room big enough for dancing, a small library of popular books, and a well-stocked and efficiently run bar. Such a range of possible indulgences naturally draws a varied clientele. Most members, however, are monovalent in their use of the club. The bar and the billiard room, traditionally associated in Britain, attract some of the same people, but many are content with the bar alone (none, however, with the billiard room alone). The sportsmen are rarely drinkers: a glass of squash after a game is sufficient for them. They seldom appear at night. The younger family men may bring their children to the pool, but they drink little and spend most of their nights at home.

The bar is the center of club life. The sportsmen and family men come and go, but the faces at the bar are remarkably constant. Here are to be found the lowest grade of European workers in the railway, the permanent way-inspectors who supervise maintenance of the track and the senior locomotive foremen who maintain the engines. With them, more intermittently, are a few junior technicians, much younger and not much more highly paid. In general, these are college men, whereas the permanent way-inspectors are the products of an older educational system in which the lower orders of society were given mere literacy and some slight craft training.

On most nights, a little farther from the bar sit a few of the senior and more highly paid railwaymen, of whom two or three are committee members; they may or may not have wives with them. These are the habitués of the club, and it is from these two groups that gossip emanates and a public opinion is formed. Politically, the club is dominated by those who sit near the bar, not by those who stand beside it. Strong accents, indicative of a man's place of origin, are common to both groups. The upper-class English accent familiarly "guyed" in the United States is absent.

The committee, however, normally includes a few senior railway men who are not habitués. So much, at least, is conceded to the hierarchical principle. Both the men at the bar and those who sit near it live for the most part in the railway compound. Hence practically their whole non-working life turns upon the club, which is the dominant building, physically and socially.

Though no statistics are available, it is probable that the club members have more friendly and intimate contacts with Africans than do most other groups. Many have African mistresses, and these relationships may be semi-permanent. (On the other hand, no railway member is known to have a lawfully wedded African wife.) One or two of the jobs in the railway—for example, those dealing with the acquisition of land—take the European specialist deep into the most intimate complex of relationships in the whole of African life. The honorary members of the club are not behind in this. Thus the university lecturers are often on terms of affection and mutual ease with their students. Hence there is little doubt that the introduction of African members is a problem only to the group, not to the majority of individuals. Yet this club was the last, not the first, to concede African membership.

This is not so anomalous as it appears. We have seen that the most protocol-ridden club, the one most affected by outside influences and the least determined by its own inner development, was the first to capitulate. Yet the same club long excluded army senior non-commissioned officers and warrant officers, who were almost all Europeans.[5] Such a barrier at the Railway Club would be unthinkable. The determining

[5] Traditionally, officialdom in Sierra Leone was felt to be more exclusive and socially pretentious than elsewhere on the West Coast, and this was sharply resented by Europeans engaged in commerce (*West Africa*, February 3, 1917, p. 6).

factor has been not radicalism in the Government Club but consistency in institutionalized attitudes in the Railway Club.

The prehistory of attempts to introduce Africans into the club once more entails a reference to the army. When an African civilian first attempted to enter the club, he was at once repulsed; the army was less easy to resist. After a convivial session elsewhere, a member brought the African civilian and a non-member European to the Railway Club. The party was shown the door on the quite legitimate grounds that any one member was permitted only one guest. (Needless to say, the rule is not at all times observed or applied.)

The army was much more difficult to deal with. It had been the custom to hold formal dances, to which the elite of colony society was invited. Group invitations were issued to the officers' messes ("The Commanding Officer and his Officers," etc). The dances were successful and had a certain social brilliance which other club activities could rarely rival. When the first African army officer, together with his wife, presented himself at one of those occasions, he, unlike the civilian just mentioned, had to be admitted. Thereafter, however, the custom of issuing group invitations was discontinued, and the dances began to decline in frequency and success. Nowadays, they are rarely held.

For two years before a decision was reached about African members, the general factors militating in favor of admitting them had been reinforced by one other factor of quite symbolic propriety. The land on which the club stands is the property of the railway. It was made over to the club by unwritten agreement between a past governor and a past general manager. So the title by which the club holds it is somewhat tenuous and insecure. One of the liberal railway men, a man in the nature of his job deeply involved with Africans, began to insinuate that the African minister in charge of transport could and, if he were displeased with the club's policy, probably would, cut the ground from under its foundations. (There is no evidence that the minister had any such intention.) The opinion was thereby created that the club would have to admit Africans if it wanted to survive at all.

The prestige of this member, whom we will call Mac, was very high. He was the highest paid of the habitués of the club; his job was very specialized and entailed some knowledge of law; he lived on the railway compound itself; he oscillated between the bar and the seats near the bar, and he was a member of the committee. Moreover, he was a strong partisan; having been invited to the Government Club on one occasion, his reaction had been to stalk out in boredom and disgust. He was, by the way, a Scot, not an Englishman. Though prepared to conduct a campaign designed to demoralize the resistance of those who had the strongest will to resist African membership, he was not himself willing to take the lead in introducing any individual African. This role he preferred to reserve for two of his friends, honorary members whom we will call Len and Henry.[6]

The first attempt of the kind was abortive. After some discussion with the responsible minister, turning on the question of social amenities, the secretary of the Railway Workers' Union (which is all-African) sounded a few individuals about whether they would propose him. His was to be a test case, which would, if successful, open the club and turn it into a recreational center for the senior African railwaymen. Mac agreed to support him, but the lead was taken by the president of the club himself. The president was not a club habitué, but he stood high in the hierarchy and used the club to a moderate extent. When he mooted the question, he took a very strong

[6] The roles Mac allotted to Len and Henry and the committee's response illustrate the use of a stranger to initiate controversial actions. Frankenburg (*Village on the Border* [London, 1957]) describes this tactic in a small Welsh village. Such a role is familiar to Europeans in West Africa, which has had to face many awkward but unavoidable decisions just before and after independence and finds a group of readily identifiable strangers in key positions, i.e., expatriates, a great asset.

line, inferring that, if the application were rejected, he might himself resign in protest. It was rumored about that there was a vacancy in the railway establishment immediately senior to the post which he held and that he might consider himself eligible for it. Hence, rightly or wrongly, the conclusion was drawn that he was seeking to curry favor with Africans as a means to his own promotion.[7] Moreover, the union secretary was endeared to the bulk of the members neither by his function nor by his personal relations.[8] Therefore, the committee offered unexpectedly stiff resistance.

The union secretary, if he wished to join, would have to apply in due form, that is, he would have to be proposed by six members, and his application would have to be exhibited in the club for the specified period while members took note of it. Only the president and Mac committed themselves to him; when asked if they would blackball him, the rest quite properly refused to reply.

At this juncture, two things happened almost simultaneously: the president of the club went on leave and therefore escaped from what otherwise might have been an untenable position, and the union secretary, hearing from Mac that it was doubtful whether his candidature would succeed, announced that he would not press it. A repulse, he said, would make him a laughing stock among his own people. He then joined the Golf Club, quarreled with two of the committee men who had opposed him, and professed the opinion at large that, as he had now joined a "better" club, there was no point in his joining the Railway Club.

Meantime, two of the intransigent committee members, both old club habitués, went to the acknowledged head of the railway hierarchy. They argued that the club president had been far too willing to confer upon others amenities to which he himself did not greatly contribute and which he perhaps did not value highly. In short, he was trading in other men's privileges and should be restrained. Their argument was impressive, but even more so was the example and opinion of the colonial governor himself. He had mixed with Africans himself and encouraged others to do so. The railway head therefore staggered them by replying that, however good a case they had, he was not prepared to go against the express wishes of the head of the state, and the best thing they could do was to go out and find some African members.

As a result, three African members were accepted immediately afterward. All were railway men, popular individuals proposed by their own immediate European workmates. The constitutional safeguards which had been brought to bear upon the union secretary's application were disregarded. The applications were not published in the club for the prescribed period, and the whole business was rushed through. The committee clearly feared that some diehard would organize resistance. Hence, by the end of 1958, the position in the Railway Club was much the same as that in the other clubs of the colony capital. There was, however, one difference: whereas Africans often did not avail themselves of their membership in the other clubs, they had not yet even set foot inside the Railway Club.

The annual general meeting, held in early January, revealed the tensions of the previous months. Thus, the new president referred openly to the effect on the committee of the fear that the club's land could be taken from them. Moreover, the committee brought up for discussion two amendments to the rules, One proposed a new safeguard against easy admission to membership. It provided that, if six members sent in written objections to any candidate, giving their

[7] The same imputation of motive could have been made even if there had been no coincidental vacancy. The Manchester school of anthropologists recently has paid special attention to the importance of gossip, including such malicious gossip, in maintaining a sense of community (e.g., E. Colson, *The Makah Indians* [Manchester, 1953]; R. Frankenburg, *op. cit.*).

[8] Formerly a journalist, he contributed violently xenophobic articles to the press and had attacked white clubs earlier in the year on the local radio forum. He was later charged with misusing union funds and fled the country.

reasons, the committee should be debarred from considering him at all.

In discussion it appeared that the committee members were taking thought for their own protection. To reject an African might rouse public hostility which could be diverted onto them in their jobs. The new clause would conceal responsibility.

The body of the meeting reacted very unfavorably to this proposal. One railway member argued vigorously that it would lead to intrigue, backstairs work, and the formation of cliques. A committee member who did not speak to the motion was pointedly reminded by the president that he had been a party to the decision. He replied that he had thought about it and changed his mind. Significantly, nobody said outright that a club's first duty was to preserve its solidarity by excluding people who were personally unacceptable. Only one honorary member, Mac's friend Len, spoke for the motion. The committee was heavily defeated.

At the end of the meeting the same honorary member who had supported the "six objectors" clause rose to ask whether African guests, as distinct from members, could or should be invited: the rules permitted this, but a good club lived more by custom than by rule, and custom was against it. This time, the spokesman from the floor who had most vehemently opposed the "six objectors" clause spoke in favor of African guests. The president of the club, however, gave an answer as unexceptionable as it was equivocal: he drew the attention of members to the rule about the admission of guests, in which there was nothing to exclude Africans, but he then pointed out that another rule prescribed expulsion of members whose behavior derogated from the dignity and decorum of the club. Hasty asides informed the uninitiated that one railway member had threatened to introduce his African mistress as a guest.

Throughout all these exchanges members explicitly accepted the authority of the club, and, while the traditionalists showed some tendency to fall back on punctilio, they did not at this stage strain it. The committee, however, had been defeated in form and had suffered the shock of seeing some of their own group default on a question over which they were committed—the "six objectors" clause. Later attempts to maintain committee solidarity will shortly be noted.

Immediately after the meeting, when there was an unusually large and heterogeneous group of members present and when, of course, the power group was at full strength, Len, the honorary member who had inquired about African guests, introduced an African guest. The African was the first to enter the club in due form since the affair of the army officer years before. He was a senior driver in the government transport service, youngish, and familiar with Europeans through his association with the university lecturers whose student he had been. His comportment—cool, quiet, and completely self-possessed—was generally admired, even by those who were by no means disposed to welcome his presence. We have permission to quote from his own account:

At the Railway Club: My Observations on Sunday 25th January, 1959.—I walked in confidence. There was Henry, Mac, and Mrs. Mac. I was introduced to Mrs. Mac so I sat by her on a canvas chair. Every European was looking at me with surprise. I didn't mind their looks very much. Len and I were discussing my essay on Woman Damages.[9] After that I was served with a bottle of Coca Cola. Mrs. Mac, who I assessed to be one of the European ladies suitable for service in South Africa where Europeans hardly meet with Africans, was sitting beside me. She didn't like it, though, but her husband likes Africans, because he wants to learn. This beautiful lady was reading my essay on woman damages with smiles on her face and the only comment she made to her husband was, "This is why you wanted to become a Muslim, I'm sure." I replied that this is not the Muslim custom, but a custom recognised among one or two of the half-pagan tribes of the country.

Not long after this Mrs. J. and her husband, Mr. J., arrived. They were coming to

[9] A local system of compensation paid to husbands (usually rich) by the cuckold-makers (usually poor) who have tampered with their wives.

meet my friends but when they saw me sitting there, Mr. J., who is my Acting Director, failing to realise the fact that he is only my boss when I am wearing the Department's uniform (I don't think he will ever encourage an African in his house or mix with them outside his official duties), came in, but didn't stay, and went to the veranda and sat there with his children. His wife sat with us but didn't speak to me, and I didn't speak to her either.

In about five minutes' time both ladies left our company and joined J. outside. The Club house was well decorated. The bar was first-rate; some of the seats were decent though very old. Some white men were standing in the bar, drinking, at the same time watching me over their shoulders. I watched them, too. *I was fed up with being the only African among about fifty Europeans, and I only stayed to please my friends. If all Africans were to join such Clubs as these, I would be the last.* [From this point the account becomes an attack on those Africans who wish to break into, or break up, the European clubs and offers the countersuggestion that Africans should create their own clubs.]

The next episode was the introduction of two Africans on a Saturday night a fortnight later. One was a full member who was looked after by the secretary of the club, the other, who was assistant secretary of the railway union, was a guest. This guest was introduced by Henry in the company of Mac and Len. A man with the full African capacity for revelry, he drank merrily into the small hours, played a game of billiards, and danced with the two European girls who took the floor. On the other hand, the African member made a shorter night of it and confined himself to drinks and a game of snooker. The member's presence was therefore much less significant than that of the guest, whose unconcealed enjoyment could not be ignored. While it could be argued that neither the first African guest, whose account we have quoted, nor the African member just mentioned showed any great pleasure in the club, the assistant secretary of the union was a manifest challenge to any generalization from these cases. Moreover, he brought into the club that complicated region where industrial and interracial relations overlap and from which the clubs have been the usual refuge.

Hence, at the next committee meeting there were further signs of concern. A new African candidate for membership was proposed by one of the existing African members. There was no disputing his personal eligibility, but the president of the club wanted to know where the process of admitting Africans was to stop. There might, for example, come a time when the majority of railway members at an annual meeting were Africans and could vote each other into the committee. That would be the end of the club. (As the number of African members would only be six and as only five of them would be full members, even if the new candidate were admitted, this was rather a remote contingency.) After some discussion the candidate was admitted but clearly from a sense of impotence to resist rather than the desire to have him.

Attention turned several times to Len. His attitude was unsatisfactory: he had introduced African guests far too frequently. Henry, also a member of the college staff and a member of the committee when Len was nominated, spoke up in his defense. He had not exceeded the prescribed limits to the invitation of guests, and no one could argue that his one guest had not conducted himself well. The most dissatisfied member of the committee than referred to the assistant secretary of the trade union: Len had brought him in, too. "Henry" then pointed out that he had himself introduced this guest. At this there was hasty withdrawal. Clearly, the committee was anxious to maintain its solidarity after the defeats of the annual general meeting.

Nonetheless, the members returned to the charge against Len, and the president finally volunteered "to speak to him." The president held that such occasions of combined sociability and business as Len and his guest had used the club for were in fact necessary and desirable, but they should take place not at the club but in one of the public bars or hotels.

Both at this meeting and at the previous

one, there were attempts to impose further restrictions on the right to introduce guests, but it was finally decided that a punctilious enforcement of existing rules would meet the case.

Thus, as matters now stand, the Railway Club has conformed to those symbolic claims which African opinion in the colony has recently lodged. The move to convert the symbolic right of Africans to belong into actual frequency of social intercourse within the club has been stiffly resisted both by moral suasion ("speaking to Len") and by an increased resort to enforcement of rules. The leadership of the power group within the club has not been seriously challenged, but the club has reacted to African membership as to a threat which, while it cannot be resisted, yet may be confined to unimportant dimensions. It has sought to consolidate itself, as far as possible, by the classical mechanism of finding a scapegoat. The club, like any other institution, needs above all to perpetuate itself. To maintain its recognizable individuality, it depends less upon rule than upon the tacit consent to custom of both internal and external society. Where external society changes, the alteration is felt less by some clubs than by others. All defend themselves, but the club which has developed the strongest inner organization is by far the most redoubtable.

From the African side, various attitudes can be distinguished. The more strenuous "nationalists" attack the clubs as symbols of the old order. These spokesmen, however, are rarely the most "clubbable" of men. That part of their motivation most readily shared by other Africans is their hatred of being treated as strangers in their own land.[10]

It is well to realize that African and European social customs, even between men on the same job, in the same city, and with the same incomes, differ so widely that it is extremely difficult to unite them in the same club. Africans, for example, do not usually play billiards or golf, and very few can swim or care to bathe for pleasure. Europeans, on the other hand, rarely play table tennis unless they are young and, if they play draughts—which is unusual, anyway—they do so by entirely different rules from those in use among the local African devotees of the game. Even the lowest common factor, drink, is not common to the Muslims. Again an attempt to observe a club created with good will on both sides to be intercommunal revealed the following in the course of six months: not once did an African bring his wife, and not once did a European arrive with a woman who was not his wife. Finally, English men often like to be left alone in their clubs to enjoy, almost ostentatiously, their privacy in public. This seems incomprehensible to Africans.

Hence, in the upshot, it remains probable that this colony at least will see the white clubs maintain themselves until they disappear altogether, as they seem to have done in independent India. In general, Africans only wish to join them in order to demonstrate their right to do so; in general, Europeans do not want them anyway. Only one African has visited the Railway Club in the last six months, and his visit passed off without remark. The power group has held its position. Mac and Henry have gone to other jobs elsewhere. Len appears to be tolerated as an amiable aberrant, now that the traditional character of the club is no longer threatened.

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[10] The recently founded People's National Party once scored a considerable propaganda success at the expense of the ruling Sierra Leone People's Party by maintaining that restrictions upon access to the diamond territory made Sierra Leoneans "strangers in their own country."

PROFESSIONS IN PROCESS[1]

RUE BUCHER AND ANSELM STRAUSS

ABSTRACT

A process approach to professions focuses upon diversity and conflict of interest within a profession and their implications for change. The model posits the existence of a number of groups, called segments, within a profession, which tend to take on the character of social movements. Segments develop distinctive identities and a sense of the past and goals for the future, and they organize activities which will secure an institutional position and implement their distinctive missions. In the compettiton and conflict of segments in movement the organization of the profession shifts.

The "process" or "emergent" approach to the study of professions developed in the following pages bears considerable resemblance to a common-sense point of view. It utilizes common language to order the kinds of events that professionals informally discuss among themselves—frequently with great animation. It is even used by sociologists in their less professional moments when they are personally challenged by their own colleagues or by persons from other fields. What is different here is that we shall take the first steps toward developing an explicit scheme of analysis out of these commonplace materials. In addition, it will become apparent that this approach differs from the prevailing "functionalism" because it focuses more pointedly upon conflicting interests and upon change.

Functionalism sees a profession largely as a relatively homogeneous community whose members share identity, values, definitions of role, and interests.[2] There is room in this conception for some variation, some differentiation, some out-of-line members, even some conflict; but, by and large, there is a steadfast core which defines the profession, deviations from which are but temporary dislocations. Socialization of recruits consists of induction into the common core. There are norms, codes, which govern the behavior of the professional to insiders and outsiders. In short, the sociology of professions has largely been focused upon the mechanics of cohesiveness and upon detailing the social structure (and/or social organization) of given professions. Those tasks a structural-functional sociology is prepared to do, and do relatively well.

But this kind of focus and theory tend to lead one to overlook many significant aspects of professions and professional life. Particularly does it bias the observer against appreciating the conflict—or at least difference—of interests within the profession; this leads him to overlook certain of the more subtle features of the profession's "organization" as well as to fail to appreciate how consequential for changes in the profession and its practitioners differential interests may be.

In actuality, the assumption of relative

[1] The intellectual origins of this scheme of analysis are both our own research and various writings of our predecessors and colleagues. Its specific ideas occurred to us when Miss Bucher, several years ago, had occasion to analyze a number of specialty journals and interview a sample of pathologists. Since then we have both been engaged in a study which brings us much information about psychiatrists and psychiatric nurses in Chicago, and we have had available also Everett C. Hughes's interviews with the medical staff at the University of Kansas medical school. The writings to which we are most indebted are those of Everett Hughes on work and professions (cf. *Men and Their Work* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958]) and the symbolic-interaction position in social psychology (cf. George Herbert Mead's *Mind, Self, and Society* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1934]). Because the materials on occupations, work, and professions are well known and readily available, we have not cited all references to pertinent literature; the files of various specialty journals in all the professions are useful to anyone interested in further illustrations.

[2] Cf. William J. Goode, "Community within a Community: The Professions," *American Sociological Review*, XX (1957), 194–200.

homogeneity within the profession is not entirely useful: there are many identities, many values, and many interests. These amount not merely to differentiation or simple variation. They tend to become patterned and shared; coalitions develop and flourish—and in opposition to some others. We shall call these groupings which emerge within a profession "segments." (Specialties might be thought of as major segments, except that a close look at a specialty betrays its claim to unity, revealing that specialties, too, usually contain segments, and, if they ever did have common definitions along all lines of professional identity, it was probably at a very special, and early, period in their development.) We shall develop the idea of professions as loose amalgamations of segments pursuing different objectives in different manners and more or less delicately held together under a common name at a particular period in history.

Our aim in this paper, then, is to present some initial steps in formulating a "process" model for studying professions. The model can be considered either as a supplement of, or an alternative to, the prevailing functional model. Some readers undoubtedly will prefer to consider the process model as supplementary. If so, then there will be a need for a further step, that is, for a transcending model. But we ourselves are concerned here only with sketching the outlines of a process approach, suggesting a few potentially useful concepts, and pointing to certain research problems that flow from our framework and concepts.

"ORGANIZED MEDICINE"

Medicine is usually considered the prototype of the professions, the one upon which current sociological conceptions of professions tend to be based; hence, our illustrative points in this paper will be taken from medicine, but they could just as pertinently have come from some other profession. Of the medical profession as a whole a great deal could be, and has been, said: its institutions (hospitals, schools, clinics); its personnel (physicians and paramedical personnel); its organizations (the American Medical Association, the state and county societies); its recruitment policies; its standards and codes; its political activities; its relations with the public; not to mention the professions' informal mechanisms of sociability and control. All this minimal "structure" certainly exists.

But we should also recognize the great divergency of enterprise and endeavor that mark the profession; the cleavages that exist along with the division of labor; and the intellectual and specialist movements that occur within the broad rubric called "organized medicine." It might seem as if the physcians certainly share common ends, if ever any profession did. When backed to the wall, any physician would probably agree that his long-run objective is better care of the patient. But this is a misrepresentation of the actual values and organization of activity as undertaken by various segments of the profession. Not all the ends shared by all physicians are distinctive to the medical profession or intimately related to what many physicians do, as their work. What is distinctive of medicine belongs to certain segments of it—groupings not necessarily even specialties—and may not actually be shared with other physicians. We turn now to a consideration of some of those values which these segments do *not* share and about which they may actually be in conflict.

The sense of mission.—It is characteristic of the growth of specialties that early in their development they carve out for themselves and proclaim unique missions. They issue a statement of the contribution that the specialty, and it alone, can make in a total scheme of values and, frequently, with it an argument to show why it is peculiarly fitted for this task. The statement of mission tends to take a rhetorical form, probably because it arises in the context of a battle for recognition and institutional status. Thus, when surgical specialties, such as urology and proctology, were struggling to attain identities independent of general surgery, they developed the argument that the par-

ticular anatomical areas in which they were interested required special attention and that only physicians with their particular background were competent to give it. Anesthesiologists developed a similar argument. This kind of claim separates a given area out of the general stream of medicine, gives it special emphasis and a new dignity, and, more important for our purposes, separates the specialty group from other physicians. Insofar as they claim an area for themselves, they aim to exclude others from it. It is theirs alone.

While specialties organize around unique missions, as time goes on segmental missions may develop within the fold. In radiology, for example, there are groups of physicians whose work is organized almost completely around diagnosis. But there is a recently burgeoning group of radiologists whose mission is to develop applications of radiation for therapeutic purposes. This difference of mission is so fundamental that it has given rise to demands for quite different residency training programs and to some talk of splitting off from the parent specialty. In pathology—one of the oldest medical specialties, whose traditional mission has been to serve as the basic science of medicine with relatively little emphasis upon clinical applications—lately a whole new breed of pathologists has come to the fore, dedicated to developing pathology as a specialized service to clinical practitioners and threatening those who cling to the traditional mission.

The split between research missions and clinical practice runs clear through medicine and all its specialties. Pediatrics has one of the most rapidly growing fields of practice, but it has also attracted a number of young people, particularly at some centers in the Northeast, specifically for research. They are people who have no conceptions of themselves as family pediatricians at all; they are in this field because of what they can do in the way of research. In the two oldest specialties, surgery and internal medicine, one finds throughout the literature considerable evidence of this kind of split. One finds an old surgeon complaining that the young men are too much interested in research, and in internal medicine there are exhortations that they should be doctors, not scientists. This latter lament is particularly interesting in view of the traditional mission of the internist to exemplify the finest in the "art of medicine": it is a real betrayal when one of them shows too much interest in controlled research.

Work activities.—There is great diversity in the tasks performed in the name of the profession. Different definitions may be found between segments of the profession concerning what kinds of work the professional should be doing, how work should be organized, and which tasks have precedence. If, for example, the model physician is taken as one who sees patients and carries out the diagnosis and treatment of illness, then an amazing variety of physicians do not fit this model. This diversity is not wholly congruent with the organization of practice by medical specialties, although there are certain specialties—like pathology, radiology, anesthesiology, and public health—whose practitioners for the most part do not approach the model. Within a core specialty like internal medicine there are many different kinds of practice, ranging from that of a "family doctor" to highly specialized consultation, a service to other doctors. These differences in the weights assigned to elements of practice do not begin to take into account the further diversity introduced when professionals assign different weights to such activities as research, teaching, and public service.

This point can be made more clearly by considering some of the different organizations of work activities that can be found within single specialties. The people who organize their work life as follows all call themselves "pathologists:" (*a*) time nearly equally divided between research and teaching, with little or no contact with patient care; (*b*) time divided (ideally) equally between research, teaching, and diagnostic services to other doctors; (*c*) administration of a hospital service, diagnostic services and consultations with other physi-

cians, and educational activities. (The objects of educational activities are not only medical students and residents but other practitioners of the hospital. These pathologists may also actually examine patients face-to-face and consult on a course of treatment.)

Again, consider the radiologist. There is considerable range in the scope and kind of practice subsumed under radiology. The "country radiologist" tends to function as an all-round diagnostic consultant, evaluating and interpreting findings concerning a broad spectrum of medical conditions. In the large medical center the diagnostic radiologist either does limited consultation concerning findings or else specializes in one area, such as neurological radiology or pediatric radiology. Then there is the radiologist whose work is not primarily diagnostic at all but involves the application of radiation for therapeutic purposes. This man may have his own patients in course of treatment, much like an internist or urologist.

These illustrations suggest that members of a profession not only weigh auxiliary activities differently but have different conceptions of what constitutes the core—*the most characteristic professional act*—of their professional lives. For some radiologists it is attacking tumors with radiation; for others it is interpreting X-ray pictures. For many pathologists it is looking down the barrel of a microscope; for others it is experimental research. A dramatic example of the difference in characteristic professional acts is to be found in psychiatry, which for many of its practitioners means psychotherapy, an intricate set of interactions with a single patient. This is what a psychiatrist does. Yet many practitioners of psychiatry have as little face-to-face interaction with a patient as possible and concentrate upon physical therapies. Still others may spend a good deal of their time administering or directing the activities of other people who actually carry out various therapies.

Not all segments of professions can be said to have this kind of core—a most characteristic activity; many are not so highly identified with a single work activity. But, to the extent that segments develop divergent core activities, they also tend to develop characteristic associated and auxiliary activities, which may introduce further diversity in commitment to major areas, like practice, research, or public health.

Methodology and techniques.—One of the most profound divisions among members of a profession is in their methodology and technique. This, again, is not just a division between specialties within a profession. Specialties frequently arise around the exploitation of a new method or technique, like radiology in medicine, but as time goes by they may segmentalize further along methodological perspectives. Methodological differences can cut across specialty—and even professional—lines with specialists sharing techniques with members of other specialties which they do not share with their fellows.

Insofar as these methodological differences reflect bitter disagreements over the reality that the profession is concerned with, the divisions are deep indeed, and communication between the factions is at a minimum. In psychiatry the conflict over the biological versus the psychological basis of mental illness continues to produce men who speak almost totally different languages. In recent years the situation has been further complicated by the rise of social science's perspectives on mental illness. Focusing upon different aspects of reality, psychiatrists of these various persuasions do different kinds of research and carry out various kinds of therapy. They read a variety of journals, too; and the journals a man reads, in any branch of medicine, tend to reflect his methodological as well as his substantive interests.

Social scientists must not suppose that, since psychiatry is closer in subject matter to the social sciences, it is the only branch of medicine marred by bitter methodological disputes (we do not mean to imply that such disputes ought to be avoided). Pathologists are currently grappling with methodological

issues which raged in some of the biological sciences, particularly anatomy, some years ago. The central issue has to do with the value of morphology, a more traditional approach which uses microscopic techniques to describe the structure of tissues, as against experimental approaches based upon more dynamic biochemical techniques. While the proponents of the two methodologies appear to understand each other somewhat better than do the psychiatrists, they still do not wholly appreciate each other: the morphologists are disposed to be highly defensive, and the experimentalists a little embarrassed by the continued presence of those purely morphologically inclined. Then, in the primarily clinical specialties, those combining medical and surgical techniques offer their own peculiar possibilities for dispute. Men can differ as to how highly they value and emphasize the medical or surgical approach to treatment; for example, an older urologist complained in a journal article that the younger men in the field are "knife-happy." An analogous refrain can be heard among clinicians who frown upon too great a dependence upon laboratory techniques for diagnosis and accuse many of their colleagues of being unable to carry out a complex physical examination in the grand clinical manner.

Clients.—Characteristically, members of professions become involved in sets of relationships that are distinctive to their own segment. Wholly new classes of people may be involved in their work drama whom other segments do not have to take into account. We shall confine ourselves for the moment to considering relationships with clients.

We suspect that sociologists may too easily accept statements glorifying "the doctor-patient relationship" made by segments of the medical profession who have an interest in maintaining a particular relationship to patients. In actuality, the relationships between physicians and patients are highly varied. It does appear that an image of a doctor-patient relationship pervades the entire medical profession, but it is an image which, if it fits any group of physicians in its totality, comes closest to being the model for the general practitioner or his more modern counterpart, the family-practice internist. It seems to set an ideal for other physicians, who may incorporate whatever aspects of it are closest to their own working conditions into an image of the doctor-patient relationship peculiar to their own segment.

Specialties, or segments of specialties, develop images of relationships with patients which distinguish them from other medical groupings. Their own sense of mission and their specialized jobs throw them into new relationships with patients which they eventually formulate and refer to in idealized ways. Moreover, they do not simply define the relationship, but may highly elaborate a relation which this particular kind of doctor, and this kind alone, can have with patients. The pediatricians, for example, have created an image of family practitioner to whom not only the child but the parents and the whole family group surrounding the sick child are patients. According to a spokesman of the pediatricians, the peculiar involvement of parents in the illness of the child creates the conditions under which the pediatrician can evolve his relationship to the family unit. Something similar exists in psychiatry, where it is not the mentally ill patient who may be regarded as the sole or even main client but the family. It is probably in psychiatry, too, that the most highly elaborated doctor-patient relationships exist, since the psychotherapeutic practitioner uses his relationship to patients as a conscious and complex therapeutic tool. The most significant point here is that the young psychiatrist, learning the art of psychotherapy, has to unlearn approaches to the patient that he acquired in medical school.

In addition, there are the physicians who only in a special sense can be said to have patients at all. We are likely to think of pathologists, anesthesiologists, and radiologists as doctors without patients: they may have little or no contact with patients, but they do have a relationship to them. The

pathologist practicing in a hospital has a well-developed set of obligations to the patient whom he may never confront, and interest groups among the pathologists are concerned with making the lay public aware of the functions of the pathologist behind the scenes. Practitioners in all three of these specialties appear to be concerned with defining their own relationship to patients.

Colleagueship.—Colleagueship may be one of the most sensitive indicators of segmentation within a profession. Whom a man considers to be his colleagues is ultimately linked with his own place within his profession. There is considerable ambiguity among sociologists over the meaning of the term "colleague." Occasionally the word is used to refer to co-workers, and other times simply to indicate formal membership in an occupation—possession of the social signs. Thus, all members of the occupation are colleagues. But sociological theory is also likely to stress colleagueship as a brotherhood. Gross, for example, writes about the colleague group characterized by *esprit de corps* and a sense of "being in the same boat." This deeper colleague relationship, he says, is fostered by such things as control of entry to the occupation, development of a unique mission, shared attitudes toward clients and society, and the formation of informal and formal associations.[8]

This conception of colleagueship stresses occupational unity. Once entry to the occupation is controlled, it is assumed that all members of the occupation can be colleagues; they can rally around common symbols. However, the difficulty is that the very aspects of occupational life which Gross writes about as unifying the profession also break it into segments. What ties a man more closely to one member of his profession may alienate him from another: when his group develops a unique mission, he may no longer share a mission with others in the same profession.

Insofar as colleagueship refers to a relationship characterized by a high degree of shared interests and common symbols, it is probably rare that all members of a profession are even potentially colleagues. It is more feasible, instead, to work with a notion of circles of colleagueship. In the past, sociologists have recognized such circles of colleagueship, but from the viewpoint of the selective influence of such social circumstances as class and ethnicity. The professional identity shared by colleagues, though, contains far more than the kinds of people they desire as fellows. More fundamentally, they hold in common notions concerning the ends served by their work and attitudes and problems centering on it. The existence of what we have called segments thus limits and directs colleagueship.

Identification with segments not only directs relationships within a profession but has a great deal to do with relations with neighboring and allied occupations. We might use the term "alliances" to distinguish this phenomenon from colleagueship within a profession. Alliances frequently dramatize the fact that one branch of a profession may have more in common with elements of a neighboring occupation than with their own fellow professionals. For example, experimentally minded pathologists consult and collaborate with biochemists and other basic scientists, while pathologists oriented toward practice make common cause with clinicians of various specialties.

Interests and associations.—to what extent, and under what conditions, can we speak of professionals as having interests in common? (Here we mean "interests" in the sense of fate, not merely that they are "interested in" different matters.) Sociologists have been overlooking a very rich area for research because they have been too readily assuming unity of interest among professionals. That interests do diverge within a profession is clear enough when the observer looks for it; not only may interests run along different lines, but they may be, and frequently are, in direct conflict.

Pathologists present a particularly striking illustration of conflict of fateful interest between segments of a specialty. The prac-

[8] Edward Gross, *Work and Society* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1958), pp. 223–35.

titioner pathologists are intent upon promulgating an image of the pathologist that undermines the identity of the research-oriented pathologist. The more the practitioners succeed in promoting the notion of the pathologist as a person who performs invaluable services to the clinician, and succeeds in enlarging the area of service, the more do the pathologists who want to do research have to ward off demands from their institutions for more and more service. Fee-splitting in surgery is an example of another kind of conflict of interest: many surgeons can make a living only by engaging in fee-splitting relationships. The more successful surgeons who dominate the professional associations see the practice as tarnishing the reputation of the specialty as a whole and attempt to discredit it in codes of ethics, but they cannot, and even dare not, attempt to stamp it out.

Probably the areas in which professionals come most frequently into conflicts of interest are in gaining a proper foothold in institutions, in recuitment, and in relations with the outside. Here there are recurrent problems which segments and emerging specialties have with their fellow professionals. In order to survive and develop, a segment must be represented in the training centers. The medical-school curriculum today is crowded as the medical specialties compete for the student's time and attention, seeking to recruit or, at least, to socialize the budding professional into the correct attitudes toward themselves. (Some specialties regard themselves as having so little lien on the student's time that they use that time primarily, in some medical schools, to impress upon him that only specialists can safely do certain procedures —in short, how important and necessary is the particular specialty of the instructor.

Then, too, segments require different understandings, even different contractual relations, with clients and institutions. Many a professional association has arisen out of just such conflicts as this. In the 1920's there was a great deal of ferment between the rising specialty of pediatrics and the American Medical Association over governmental ventures into child health legislation, the pediatricians favoring the Shepherd-Towner Act. The pediatricians, recognizing a need for an organization which would represent their own interests independent of the American Medical Association, eventually formed the American Academy of Pediatrics. The big professional associations in the specialty of pathology are all dominated by, and exist for, practitioners in pathology. Therefore, when leading research-oriented pathologists recently became concerned with increasing research potential in the field, and incidentally with capturing some of the funds which the National Institutes of Health were dispensing to pathology, they formed committees especially for this purpose to function as temporary associations. Recently, a Society of Medical Psychiatry has been formed, undoubtedly in response to the growing power of psychoanalytic psychiatry and to the lessening importance, in many academic settings, of somatic psychiatrists.

Looking at professional associations from this perspective, it seems that associations must be regarded in terms of just whose fateful interests within the profession are served. Associations are not everybody's association but represent one segment or a particular alliance of segments. Sociologists may ask of medicine, for example: Who has an interest in thinking of medicine as a whole, and which segments take on the role of spokesmen to the public?

Spurious unity and public relations.—There remain to be considered the relations of professions to the lay public and the seeming unity presented by such arrangements as codes of ethics, licensure, and the major professional associations. These products of professional activity are not necessarily evidence of internal homogeneity and consensus but rather of the power of certain groups: established associations become battlegrounds as different emerging segments compete for control. Considered from this viewpoint, such things as codes of ethics and procedures of certification become the his-

torical deposits of certain powerful segments.

Groups that control the associations can wield various sanctions so as to bring about compliance of the general membership with codes which they have succeeded in enacting. The association concerned with the practice of pathology, for example, has recently stipulated specific contractual relations which the pathologist should enter into with his hospital and is moving toward denying critical services of the association to noncomplying members—despite the fact that a goodly proportion of practicing pathologists neither have such contractual relations nor even consider them desirable. But more or less organized opposition to the code-writing of intrenched groups can lead to revision of codes from time to time. Changes occur as the composition of critical committees is altered. Thus, since the clinically oriented pathologists have gained power, they have succeeded in making certification examinations more and more exacting along applied lines, making it steadily more difficult for young pathologists trained for research to achieve certification. Certification procedures thus shift with the relative power of segments, putting a premium on some kinds of training and discriminating against others.

Those who control the professional associations also control the organs of public relations. They take on the role of spokesmen to the public, interpreting the position of the profession, as they see it. They also negotiate with relevant special publics. The outsider coming into contact with the profession tends to encounter the results of the inner group's efforts; he does not necessarily become aware of the inner circle or the power struggles behind the unified front. Thus, in considering the activities of professional associations the observer must continually ask such questions as: Who handles the public and what do they represent? Whose codes of ethics are these? What does the certification stand for? We should also ask, wherever a profession seems to the general public to be relatively unified, why it seems so—for this, too, is a pertinent problem.

SEGMENTS AS SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Our mode of presentation might lead the reader to think of segments as simple differentiation along many rubrics. On the contrary, the notion of segments refers to organized identities. A position taken on one of the issues of professional identity discussed above entails taking corresponding positions along other dimensions of identity. Segments also involve shared identities, manifested through circles of colleagueship. This allows one to speak of types of pathologist or types of pediatrician—groups of people who organize their professional activity in ways which distinguish them from other members of their profession.

Segments are not fixed, perpetually defined parts of the body professional. They tend to be more or less continually undergoing change. They take form and develop, they are modified, and they disappear. Movement is forced upon them by changes in their conceptual and technical apparatus, in the institutional conditions of work, and in their relationship to other segments and occupations. Each generation engages in spelling out, again, what it is about and where it is going. In this process, boundaries become diffuse as generations overlap, and different loci of professional activity articulate somewhat different definitions of the work situatiton. Out of this fluidity new groupings may emerge.

If this picture of diversity and movement is a realistic description of what goes on within professions, how can it be analyzed? As a beginning, the movement of segments can fruitfully be analyzed as analogous to social movements. Heretofore, the analysis of social movements has been confined to religious, political, and reform movements, to such problems as the conditions of their origin, recruitment, leadership, the development of organizational apparatus, ideologies, and tactics. The same questions can be asked of movements occurring within professions. Professional identitiy may be thought of as analogous to the ideology of a political movement; in this sense, segments have ideology. We have seen that they have missions. They also tend to develop a broth-

erhood of colleagues, leadership, organizational forms and vehicles, and tactics for implementing their position.

At any one time the segments within a profession are likely to be in different phases of development and engaging in tactics appropriate to their position. In pathology, for example, the clinically oriented segment, which one of its antagonists termed "evangelistic" and which is still expanding, has already created strong organizations, captured many academic departments, promulgated codes of ethics, and is closing in on the battle to secure desirable status for pathologists in hospitals. The more scientifically oriented segment, on the other hand, finds itself in a somewhat defensive position, forced to reaffirm some aspects of its identity and modify others and to engage in tactics to hold its institutional supports. Possibly the acme for some expanding segments is the recognized status of specialty or subspecialty. Certainly, this is the way specialties seem to develop. But the conditions under which segments will become formal specialties is in itself a fascinating research problem. (So also is the whole question of relative development, degree of change, influence, and power—matters expressively alluded to when professionals speak of "hot" areas and dead ones.)

We have said that professions consist of a loose amalgamation of segments which are in movement. Further, professions involve a number of social movements in various kinds of relationship to each other. Although the method of analysis developed for studying political and reform movements provides a viewpoint on phenomena of professional life neglected in contemporary research, some differences must be noted between professional movements and the traditional subject matter of analysis. First of all, professional movements occur within institutional arrangements, and a large part of the activity of segments is a power struggle for the possession of them or of some kind of place within them. Second, the fates of segments are closely intertwined: they are possibly more interdependent and responsive to one another than are other kinds of movements. It is probably impossible to study one segment in movement adequately without taking into account what is happening to others. Third, the leaders are men who recognize status within the field, operate from positions of relative institutional power, and command the sources of institutionalized recruitment. Finally, it must be pointed out that not all segments display the character of a social movement. Some lack organized activities, while others are still so inchoate that they appear more as a kind of backwash of the profession than as true segments.

In any case, the existence of segments, and the emergence of new segments, takes on new significance when viewed from the perspective of social movements within a profession. Pockets of resistance and embattled minorities may turn out to be the heirs of former generations, digging in along new battle lines. They may spearhead new movements which sweep back into power. What looks like backwash, or just plain deviancy, may be the beginnings of a new segment which will acquire an institutional place and considerable prestige and power. A case in point is that of the progenitors of the clinical pathologists, who today are a threat to the institutional position of research-oriented pathologists but who were considered the failures, or poor cousins, of the specialty thirty years ago.

We have indicated what new kinds of research might originate from the conception of professions that we have presented. However, this perspective has implications for several quite traditional areas of research.

1. *Work situation and institution as arenas.*—The work situation and the institution itself are not simply places where people of various occupations and professions come together and enact standard occupational roles, either complimentary or conflicting. These locales constitute the arenas wherein such roles are forged and developed. Work situation and institution must be regarded in the light of the particular professional segments represented there: where the segments are moving and what effect these

arenas have on their further development. Since professions are in movement, work situations and institutions inevitably throw people into new relationships.

2. *Careers.*—The kinds of stages and the locales through which a man's career moves must be considered in terms of the segment to which he "belongs." Further, the investigator must be prepared to see changes not only in stages of career but in the ladder itself. The system that the career is moving through can change along the way and take on entirely new directions. The fate of individual careers is closely tied up with the fate of segments, and careers that were possible for one generation rarely are repeatable for the next generation.

3. *Socialization.*—An investigator should not focus solely upon how conceptions and techniques are imparted in the study of socialization; he should be equally interested in the clash of opinions among the socializers, where students are among the prizes. Segments are in competition for the allegiance of students: entire schools as well as single departments can be the arena of, and weapons in, this conflict. During their professional training, students pick their way through a maze of conflicting models and make momentous commitments thereby.

4. *Recruitment.*—The basic program of recuitment probably tends to be laid down by powerful segments of the profession. Yet different segments require different kinds of raw material to work upon, and their survival depends upon an influx of candidates who are potential successors. Thus, recruitment can be another critical battleground upon which segments choose candidates in their own image or attempt to gain sufficient control over recruitment procedures to do so. Defection by the recruited and recruiters, by the sponsored and the sponsors, is also well worth studying, being one way that new careers take form.

5. *Public Images.*—We have seen that images beamed to the public tend to be controlled by particular segments of the profession. However, sometimes segments reject these public images as inappropriate—either to themselves, specifically, or to the profession at large. If only the former, then they may require that the public acquire specialized images for themselves. In any case, segments from time to time must engage in tactics to project their own images to the public. The situation is more complicated when the whole profession is considered as a public for particular specialties or for segments of specialties. Segments may be at pains to counteract the images which other people in the profession have of them, and attempt to create alternative images.

6. *Relations with other professions.*—Different segments of the profession come into contact with different occupations and professions. They might have quite special problems with other occupations which they do not share with other members of their profession. In considering the handling of relations with other professions, it is thus necessary to ask such questions as: Who in the profession is concerned with this problem and what difference does it make to them? Who does the negotiating and in what ways?

7. *Leadership.*—Most leadership is associated less with the entire profession than with restricted portions of it. Certainly, it is linked with intellectual movements, and with the fates and fortunes of certain segments. Leadership, strategies, and the fates of segments deserve full focus in our studies of professionalization.

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ORGANIZATIONAL PRESTIGE: SOME FUNCTIONS AND DYSFUNCTIONS[1]

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ABSTRACT

An organization may control its dependency upon the environment by acquiring prestige. Prestige is preferably based upon the intrinsic qualities of the product, but this is difficult to promote. Claims to prestige may be supported by using validating groups and indirect indexes of quality, but the former can restrict marketing of prestige-promoting endorsements, and emphasis upon indirect indexes tends to subvert quality. Prestige based upon extrinsic, non-essential characteristics of the organization and product is cultivated in competitive situations, but the production and marketing of extrinsic characteristics creates internal conflicts and deflection from goals. Heavy emphasis upon indirect indexes of quality and extrinsic characteristics may shape the character and goals of an organization to an unanticipated extent.

This paper calls attention to the image the public holds of an organization and to some of its consequences upon the organization's internal dynamics. The importance of the public image and the consequences of the attempt to shape it became evident during the study of the goals and authority structure of a 300-bed voluntary general hospital, from which many of the illustrations here are drawn.[2] Other illustrations from a variety of organizations are offered to suggest the widespread applicability of the analysis.

An organization is dependent upon the environment for many things, such as the charter to operate, personnel, operating revenue, and funds for expansion and development, but dependency entails some loss of autonomy. Reducing dependency upon the environment is one way of increasing autonomy, but most organizations cannot minimize input if they are to expand or maintain a competitive position. Autonomy can also be increased, however, by controlling dependency, thus making it possible to expand and increase organizational power while cultivating new publics.

One of the many ways of controlling dependency is to create and maintain a favorable image of the organization in the salient publics.[3] If an organization and its product are well regarded, it may more easily attract personnel, influence relevant legislation, wield informal power in the community, and insure adequate numbers of clients, customers, donors, or investors. Organizations may be placed along a continuum from unfavorable to favorable public images. A predominantly favorable image we shall call "prestige," and it may range from low to high.

INTRINSIC AND EXTRINSIC REFERENTS

Prestige may rest upon the quality of the goods or services produced by the organization, as judged by those capable of evaluat-

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[2] Charles Perrow, "Authority, Goals and Prestige in a General Hospital" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1960). Elaboration and documentation of points made in this paper will be found in Part III of that study.

[3] Some other ways: co-optation of outsiders into the policy-determining structure of the organization (see Philip Selznick, *TVA and the Grass Roots* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949]); anticipating consumer wants and similar strategies of controlling dependencies (see Peter F. Drucker, *The Practice of Management* [New York: Harper & Bros., 1959], pp. 52–67). See also the suggestive discussion of bargaining, co-optation, and coalition in James D. Thompson and William J. McEwen, "Organizational Goals and Environment: Goal-setting as an Interaction Process," *American Sociological Review*, XXIII (February, 1958), 23–31.

ing the product. However, the image of the product, irrespective of its own essential quality, may be determined by association with some value-laden symbol or with characteristics of the organization that bear no necessary relation to the quality of the product, such as the physical appearance of the unit where the product is made or distributed or the organization's labor policies, political leanings, charitable donations, and so forth.

While an analytical typology may be derived from such considerations as these, in this preliminary analysis only a crude distinction will be made—that between prestige based on intrinsic or extrinsic characteristics of the goods or services. Intrinsic characteristics are fundamental to official purposes of the organization and are regarded by the organization as essential to maintaining standards of production set forth in official goals. Extrinsic characteristics are not essential to maintaining production standards, though they may be vital in insuring acceptance and resources.

Since official goals may be ambiguous and difficult to determine, and since the essentialness of a contribution may be disputed, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between what is intrinsic and what is extrinsic. An example of intrinsic characteristics is the durability and efficiency of an automobile, relative to its price. Extrinsic characteristics would be the entertainment programs on television that the company sponsors, association with status symbols in its advertising, and the elegance of showrooms and techniques of salesmen. Styling might be either intrinsic or extrinsic, depending upon the organization's goals and the perspective of the person who interprets them.[4]

The term "ethical drug house" conveys an image that relies on an intrinsic referent: of a firm with a reputation for producing drugs of exact specifications and making no unwarranted claims. This is intrinsic to the operation of the organization and is governed by professional and technical standards. But the organization may also build up prestige through "institutional advertising," sales techniques and packaging: these would be extrinsic characteristics. The presumption is that the image based on extrinsic referents will promote public favor and even be a substitute for an image based on intrinsic referents among those unable to evaluate the quality of the product. In some cases it may even replace an unfavorable image: if the quality of a highly publicized drug, such as a vaccine, is found wanting, prestige may be recouped through an intensification of efforts to exploit extrinsic characteristics.

It is the nature and the value of extrinsic characteristics that the group to be influenced—the "target group"—can judge them directly and form an appropriate image.[5] This is not always the case with intrinsic qualities; the target group may not be qualified to evaluate them. In this case the indorsement, through use or certification, of the product by another group capable of judging its essential quality can be used to validate the prestige claim made by the organization; or indirect indexes may be used which attest to intrinsic quality without directly measuring it. It is rarely necessary to use these two strategies to promote prestige based on extrinsic characteristics; the strategies require considerable effort and are utilized primarily for maximizing prestige based on intrinsic qualities.

DIRECT MARKETING OF INTRINSIC REFERENTS

Providing the product can stand scrutiny, intrinsic rather than extrinsic characteristics are preferred as the basis for prestige. If the organization's goods or services are consumed by a specific group capable of judging its essential quality unaided, prob-

[4] Thus, styling in the "Jeep" is not an intrinsic matter as concerns prestige, but in most popular automobiles styling has become intrinsic, at least from the point of view of sales personnel.

[5] Sheldon Messinger, in a personal communication, points out that it is also "the *danger* of extrinsic prestige that it may be directly judged by the public and has no necessary connection to the goods or services. Consider the fate of a competent actor after a scandal."

lems of prestige are simplified. The marketing of products entails the marketing of intrinsic referents upon which prestige is based. This would be the case with specialized toolmakers, custom clothiers, or any organization producing goods or services for another organization under contractual specifications. Some emphasis upon extrinsic characteristics is to be expected; it almost always helps but is not crucial.

In the hospital that was studied—let us call it "Valley Hospital"—research in cancer chemotherapy provides an example of simplified production and marketing. The target group, an organization supporting cancer research, can easily judge the effectiveness of the results, and all the researchers need to do to control their dependence upon the agency for grants is to test chemicals according to established methods. But, by and large, there are few occasions when the official goals of the hospital—promoting the health of the community through care of patients, teaching and research of high quality—can be properly evaluated by the clients, or donors. To promote prestige based on intrinsic quality, "validating groups" and indirect indexes are useful.

VALIDATING GROUPS

Organizations regularly make claims for the intrinsic quality of their products, but with increasingly complex and specialized goods and services many potential consumers cannot adequately evaluate these claims. Claims to quality, and thus prestige, may be validated by another group or organization with appropriate experience and resources if it uses or tests the product. This service has become so important that special organizations using standardized testing methods have been established. The presumed approval of competent groups must be publicized in order to validate claims. But the prestige of validating groups themselves may be endangered if indiscreet or excessive use is made of their evaluations. They may restrict the marketing of their evaluations or even forbid marketing, as do the consumer research organizations. The more difficult it is to establish intrinsic quality, the more the organization will need other groups for validation of claims, but the more these other groups will tend to limit the marketing of their presumed indorsement. Attempts to evade limitations may bring the organization into conflict with the validating group, as occurs when drug companies attempt to use articles in medical journals for validation of prestige claims or associate their products with symbols of the medical profession.

In Valley Hospital the claim to provide exemplary care of the patient is validated when, for example, an organization for crippled children contracts with it to provide care for its clients. Such validations are discreetly publicized. Research grants from well-reputed agencies are another example. However, some agencies disapprove of publicity, and, as much as it may wish to, the hospital is unable to market their much-desired approval.

INDIRECT INDEXES

If the goods or services produced for specialized consumers are so highly technical or experimental that no evaluation is possible, the organization tends to rely upon indirect indexes of intrinsic quality, that is, upon publicizing characteristics of the organization which are thought to insure quality. The reputation of the personnel, the specialized equipment, the number of research projects in operation—all these are familiar indexes used for this purpose in the hospital and other research organizations. Indexes of promoting the health of the community are, for instance, statistics on the amount of free and partly paid care given patients. The teaching program attests to contributing to medical education and suggests a high quality of care for all patients. However, statistics on the amount of free care do not necessarily mean good care, nor does the number of medical students necessarily indicate their quality, the teaching they receive, or the care they give. Indeed, some persons claim that the hospital's standards in these matters are low and that

in part this is due precisely to the emphasis upon serving a large number of free patients and attracting a large number of interns and residents. Similarly, a social agency, in an effort to increase the support of its donors, may increase the number of clients served while quality of service deteriorates. Reliance upon indirect indexes of intrinsic prestige may thus subvert quality, since the indexes become more important and valuable to the organization than the quality they are supposed to suggest.[6]

THE NEED FOR EXTRINSIC REFERENTS

When competition presents the client, consumer, or donor with a choice of organizations to support, it may be necessary to supplement indexes of intrinsic quality with extrinsic indexes. Indeed, the use of extrinsic referents is essential in the case of mass-produced products of equal quality. Marginal differentiation makes the product distinctive, even though it does not contribute to quality, and the differences can easily be publicized and promoted. Marginal differentiation is sought not only in the product but in other aspects of the organization, such as plant design, packaging, contacts with target groups, and, of course, in advertising.[7] Since extrinsic characteristics, by definition, are unrelated to the essential quality of the product, their virtually unlimited varieties are assiduously explored by organizations conducting "motivation" or marketing research.

The production and marketing of extrinsic characteristics conferring prestige are developed to a high degree in all mass-produced consumer goods. Attempts to promote images of intrinsic quality are still very common, however, as instanced by the cigarette industry's tests of filters, aging of tobaccos, and the approval of "men who know tobacco best." Extrinsic themes are not limited to competitive industries. Monopolies also are dependent upon the public and seek to influence the public's image by, for example, appeals to the way they support free enterprise or by association with cultural refinement, as found in "institutional advertising." Apparently, the more successful the organization, the more irrelevant may be the themes and the closer they may draw toward values of the society as a whole, thus implying an even stronger claim for support. An example is an advertisement containing only a brief statement of a democratic ideal symbolized by a painting.

EXTRINSIC REFERENTS IN THE HOSPITAL

The hospital, in its dependence upon donors, physicians, and patients, is subject to competitive pressures. Local donors will respond better to intrinsic qualities or indirect indexes of them, and the hospital prefers this method of control. However, reliance upon extrinsic referents is sometimes necessary: for example, Valley Hospital has a

[6] While indirect indexes are usually used because direct validation is impossible, indirect indexes may also be used when the organization does not have dependable direct ones. Subversion of intrinsic quality is similar to "displacement of goals" as described by Merton and others (Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949], p. 155), where, however, the example is the bureaucrat's emphasis upon rules for their own sake. Our example is the organization's emphasis upon indexes for the sake of prestige. Peter M. Blau provides examples of displacement dictated by organizational needs in *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955). Sheldon Messinger discusses the attempt to maintain the "core-identity" of the Townsend organization in "Organizational Transformation: A Case Study of a Declining Social Movement," *American Sociological Review*, XX (January, 1955), 3–13. Closer still to our own example is the analysis of dependency upon students and the criteria of legislators and professionals (Burton R. Clark, *Adult Education in Transition: A Study of Institutional Insecurity* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956]). What Clark calls the "marginality" of adult education we would speak of as a condition of high dependency which is uncontrolled. The defense of "precarious values," in Clark's sense, is difficult without the autonomy afforded by control over dependency, that is, without, in part, prestige (*ibid.*, chaps. ii, vi).

[7] Many extrinsic characteristics are easily produced, marketed without effort, and culturally prescribed, and these are not characteristics of any particular organization. However, we are concerned with concerted, conscious strategies for influencing the image of the target group.

policy restricting the use of human-interest stories—an extrinsic item. Direct competition with another hospital for donations forced Valley Hospital to abandon the policy and, instead, to send human-interest stories to a local paper as the other hospital had been doing.

Physicians will bring patients to the hospital available to them that offers the best facilities. But when similarly equipped hospitals compete for doctors, the enterprising hospital will emphasize extrinsic details which insure the physician's comfort, convenience, and deference. A new administrator at Valley Hospital increased the percentage of occupied beds from the lowest in the city to the highest for comparable hospitals in part through such devices.

Patients are incompetent to judge the care they receive from the hospital: they are unable to gain the information required to make a judgment, and they lack the knowledge to interpret correctly what they do experience. They may, however, judge many superficial aspects of the professional care and especially the "hotel" aspects of hospital care. The hospital has placed great emphasis upon producing extrinsic items which patients are able to evaluate, and a public relations department promotes them assiduously. In a four-year period an average of over eight news items a year appeared in the mass media covering such subjects as wine with meals and a beauty salon for maternity patients. Emphasis upon these hotel-like services has helped increase occupancy and kept the name of the hospital before the public. Other patient-oriented features include extended visiting hours and circulating coffee carts for visitors, television sets for patients, snacks and special cookery, elaborate devices to suppress noise, and meticulous housekeeping.

The creation of a public relations department (headed by a former newspaperwoman) coincided with a concerted attempt to increase occupancy, donations, and prestige in general. The department both stimulates and publicizes innovations. Its success, while bringing the hospital awards from the American Hospital Association, engendered criticism from within and without. However, most other hospitals in the city subsequently created their own departments, perhaps, considering the publicity Valley Hospital was receiving, in self-defense.

Shaping the image held by external groups is the explicit task of public relations departments. However, the work may be carried on by other groups or individuals in organizations. The administrator of Valley Hospital was looked upon by some of his staff as an "outside man," more active in dealing with the public than with internal affairs. Current research in correctional institutions suggests that the division of labor, commonly found at the apex of large organizations between an "outside'" man and an "inside" man, is effective.[8] While an implicit or explicit assignment of public relations functions to individuals or groups does not necessarily signify the production and marketing of extrinsic characteristics, concerted efforts to shape images suggests that the product cannot "speak for itself" and that prestige based on these referents is also desired. Of course, personnel who deal with external groups are also involved in bargaining and in political functions that have only a remote relationship to organizational prestige.

DEFLECTION OF RESOURCES

Emphasis upon extrinsic details conferring prestige is likely to create internal problems for the organization. The personnel, because of training habit or professional standards, may complain that resources are diverted from essential to peripheral activities. At Valley Hospital they complained of the importance given to hotel-like innova-

[8] Mayer Zald, "Multiple Goals and Staff Structure: A Comparative Study of Correctional Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1960), chap. v. An administrative reorganization to make this division explicit seems to have occurred recently in General Motors Corporation (*Fortune*, November, 1958, pp. 123 ff.). Wilensky has analyzed the role of lawyers as publicists in labor unions and the dependency they seek to control (Harold L. Wilensky, *Intellectuals in Labor Unions* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956], chap. v, esp. pp. 74–79).

tions and concessions to physicians. Some administrative personnel felt that the creative energies and talents of the administrator were expended upon publicity-producing "frills" or physicians' conveniences while serious administrative matters were neglected, eventually to the patients' detriment. Nurses complained that requests by private patients for coffee or other services described in brochures took time from the care required by free and part-paying patients. Interns and residents complained that patients were unwilling to interrupt their telephone conversations or snacks for necessary examination and treatment. Physicians found that allowing unlimited visiting hours interfered with their work. The hospital may unwittingly be encouraging the selection of a clientele that demands more and more of these services. But it cannot afford to redress what personnel see as the proper balance between services and care without finding some other way to attract patients. Such complaints are probably common in organizations.

MULTIPLE DEPENDENCIES

Problems associated with prestige also stem from dependence upon a number of groups, each of which responds to a given type of prestige. At Valley Hospital, for example, local donors are needed to support expansion, new facilities, research, and teaching. Since donors are themselves unable to judge the intrinsic virtues of most goods or services, the hospital relies upon validation of its claims by other groups and indirect indexes. At the same time, however, it is also dependent upon support from agencies that are capable of making intrinsic judgments—particularly those that operate nationally. These agencies may regard the publicized indexes as extrinsic and irrelevant and may feel that their support is being exploited. Finally, a group within the hospital may seek to promote an image which conflicts with the image the organization seeks to promote.

Much ill will, for example, was created by attempts of trustees and the administrator to exploit the dramatic and unique nature of new facilities for a highly specialized type of surgery. On two occasions the administrator argued that the community gave $100,000 for the facilities, that the donors would be pleased most by publicity in national magazines, and "that was what they gave the money for." However, the staff of the specialized unit argued that publicity in this form would endanger grants from the national agencies supporting the research, whose representatives would view it as irrelevant to the project, that it would expose the staff to ridicule from other physicians since facilities rather than research results were being publicized, and that publicity would increase the demand for services on behalf of those patients who were not good research material, thus impeding the research program. The facilities were evidence of intrinsic quality to local target groups but were judged extrinsic to official goals by the researchers and agencies supporting the current research.

Physicians as a whole have relationships which conflict with those of the hospital: they are dependent upon outside colleagues and the profession as a whole for validation of individual claims for prestige, for validation of the claims of the profession itself, and for maintaining professional contacts. A basic tenet of the profession, occasioned by competitive practice as much as anything, is the avoidance of publicity. While they may seek it individually, collectively the medical staff must oppose publicity in most cases. The hospital, on the other hand, finds that use of physicians' names or pictures serves to give authenticity to news releases and creates interest in the hospital. This, in part, has led to a long series of disputes between the respective public relations committees of the medical staff and the hospital, restricting the ability of the hospital to publicize legitimate prestige items.

PRESTIGE AND GOALS

We have identified three general sources of organizational strain and possible subversion of goals stemming from efforts to

control dependencies through promoting organizational prestige. The production of indirect indexes of intrinsic quality may take precedence over maintaining the quality of goods and services. Resources may be diverted from activities supporting official goals to those which produce and market extrinsic characteristics. Finally, multiple dependencies may interfere with the marketing of either intrinsic or extrinsic referents and may create conflicts within the organization or between the organization and its target groups.

Decisions regarding indirect indexes of prestige, the allocation of resources, and marketing methods may shape the character of an organization through establishing precedents and long-range commitments. An unacknowledged priority of goals based upon an expedient calculus of gain may emerge. There was tentative evidence of this possibility at Valley Hospital. The key targets of efforts to create prestige were potential patients and local donors. Maximal organizational resources were devoted to activities which furthered prestige in their eyes, while minimal resources were received by some of those activities which had little or no relevance to prestige, even though they were essential for achieving official goals.

Thus, while preventive medicine was a goal of the hospital, little was done to support it. The authorities were indifferent to the ineffectiveness and disorganization of one small, unglamorous, but potentially valuable diagnostic program, which, in untrained hands, threatened to do more harm than good. However, a proposal to build and maintain a museum of medicine on the premises which would be open to community and the schools was actively considered, despite the expense and effort involved. Though of less value than the diagnostic program, it could be billed as a part of the program of preventive medicine, while substantially contributing to prestige.

More striking was the fate of one service essential to the major goal of providing patient care of high quality. This was a goal far from achieved in the case of free and part-paying patients in the outpatient department, largely because good care there does not at present bring prestige. The department was denied funds for remedying even the grossest physical deterioration and obsolescence; attendance and performance of the staff was undisciplined, and efforts to reform the department were, for several years, not backed by the authorities in the organization. On the other hand, while the outpatient department was in a state of physical deterioration and professional neglect, funds, much energy, and inventiveness went into constructing and publicizing an elaborate, highly specialized surgical suite, even though its contribution to official goals was relatively peripheral.

Striking a balance between the conflicting demands for goal achievement and increasing inputs in the form of donations and patient revenue is difficult. Without prestige, whether based on intrinsic or extrinsic qualities, resources may be inadequate to achieve goals or provide for expansion and development. But, without proper use of resources for avoidance of intra- and interorganizational conflicts and achievement of all goals for which responsibility is acknowledged and assumed, control of dependencies may be a hollow accomplishment.

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THEORY, MEASUREMENT, AND REPLICATION IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES[1]

H. M. BLALOCK, JR.

ABSTRACT

A special type of problem is encountered in attempting to associate theoretically defined concepts with operational definitions whenever we deal with properties that have been defined in terms of their causal implications. The problem is illustrated by the concepts "mass," "power," and "discrimination." To measure these variables, we must make a number of theoretical assumptions about the operation of *other* variables. If replication is possible, these assumptions may be simple and plausible; where replication is difficult, problems of measurement become so entangled in theory that it is difficult to separate the two.

Both social and natural scientists have found it convenient to think theoretically in terms of properties of some sort of system.[2] Thus, a body is thought of as possessing a certain mass or having a given length, a person as having various motives and attitudes, and a group as having a structure of a particular kind. Operationalists have argued, however, that the scientist actually deals with relationships among pointer readings and that such pointer readings cannot be directly linked with properties or "essences" except by common convention. Eddington, for example, claims that it is merely a pious opinion that mass as a pointer reading can be equated with mass as a property of the body.[3] Northrop points out that we actually have two basically different types of concepts, concepts by postulation and concepts by intuition, and that these types must be linked by means of common agreement on what he terms "epistemic correlations."[4] As the present author prefers to put it, we seem to have two distinct languages: a theoretical language in which we think and an operational language, composed of concepts defined in terms of the actual operations of science, in which we do our research.[5]

This paper deals with a special type of problem often encountered when we attempt to bridge the gap between the two languages, or, in Northrop's terminology, when we wish to establish epistemic correlations between concepts defined theoretically (concepts by postulation) and those defined operationally (concepts by intuition). In many instances the problem is relatively straightforward. Thus, although sex, age, and religion are ordinarily conceived as properties of the individual, there is little difficulty in actually classifying persons according to one or another of these characteristics. Our concern here is with an important special type of property, namely, properties which have been theoretically

[1] This research was conducted while the writer was supported by a Social Science Research Council Postdoctoral Research Training Fellowship. The writer is also indebted to Ronald Freedman, Leslie Kish, and Gerhard Lenski for their helpful suggestions.

[2] See A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *A Natural Science of Society* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957), pp. 28–42; and H. M. and Ann B. Blalock, "Toward a Clarification of System Analysis in the Social Sciences," *Philosophy of Science*, XXVI (April, 1959), 84–92.

[3] A. S. Eddington, *The Nature of the Physical World* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1946), pp. 254–55.

[4] F. S. C. Northrop, *The Logic of the Sciences and the Humanities* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1947). Northrop defines a concept by postulation as a concept "the meaning of which in whole or part is designated by the postulates of the deductive theory in which it occurs" (p. 83). A concept by intuition, on the other hand, is a concept "the complete meaning of which is given by something which can be immediately apprehended" (p. 36).

[5] H. M. Blalock, *Social Statistics* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1960), pp. 8–11.

conceived in terms of their causal implications and which imply measurement in terms of their supposed effects. We shall illustrate our position by three very different concepts: "mass" as used by the physicist, "power" as defined by both the physicist and social scientists, and "discrimination" as this term is ordinarily used by the sociologist.

Briefly stated, our argument will be essentially that, in order to be psychologically satisfied with whatever linkage system (epistemic correlations) we may devise in these instances, we must not only find a set of operations with a high degree of reliability and face validity but also make a series of *theoretical* assumptions concerning the operation of variables *other than* the one being measured.[6] Thus, our measurement problems become entangled in our theory in such a manner that, under some circumstances, it becomes difficult to separate the two. Furthermore, the nature of this relationship between theoretical assumptions and measurement is such as to create special problems for the social scientist, problems which so far, at least, do not seem to have hampered the development of the physical sciences.

THE MEASUREMENT OF MASS

In the case of one of the simplest of physical measurements, the weighing of a block of wood, the operations involved are, of course, basically simple: One places the block on one side of the balance, puts bodies with known mass on the other, and observes a pointer reading. So long as one takes the extreme operational point of view that mass *is* what my operations and pointer readings tell me it is, there is no conceptual problem. One is merely measuring "mass" as operationally defined. But, if we wish to establish some sort of link between the pointer reading and our theoretical notion of mass as property, we immediately run into certain difficulties. Suppose, for example, there is some unknown force (in addition to gravity, air currents, dust particles, etc.) bearing down on the block of wood in such a manner as to increase the value of the pointer reading by two grams. Would we then feel comfortable about establishing a one-to-one linkage between the pointer reading and mass as a property? Probably not.

In such a situation we would be more content with the intellectual leap from pointer reading to property if it were somehow possible to isolate the effects of the block of wood from those of other, possibly unknown, variables, such as the mysterious force in the illustration above. The obvious practical solution to the problem of the unknown force is to replicate the measurement several times, perhaps even interchanging the positions of the block and standard weights according to a table of random numbers. If the pointer readings remained approximately the same in numerous replications, we would perhaps be psychologically prepared to accept the notion that the pointer reading gives an accurate indication of the "true" mass, that is, mass as a property.[7]

[6] In general, the necessity of making such theoretical assumptions about other variables seems to arise whenever causal arguments are attempted. For a discussion of the nature of these assumptions in instances when we wish to make causal inferences from correlation coefficients, see H. A. Simon, "Spurious Correlation: A Causal Interpretation," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XLIX (September, 1954), 467–79.

[7] There seem to be at least two purposes of replication. The first, and the one to which we refer here, involves conscious attempts to vary experimental conditions in order to isolate the effects of disturbing influences. Because of the obvious impossibility of controlling all such variables, scientists may insist on some form of randomization or at least on the experiment being replicated by different observers. The second purpose of replication is to obtain more accurate measurement, as when the physicist weighs a block of wood five times and takes the mean figure as his estimate of the "true" mass. In so doing, of course, he usually assumes both that disturbing influences are operating randomly and that the "true" mass remains fixed in the several replications. It has been suggested that the first kind of replication, which differs fundamentally from the second, may not be nearly so difficult in social science as it might seem; but, at the same time, it requires careful definitions of concepts on the theoretical level, to which operational definitions are only associated after the theoretically desired meanings have been carefully worked out.

Suppose someone now raised the question of the possibility of the unknown force always operating in such a manner as to bear down on the same side of the scale as the block of wood. Each time, then, we might be overestimating the "true" mass by two grams. The first reaction of the experimental physicist might well be that the skeptic has raised an operationally meaningless question. Then, however, he might take either one of two positions: First, he might argue that, if in fact such an unknown force were always to bear down on the same side as the block of wood, then one might as well redefine theoretically the notion of mass as property so as to include its effects. In other words, he might argue that he is measuring the combined effects of two things, mass plus *X*, and then learn to think, always, in terms of "mass plus *X*" rather than "mass." But there is no end to the number of possible unknown *X*'s.

The second possibility is to eliminate *X* by making a theoretical assumption about the way *X* operates and then to use probability theory to argue in favor of ruling it out. Thus, if it could be assumed that the unknown force always operated on one side of the scale or in some other systematic manner, then, by varying randomly the position of the block through a large number of replications, one could calculate the probability of the force and block always being on the same side. If such a probability were extremely small and if replications yielded (nearly) identical results, then one might assume that there is no such unknown force. In such a manner, through replication, one attempts to isolate the effects of the block of wood from those of other forces. Where replications fail to yield nearly identical results, one attempts to eliminate disturbing influences until a high degree of reliability is attained. At that point he is usually willing to stop, being reasonably satisfied with his procedure as providing an adequate measure of mass as property. But he is implicitly making the asumption that mass (as a property) has been effectively isolated from other variables that may be operating, and in so doing he must make certain assumptions about *how* they are operating.

Thus, we see that in order to be reasonably satisfied with any given procedure as yielding the "equivalent" of a theoretically defined concept (e.g., mass as property) it is necessary to have a theory as to how *other* variables may be entering the picture. In some cases the theory may be simple and quite plausible. Indeed, from this point of view the value of replication seems to be in enabling the scientist to make as simple a set of assumptions as possible about disturbing variables. Where replication gives nearly identical results, he may decide that the influence of such disturbing variables is negligible *under the asumption* that these variables are operating in a given manner. We must now consider what happens when such replication is difficult or impossible. As we shall see, the problem of establishing epistemic correlations then becomes more complex and the assumption required about other variables becomes less plausible.

THE MEASUREMENT OF POWER

Power in physics is measured in terms of work accomplished in a given unit of time. Power is also conceived as a property (e.g., a three-hundred-horsepower engine). In labeling the horsepower of an engine one is, of course, expressing a faith that, if actually put to the test, the machine would really accomplish a certain amount of work in a particular time. To measure its power, it would be necessary to isolate its effects from those of other machines or forces, for example, by having it lift a standard weight under carefully controlled conditions. Again, replication is the device whereby certain types of possible assumptions can be eliminated as being extremely improbable. Thus, a physicist unaware of the force of gravity who is attempting to measure the horsepower of an engine by having it push against a machine of unknown power could come to several different conclusions if the machines were operating on an inclined plane. But by interchanging the directions in which the machines were pushing and by assuming that

the horsepowers (as properties) of the two machines remained constant from one replication to the next, he would quickly come to the conclusion that some uncontrolled force was operating.

The social scientist attempting to measure social power cannot so easily replicate his "experiment" and consequently finds himself unable to isolate the effects of disturbing influences. This fact is, of course, well known. What we wish to emphasize, however, is that *it is because of problems involved in replication that the social scientist has special difficulties in bridging the gap between his theoretical and operational languages.* Suppose, for example, that one wishes to evaluate the relative powers of labor and management in a particular dispute. *If* it can be assumed that there are no independent forces aside from these groups, then relative power can be assessed in terms of whichever side wins the dispute or, perhaps, in terms of how long it takes the one side to move the other a given distance. But how can we decide which of the many additional forces operating in this situation (police power, public opinion, labor market, demand for the manufacturer's goods, alliances with other groups, etc.) are acting independently of labor and management? Clearly, a theory of social causation is necessary before we can measure the power of either group. Before we return to this particular question, however, let us examine more closely the nature of the statistical controls that are available to the social scientist.

The classical model of the carefully controlled experiment, in which all extraneous variables are literally held constant, is, of course, an ideal never realized in practice. But it can be approximated to varying degrees. Where approximation is impossible, a poor-man's substitute involves certain types of statistical controls, such as analysis of variance and covariance and partial correlation.[8] Basically, these techniques permit the scientist to make adjustments for uncontrolled variables so that their supposed effects can be taken into consideration.

But it is also the case, though this fact is often not clearly recognized by social scientists, that such statistical controls may yield highly misleading results. In particular, their correct use depends upon certain theoretical assumptions about the causal ordering of the variables concerned. Let us assume, for example, that we have variables *A*, *B*, and *C*, with *A* causing *B* and *B*, in turn, causing *C*. In an experimental situation in which one were attempting to study the relationship between *A* and *C* it would be found that in order to hold *B* literally constant it would be necessary to contral *A* as well. Therefore it would immediately become obvious that *B* should not be controlled in the experiment. In the case of certain statistical controlling operations, however, no such obvious check is available. In fact, it is impossible to distinguish on the basis of correlations, alone, between the situations $A \rightarrow B \rightarrow C$ and $A \leftarrow B \rightarrow C$.[9] In the latter case *B* should be controlled as an 'outside" disturbing influence on the relationship between *A* and *C*. In the simple three-variable situation the picture is relatively uncomplicated. Suppose, however, that we have six or seven variables and a rather complex network of causal arrows. Under these conditions it would seem to make little sense to control automatically for all such relevant variables in order to measure and isolate the effects of any one of them.

Returning to the example of the relative powers of management and labor, we would probably agree that it would make little sense to evaluate the power of management stripped of the operation of police powers. In other words, we would probably not consider police powers to be independent of the power of management.[10] On the other

[8] Actually, the statistical operations may be the same in experimental designs and social surveys; however, in the latter case extraneous variables cannot actually be varied at will, but their values must be taken as given.

[9] Simon, *op. cit.*, pp. 468–69.

[10] One causal argument here might be that management causes the police to act in a certain manner

hand, we might more reasonably conclude that both labor market and demand for sales are *in fact* operating independently of this particular labor dispute, and we might well imagine an almost identical dispute under different market conditions. Hopefully, we might even have a crude form of replication. The important point is this: in order to isolate and measure the relative powers of the two groups, we need a theory about how the other variables are operating and, in particular, which of them are acting independently of labor and management in the sense that neither of these groups can be said to cause them.

Perhaps some social scientists would avoid the problem by arguing that, since power is always relative to the situation, it is impossible to measure the "actual" powers of the two groups, except in a particular context. Since the situations may change, their powers will likewise vary, and it is meaningless to measure power in isolation. By implication, whichever group wins the labor dispute is the more powerful under these circumstances. Power is made synonymous with outcome, and the problem of isolating the powers of the two particular groups is bypassed.

There is a profound difference between such a holistic perspective on the scientific method and the more analytic procedure of the physicist. It would amount to saying that, of two machines pushing in opposite directions, whichever pushed the other was the more powerful, even though one were pushing downhill and the other uphill. It should then be claimed that when the directions have been reversed the powers of the two machines have also been changed, which is hardly surprising, since the situation has altered! There is thus a very real difference between those who take the extreme holistic position and those who hold to the ideal of isolating and measuring as many separate variables as possible.[11]

which, in turn, restricts the behavior of union members, in which case to control for police power would be to control for an intervening variable in a misleading manner.

THE MEASUREMENT OF DISCRIMINATION

The concept of racial discrimination is not ordinarily thought of as a property, although it may obviously be considered a special type of group property. Discrimination is often conceived as the differential treatment of a minority because of race or creed. When we attempt to measure discrimination, we may face a doubly difficult problem of causation: not only must we decide whether or not the minority is being treated differentially because of race or ethnic background but we must also determine the degree to which differences between the majority and minority groups are actually caused by the discriminatory behavior. For example, we may attempt to measure discrimination by taking the difference between the median incomes of Negroes and whites, or perhaps we may develop a measure which compares the percentages of white-collar workers among the two groups. In all such instances, however, we are dealing with a resultant of discriminatory behavior on the part of dominant group members *plus* a number of other factors, including the behavior of the minority. Differences with respect to income or occupation may be due not primarily to discriminatory behavior but to lack of ability, training, or initiative. Once more we find it necessary to isolate the effects of a particular phenomenon and, again, replication under carefully controlled conditions may be impossible.

One procedure for measuring discrimination involves controlling or adjusting for the effects of certain disturbing influences. For example, in order to determine the degree to which occupational differentials are actually due to employers' discrimination, efforts have been made to control education, either by comparing Negroes and whites on the same educational level or by using some

[11] The holistic perspective, pushed to the extreme, seems to preclude the possibility of establishing any scientific generalizations whatever. The analytic approach might also be expected to be more economical in ultimately reducing the number of variables.

sort of standardizing procedure.[12] An adjusted measure of discrimination is thereby obtained. But one should also adjust for factors other than amount of formal education—intelligence quotient, quality of education, experience, "personality," etc. Again, a satisfactory measure of a theoretically defined concept calls for a theory of how other variables are operating. For example, in adjusting for educational level a causal arrow running from education to employment opportunities is apparently assumed. This is indeed plausible, but what about the possibility that a lack of employment opportunities also keeps the minority's educational aspirations low? In such a case should measuring occupational discrimination include standardizing for education? Here it is sufficient to point out that, in attempting to pass from a measure of discrimination on the operational level to the theoretical notion of discrimination, certain theoretical assumptions about interrelationships among other variables are needed.

Not only does the line of reasoning developed in the previous sections emphasize the rather obvious need for replication and for a more effective wedding of theory and research, but it also calls for greater attention to the definition and use of some of our basic concepts. One possible conclusion might be that where replication is impractical it is advisable to do away completely with theoretically defined concepts involving postulated properties that imply measurement in terms of effects or consequences of behavior. Thus, instead of developing theories involving concepts such as power and discrimination, social scientists might learn to deal, both theoretically and empirically, only with *outcomes* of power struggles and with *differentials* between Negroes and whites. It is doubtful, however, whether social scientists will find it possible to dispense with all concepts which have been defined in such a manner as to imply causal relationships.

Another, apparently more reasonable alternative in view of the present unsatisfactory state of social theory is to make a clear-cut, explicit distinction between actual research hypotheses and theoretical propositions involving concepts defined so as to make direct tests impossible.[13] The latter propositions can then be used as theoretical tools for prediction and explanation. For example, it may prove worthwhile to *think* in terms of discrimination but to develop research hypotheses in terms of differentials between two groups. In any event, it will most certainly be to the advantage of the social scientist to face squarely the basic dilemmas involved. To ignore completely topics ordinarily studied primarily by philosophers of science is to run the grave risk of failing to benefit from the experience of some of the more mature disciplines.

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[12] Cf. R. H. Turner, "Occupational Patterns of Inequality," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIX (March, 1954), 437–47.

[13] See Blalock, *op. cit.*, chaps. ii, viii, for a more complete statement of this position. As I am using the term, an actual hypothesis must involve concepts defined operationally and must be stated in such a manner as to be capable of rejection. Following Northrop, it can be argued that, strictly speaking, it is impossible *logically* to derive such hypotheses from propositions involving concepts defined theoretically (*op. cit.*, pp. 128–29).

THE ECOLOGY OF INDONESIAN CITIES[1]

NATHAN KEYFITZ

ABSTRACT

The problem of Indonesia, as of every new country of Asia, is to make its cities centers of industry, producing manufactured goods attractive enough to draw food from the countryside through trade. Its need to do this becomes more pressing as cities grow in numbers of residents. But the creation of productive facilities requires capital, including some in the form of foreign exchange. Much of the income which could be saved and invested is in the Outer Islands, and it is sought by the Outer Islands for their own development purposes, by the cities of Java for purchases of food and improvement of housing and other amenities, and by the cities of Java for the industrial development that would give them a national ecological base. The longer the delay in applying capital for the last-named purpose, the more difficult the task. For as the village populations increase they overtake their food supply, and the rice surplus which they could exchange for manufactured goods steadily diminishes.

Cities must be in an economic or political relation with areas of countryside that can produce the food to keep them alive. This basic rule determines the main lines of the ecology of cities and will continue to do so, at least until technology advances to the point where cities can produce their own food by mechanical means. Since the cities of precolonial, colonial, and independent Asia have had distinctive relations to their hinterlands, the operation of the rule has resulted in cities of different function and physical layout in the three periods.

Asian cities from earliest times to the present differ from those of North America in being as much political as economic centers. They were the points from which rulers administered their large or small domains. Where the domain was an expanse of countryside consisting of more or less self-contained villages, the problems of administration centered on the control of the hierarchy of officials who collected the taxes. Through these, sometimes mediated by money, flowed the food on which the chief city lived; on them depended the armies that would defend the city and surrounding territory, the craftsmen who would produce its art, and the scholars and theologians who would make it conscious of itself. Ancient Indian writers speak of periods of prosperity when the countryside was filled with industrious peasants and of periods of harsh rule when the peasants deserted their farms and there was no one to pay the taxes. In times of peace when the administration was strong with that blend of cruelty and paternalism that held the ancient empires together, taxes were large and the capital city expanded its area and population. When administrations were weak and viceroys broke away or were not assiduous in getting food from the villages, the capital city diminished and provincial towns grew. The best system could break down under foreign attack or a ruler whose building programs were too ambitious.

The facts of ecology alone cannot tell us whether the surplus made possible by the technology of agriculture produced the towns or whether it was the organization for collecting the harvest instituted by the ruler which forced the improvement of technology and brought a surplus into view. We do know that even inefficient irrigated rice culture can support five hundred people per square mile of good land at the same time as it sells part of its product to pay taxes. The terracing and irrigation of land started in an earlier millennium in Central and East Java and has spread in a course which is only now reaching the extreme west of the island. This spread was part of a process of diffusion that carried irrigated rice culture through most of Southeast Asia and South China.

The internal structure of the ancient Javanese cities can be inferred from their present

[1] Ecology deals with the spatial and temporal aspects of social relations, in this case of the relation of the cities to their hinterland.

form, although by now it is overlaid with much subsequent building. The *kraton* or court is central, imposing, large enough for the comfort of the ruler and his host of retainers. Near it is the *alun-alun*, a great square on which many communal activities took place and around which an open or covered market place, houses of nobles, and various other buildings were arranged. Wertheim believes that the location of the town was more a matter of the will of the prince than of economics.[2] If the will was ecologically based, for instance by centering the town on a crossroads, this would help hold the kingdom together. In any case, the internal arrangement of the town was strictly prescribed by a tradition whose ecological sense it is hardly worth going back to analyze.

This is the inland city, living on exactions of rice. Kediri, Mataram, Singosari, and other Hindu-Javanese capitals were of this type; some idea of their physical nature can be seen in Djokja and Solo today. They depended on the skill of a ruler and on the inertia of the tradition-bound peasantry—pious, respectful of their elders, lacking in initiative or the urge to innovation. A ruler who did not have facility in the judicious exercise of justice and severity discovered that even the most pious peasantry would rebel when pressed too hard. The possibility of rebellion and of flight helped to make life tolerable for peasants before the colonial powers established a stronger central rule and population growth took up all land to which flight was possible.

Different in their relation to sources of food, and their internal form, were the coastal cities, where the porcelains of China were exchanged for the cloves and nutmegs of the Moluccas; the cloth of Gujerat and Bengal for the pepper of Sumatra; the rice of Java for the tin of Malaya. They were likewise under the absolute rule of a prince, but one whose domain was the water as much as the land. He maintained himself by taxes on the town market and the harbor, by the profits of his own ships which went out to trade, by piracy, by providing slaves or other easily available local commodities to the passing trade. The harbors contrasted with the conservative inland empires in that they were the points of entry of all the new fashions in religion, language, and custom: Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity, each in its turn. Islam was introduced by Gujerati Muslims as late as the fourteenth century. Mohammed was a member of a trading community, and princes who adopted Islam became part of the continent-wide trading network that had been built up in the seven hundred years following the death of the Prophet. Islam had barely made its entrance before it was under attack by the Christianity of the Portuguese Albuquerque; only during the succeeeding centuries did it work its way through the interior, and paradoxically enough it gained most of its present dominance during Dutch rule.

Perlak, Pedir, Cheribon, Grisek, all on the north and east coasts of Sumatra and Java convenient to the main water route from India to China, were cities of this type. The prince's palace again dominated, but the market place was bigger; there were settlements of foreigners privileged to trade but not to become citizens, living in their designated areas; the sails of Chinese junks flapped against the houses.

The colonial powers started, as their Muslim predecessors had done, by taking over existing coastal cities or building new ones, like Batavia. In due course, however, they came to inherit the land empires as well. The goods produced by peasants under their traditional organizations filled but a few ships bound for Italy, Holland, or England each year; the increase of the European market during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries demanded much larger supplies. And so the Dutch persuaded, bribed, and compelled local rulers to bring extensive areas under forced cultivation. Peasants had to deliver quotas of sugar and coffee. Estates under Western management succeeded this system, and, as the nineteenth

[2] W. F. Wertheim, *Indonesian Society in Transition* (The Hague and Bandung: W. van Hoeve Ltd., 1959), p. 171.

century progressed, railways appeared, along with banks to finance the long period between planting and producing and harbor installations to handle the increasing ship traffic. The cities became centers of both administration and trade; they still fed themselves by collecting taxes in the countryside, but they had a new economic function as a tranfer point for the rapidly increasing export crops on their way to the European market. Through them flowed a succession of commodities: coffee, then tea, then rubber; sugar during three centuries ending with World War II; palm oil, sisal, kapok, and cinchona bark; petroleum and tin. Flowing in were some of Europe's new and cheap manufactured products, especially cloth and minor consumption goods from kerosene lamps to hairpins. After 1800 the prices of these were determined by machine production in Europe; village methods of manufacture languished in Java as they did in Holland. The difference was that Java did not develop urban manufacturing of its own. The main point for an understanding of the colonial cities is that they combined the functions of the two kinds of cities that preceded them: they lived both on the sea and by dominion over interior agricultural areas.

The internal constitution of the cities changed drastically through this period. The Dutch dug canals in early Batavia and along them their tall buildings touched one another but it was not long before the East changed their thrifty style of life and a new mestizo culture, as Wertheim calls it, developed. This included spacious villas for the new administrators and traders; a class of officials who had not existed before built houses that were neither Dutch nor Indonesian in style, made of plastered brick with highly polished red tile floors; the front of each house consisted of a series of broad doors which could be folded back so that the living space within was continuous with an outdoor terrace shaded by trees. The villas were ranged along tree-lined streets which needed no sidewalks; the Dutch administrators always drove, and the Indonesians were not considered. The Indonesian middle class lived in brick dwellings in more crowded sections, often not on streets at all but on footpaths; here, too, lived the Chinese, who found various commercial niches in the colonial enterprises and who were able to pursue their own trade and money-lending under the rule of law established by the colonial system. Throughout the city, whereever they were tolerated, were the kampongs in which lower-class Indonesians lived: the policemen, messengers, domestic servants, and ricksha-pullers drawn in by the new regime.

The cities so formed have been both the strength and the weakness of the nations of South Asia created after World War II. Their functions have continued to be trade and administration, and they have at no time come to include any important amount of manufacturing or other production. A two-way traffic by which manufactured articles are shipped into the countryside and so draw food into the cities has barely started; yet this exchange is crucial not only for the survival of the cities as such, but also for the economic and political stability of the nation which the cities dominate ecologically.

Meanwhile, the cities are centers of trade and government have grown faster than has the population of Indonesia as a whole. The largest of them seem recently to have been doubling in size every ten to fifteen years; thus the 1955 population of Djakarta was 3,250,000 against 533,000 in the 1930 census, and that of Surabaya 1,800,000 compared with 342,000.[3] The six cities of population greater than 100,000 held 2.83 per cent of the population of Java and Madura in 1930, 3.75 per cent by 1940 (Wertheim). On the other hand, the smaller towns, those of under 25,000 population, were declining as early as the 1920's; this may have been for the same reason that small towns in parts of America have lost out to larger cities: the improvement of rail and road transport.

During the 1930's the flow of plantation goods through the cities and harbors de-

[3] *"Indonesia," in Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1959), XII, 267.

clined sharply, and so did the number of people that the cities could support. War and the Japanese occupation further reduced trade, and the occupation authorities tried to compel people to return to the countryside. But neither depression nor war reduced the size of the cities appreciably, and after World War II a new and rapid increase set in. This consisted in part of refugees from areas of the countryside in which life was still dangerous and was in part because the cities had now become the stage on which the new national life was being acted out. Some of the plantations that had employed the peasantry were abandoned when Japanese occupation cut them off from prewar markets; others, particularly sugar, suffered from the scorched-earth policy of the revolutionary war. The sugar factories were burned to the ground, and without them cane is useless, since it is too perishable to export as such. Indonesian exports of sugar have not yet reached one quarter of their prewar million tons per year.

It became evident after the war that the very diminution of the productive power of the countryside that brought people to the cities also deprived the cities of some of their prewar banking, transport, and marketing functions. But many of the people who came in had been displaced by the struggle for independence, and the new government recognized its responsibilities by making jobs for them. The public service, which had been 150,000 strong in 1939, employed over 500,000 in 1954.

How have these people been maintained? In money terms there was no difficulty: the new sovereign government was able to put them on the payroll and to meet the payroll with ever-fresh supplies of currency, a procedure referred to in successive annual reports of the Bank of Indonesia. As prices rose, there was dissatisfaction among the government personnel for whose pay the money had been printed; they had now largely lost their base in the countryside and could not retreat from their dependence on salaries. The government's attempt to help by printing more money was anticipated by foreigners and the local Chinese alike; the former were able to avoid some of its effect by buying their rupiahs on the black market, the latter to speculate by hoarding hard goods and so to corner an additional portion of the real wealth of the country.

But money is of secondary interest for ecological study, and we must bring the argument back to the movement of goods with which the people of the city are fed and clothed. Before the war they were able to buy the rice marketed by peasants who needed cash to pay their taxes; in years when the local supply was short, non-edible rubber and other commercial goods could be exchanged through international markets for Burmese, Thai, or Vietnamese rice. The movement of food from the Javanese countryside was strengthened by collection of land rents. When the landlord received rent, he used some of it to provide for his local retainers but also caused some food to be moved to the city to be exchanged for city goods. Some manufactured goods were produced in the cities of Java, but most were imported from abroad and paid for by the foreign exchange earned from the sale of plantation products. The rent taken by the landlord contributed through one route or another to the feeding of the city people, who either made or handled the luxuries the landlord bought for his personal comfort.

I have referred elsewhere to the institutions by which the peasant in the Javanese village shares whatever food there is among the members of his extended family and with his fellow villagers who do not have direct access to the land as owners or tenants.[4] These institutions include the finer and finer division of the work of tilling, planting, weeding, and harvesting, always on a crop-sharing basis, as well as the deterioration of the technology of agriculture so that the crop comes to be harvested stalk by stalk and draft animals are replaced by the man with the hoe. This in itself does not

[4] N. Keyfitz, "Développement économique et accroissement de population: Un exemple actuel en Indonésie," *Population*, XIII (July, 1958), 433–37.

cause suffering or hunger within the village, but it does steadily diminish, in the measure of the increase of village population, the amount of crop which is available for sale outside the village and hence the amount of non-food items which the villagers can purchase. As the village populations use more and more of the food they produce, the rice-purchasing power for city products steadily diminishes. This process, which has been going on for a hundred years, has made what were formerly the richest parts of Asia into the poorest.

Since the war the supplies of food to the cities of Java have diminished at the same time as the number of city people to be fed has increased. Land taxes have tended to remain the same in money terms as before the war despite a fifty-fold increase in prices, so that such taxes draw very little food. To increase land taxes has seemed impossible to a national government which depends on votes. But the main problem is not democratic government but rather the fact that taxes in underdeveloped countries can never be taken from the existing meager production; they must be a spur to more production. In Java the peasant has the time to raise more crops than he does now, but he has no land on which to apply his effort. This fact is what underlies the repeated assertion of administrators that they cannot tax poor people.

The contribution of landlords to the flow of food has been reduced by rent control and the expulsion of some owners. Meanwhile, the severe policing of the forest reserves by the Dutch has ceased, and squatters have taken over many of the slopes formerly kept under forest for the control of erosion. A vicious circle sets in, whereby shortage of food results in cutting down the forest, consequent loss of soil into the sea accentuates the shortage of food, and more forests are cut down.

The result is that much of the food consumed in the cities is now brought from abroad. Imports of food grains were 800,000 tons in 1956. If a ton nourishes five people, it looks as though some four million people, mostly in cities, are dependent on imported food grains, at least in some years.

Since the Korean boom in rubber and oil subsided, a chronic difficulty of the Republic has been shortage of foreign exchange. City populations are a charge on the resources which could go into the industrialization of the country. Here again is a vicious circle: investment in industry would enable the cities to solve their problem, for with efficient industrial plants they could produce goods for which peasants would trade their food. If this exchange is not possible for Javanese peasants until their numbers diminish, it is still possible for Sumatra and other less crowded parts of the Republic. These could become an economic hinterland of Djakarta. One need not ask for the present that industry attain the high degree of efficiency necessary to trade for food in world markets in competition with countries like the United States and Japan which have such a long start. Internal trade of this kind could be protected by a customs tariff from the sternness of world competition.

So long as the Republic is a unit, its cities can be fed either by a surplus of food or a balance of foreign exchange generated anywhere within its boundaries. The trouble with using the taxing and redistributing power of the state to ensure that one part—say the cities of Java—is fed by the other—the Sumatran plantations—is that this creates centrifugal tendencies in the Republic. The rich and sparse portions consider that they are entitled to use for their own development purposes the foreign exchange they earn, and sooner or later—if they take economic life seriously—they will resist taxation for the benefit of the cities of another island. They have resisted multiple rates of exchange and other devices which result in territorial redistribution of the proceeds of exports. Rangoon was able, by setting its internal buying price for rice well below the world price, to tax farmers who were in territory controlled by rebels and so feed itself; it could do this because it had physical control of the ports through which rice alone could be exported from the country. The

government of Indonesia lost partial control of the export of rubber from Sumatran east-coast ports during the years 1955–57 and had to face a Sumatran rebellion during 1958.

Maintaining cities simply by taxing the countryside does not provide them with a durable ecological basis under modern conditions when regional interests are all too quickly recognized. If cities live by a free sale of their produce on world markets, they depend not on any assertion of national power but on the efficiency of their manufacturing production and services. Singapore and Hong Kong are able to do this, but it is too much to ask of a new country. In most countries of the world cities live neither by pure political power nor by pure economic efficiency. The intermediate condition is the usual one, in which cities produce manufactured goods, but less efficiently than do foreign competitors. Nearly all the countries of the world accept tariffs. Their shortcomings in economic efficiency do produce a conflict of interests, but this is bridged and the tariff accepted as a matter of national sentiment.

It is true that capital cities everywhere have part of their base in providing government services against tax payments. If the services of a city are in the form not of goods for sale but rather of services provided whether the recipients want them or not, there will be instability, or political tension, equal to the difference between the taxes paid and the value of services received, as this value is assessed by the taxpayers. They may think them worth all that they pay, or more. If they do not, the resulting tension, like that provoked by tariffs, will be a hindrance to the formation of a stable and unified national state, commanding the loyalty of all its citizens. The task of forming a nation out of people speaking many languages, whose horizons until a few years ago were limited to their own families and villages, is a formidable one even without the clash of economic interest between city and countryside.

We have shown the difficulties of getting food out of the villages of Java as the village population grows. The villagers, being closer to the food, can get to it more easily than can either the tax collector or the landlord. It is politically awkward to buy it abroad with Sumatra-produced foreign exchange. Foreign exchange would buy the industrial equipment that could make the city economically independent, and whatever can be mobilized should be used for this and not for food.

Can the difficulty be resolved by a foreign supply of food, a kind of food loan, to the cities of Java? The use of food grown abroad to maintain city populations while they do the construction work and instal the equipment that will make them productive seems to represent the soundest type of foreign aid. However, when this is done both the donors and the receivers ought to be very sure of the purpose to which the gift or loan is in fact being applied. Food made available in the cities will draw more people into them, helping to loosen population from the village moorings and to deprive it of the claim to the crop which derives from proximity. The ecological base of the city thus comes to include the production of food in America. The process of drawing people into the city is largely irreversible; their village source of food closes up behind them, and they can hardly go back to the village. Gifts of food under foreign aid, in their tendency to bring people into the city, contrast with gifts of fertilizers, with agricultural extension service, with aerial surveys which help open up new agricultural areas, or transport facilities that bring people to such new areas. If the gifts of food are not simultaneous with the industrialization of the cities whose increase of population they make possible, then the most serious economic, political, and moral problems will confront any donor who later tries to cut off the supply of gifts.

Changes are occurring within the cities at the same time as in the relation of cities and hinterland. Indonesia is aware of a problem in the internal physical structure of its cities and has invited outsiders to advise on what might be done to make them more livable.

The town planner who comes to Djakarta seems to find his services badly needed. A city whose physical structure was designed for half a million is now the home of about six times that number. It shows in particularly intense form the overcrowding common to nearly all the cities of the world: overfull hotels, traffic tie-ups, queues in stores and markets. The post-World War II increment of population lives in thatch and bamboo huts; people queue at water fountains or buy gasoline tins of water for domestic use; they bathe and wash their clothes in the turbid canals.

Especially conscious of the need for better housing and urban facilities is the new middle class of government servants. No one could blame them for trying by the use of influence to get into tolerable houses. Inflation has reduced their real wage so that they cannot hope to buy or rent suitable housing on the free market as do the Chinese. Some building has been done by the government for their benefit; the new town of Kebajoran contains many pleasant single dwellings and apartment buildings around which gardeners work diligently to make trees and shrubs grow; its construction is a great achievement in these hard times.

How much of national effort ought to go into the physical development of cities in these circumstances? In the relatively free market of Brazil a sizable portion of the total national income goes into the magnificent skyscrapers of Rio and São Paulo. I have no opinion on whether these cities have a permanent, stable, and natural basis for their growth in the form of manufactures and services which draw food from the countryside, but study of the situation would enable one to find out. In Indonesia there is not a free investment market, and expenditures in the city are largely determined by government. There is free movement of population, and so the erection of housing facilities in the cities, improvement of roads, introduction of subsidized bus services—in short, any alleviation of the discomfort of city life—will operate along with subsidized rice to draw people from the crowded countryside. But in the framework we have described the efforts of town planning and house construction are frustrated; people are drawn to the cities faster than decent places for them to live in can be found. The disordered physical arrangements within the city symbolize the uncertainty of their economic role.

These facts must be taken into account if the great efforts being made by devoted citizens toward Indonesian construction are to bear fruit. One admires the ingenuity with which an impossible amount of traffic has been kept moving, the splendid highways that have been laid down, the apartment houses that have been erected, such enterprises as the site for the Asian Games which bulldozers are now clearing between Djakarta and Kebajoran. The study of ecology is useful insofar as it looks behind such trends to incentives and to the directions in which they cause people to move, especially to the relation between people and the food that will maintain them.

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MODIFICATIONS OF THE DORN-STOUFFER-TIBBITTS METHOD FOR "TESTING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF COMPARISONS IN SOCIOLOGICAL DATA"[1]

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ABSTRACT

The published formulas for testing the statistical significance of the difference between the differences in two proportions, and for testing the statistical significance of other related kinds of comparisons, require modification. The present paper indicates what is unsatisfactory about the published formulas, and it presents more satisfactory modifications of them. Some actual and hypothetical data on rates of parole violation are used to explicate and illustrate the proposed modifications. If the variability between the relevant observed proportions is rather large, then the differences between the modified formulas recommended here and the earlier published formulas can be great.

H. F. Dorn, S. A. Stouffer, and C. Tibbitts have introduced a formula for testing the statistical significance of the difference between the differences in two proportions, and they have suggested some related formulas to test the statistical significance of other kinds of comparisons.[2] Their formulas have been cited in a number of textbooks on statistics for sociologists and used rather widely by research workers.[3] The main purpose of the present paper is to propose some modifications of the published formulas.

Dorn, Stouffer, and Tibbitts have assumed implicitly that the difference between two groups (e.g., lone offenders without a previous criminal record and group offenders without a previous criminal record) with respect to a particular dichotomous classification (say, parole violation or nonviolation) can be measured by the difference between the corresponding relevant proportions (e.g., the difference between the rates of parole violation) in the two groups, and that the difference between the difference between these two groups (with respect to this particular dichotomous classification) and the difference between two other comparable groups (say, lone offenders with a previous criminal record and group offenders with a previous criminal record) can be measured by the difference between the corresponding differences between the relevant proportions. For the sake of simplicity, we shall also make a similar assumption throughout a large part of the present paper. On the other hand, the research worker should be aware that there exist measures other than the difference between the corresponding relevant proportions for measuring the difference between two groups (e.g., the ratio of the corresponding odds, the "angular difference" between the corresponding proportions, measures related to the measurement of association in 2 × 2

[1] Part of this research was carried out at the Statistical Research Center, University of Chicago, under the sponsorship of the Statistics Branch, Office of Naval Research, and of the Social Science Research Committee, University of Chicago; part of this work was done while the author was at the Statistical Laboratory of the University of Cambridge under a National Science Foundation Senior Postdoctoral Fellowship and a John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowship. For their helpful comments, the author wishes to thank W. Allen Wallis and Louis Kriesberg.

[2] Harold F. Dorn and Samuel A. Stouffer, "Criteria of Differential Mortality," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XXVIII (1933), 402-14; Clark Tibbitts and Samuel A. Stouffer, "Testing the Significance of Comparisons in Sociological Data," *American Journal of Sociology*, XL (1934), 357-63.

[3] E.g., Margaret Jarman Hagood, *Statistics for Sociologists* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1947), pp. 538-40; and Margaret Jarman Hagood and Daniel O. Price, *Statistics for Sociologists* (rev. ed.; New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1952). In referring to the Tibbitts-Stouffer article, Hagood and Price say: "For an excellent example of the reasoning preceding, accompanying, and following actual statistical procedures, which makes such procedures meaningful, the student is urged to read this article" (p. 378).

cross-classification tables, etc.[4]), and also measures other than the difference between the corresponding differences between the relevant proportions for measuring the difference between the difference between two groups and the difference between two other comparable groups. The problem of deciding which measures are appropriate for a particular investigation is obviously too important to be ignored by the serious research worker.[5] When we have two pairs of proportions to compare, we would like to have some function of the four proportions which takes on the same value for any set of four proportions whose pair-wise comparisons are in some sense equivalent. Which particular notions of equivalence will be appropriate will depend upon the purposes of the investigation under consideration.

[4] The difference between corresponding proportions, the ratio of corresponding odds, and the "angular difference" between corresponding proportions are all discussed as possible measures of the difference between two groups in Sec. 3.2 of *Sequential Analysis of Statistical Data: Applications* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945) prepared by the Statistical Research Group, Columbia University. For further details on the difference between corresponding proportions and on the angular difference between these proportions (i.e., on the difference between the inverse sine-transformed proportions) as possible measures of the difference between two groups, see, e.g., Edward Paulson and W. Allen Wallis, "Planning and Analyzing Experiments for Comparing Two Percentages," chap. vii in Statistical Research Group, Columbia University, *Techniques of Statistical Analysis* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1947), pp. 247–66; Churchill Eisenhart, "Inverse Sine Transformation of Proportions," chap. xvi in Statistical Research Group, Columbia University, *op. cit.*, pp. 395–416; and the relevant literature cited therein. The problem of measuring the difference between two groups with respect to a dichotomous classification is closely related to the problem of measuring association in 2 × 2 cross-classification tables; this relationship is discussed further in the final section of this paper.

[5] For a detailed discussion of the closely related problem of determining appropriate measures of association in cross-classification tables, see Leo A. Goodman and William H. Kruskal, "Measures of Association for Cross Classifications" and "Measures of Association for Cross Classifications. II: Further Discussion and References," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XLIX (1954), 732–64, and LIV (1959), 123–63, respectively, and the literature cited there.

The formulas presented by Dorn, Stouffer, and Tibbitts were developed primarily to test the statistical significance of certain kinds of comparisons. For simplicity we shall also confine ourselves largely to the problem of developing formulas useful for testing the statistical significance of these comparisons and for obtaining (approximate) confidence intervals related to the comparisons. We shall not discuss problems related to the assessment of the "practical significance" or of the "theoretical significance" of a particular comparison, important though they may be, nor shall we discuss methods of making statistical inferences other than the testing of hypotheses and the determination of confidence intervals based on the observed data. The serious research worker, however, will not be content to observe simply that the difference between two numbers is statistically significant; he will also want to observe how much the difference is and what it means.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE DIFFERENCES IN TWO PROPORTIONS

THE NEED FOR A MODIFICATION

In order to test the statistical significance of the difference between the differences in two proportions, it is necessary first to estimate the sampling variance, σ^2, of this difference. The estimator, s^2, of this sampling variance, σ^2, should be a consistent estimator; that is, s^2 should be such that, roughly speaking, it is almost sure to be close to σ^2 when it is computed from data obtained from a large random sample.[6] Since consistent estimators are readily obtainable in many practical situations, consistency is sometimes considered a fundamental property, and estimators that are not consistent are often ignored when samples are large.[7]

[6] See, e.g., Helen M. Walker and Joseph Lev, *Statistical Inference* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1953), for some further comments on consistent estimators. A somewhat more rigorous definition of a consistent estimator is the following: s^2 is a consistent estimator of σ^2 if s^2 becomes close to σ^2 with probability approaching 1 as the sample size increases without limit.

[7] A more thorough discussion of consistent estimators appears, e.g., in Herman Chernoff and Lin

However, it is possible to show that the estimator recommended by Dorn, Stouffer, and Tibbitts is not, in general, a consistent estimator of σ^2, the sampling variance of the difference between the differences in two proportions. On the other hand, it is possible to modify the estimator they have recommended so that the modified estimator will be, in fact, a consistent estimator of σ^2.

AN ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLE

To explicate and illustrate this modification, the data presented by Tibbitts and Stouffer on rates of parole violation will be re-examined. A second (hypothetical) set of data concerning rates of parole violation will also be presented. For the Tibbitts-Stouffer data this modification does not lead to substantially different results from those obtained using the earlier formulas, while for the second set of data there are, in fact, substantial differences. If the variability between the relevant observed proportions is rather large, then the differences between the modification and the earlier formula can be great.

Table 1 is reproduced from the Tibbitts-Stouffer article. Tibbitts and Stouffer ask: "Is one difference significantly larger than the other?" They wish to evaluate the statistical "significance of the excess of one difference between two proportions over another difference between two proportions, such as the excess of .2592 over .0233" (in Table 1). They state that the first difference, $d_1 = p_1 - p_1'$, has a sampling variance $P_1Q_1(1/n_1 + 1/n_1')$, where P_1 is the ratio between the total number of violators without a previous criminal record and the total number of parolees without a previous criminal record; $Q_1 = 1 - P_1$; n_1 is the total number of parolees without a previous criminal record who are lone offenders; and n_1' is the total number of parolees without a previous criminal record who are group offenders.

If we assume that p_1 is the proportion of violators observed in a random sample of n_1 individuals from the population of parolees without a previous criminal record who are lone offenders; that p_1' is the proportion of violators observed in a random sample of n_1' individuals from the population of parolees without a previous criminal record who are group offenders; and that the proportion, $\mathfrak{P}_1$, of violators in the population of parolees without a previous criminal record who are lone offenders is equal to the proportion, $\mathfrak{P}_1'$, of violators in the population of parolees without a previous criminal record who

TABLE 1

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PAROLE VIOLATION RATES OF LONE AND GROUP FOREIGN-BORN OFFENDERS, WITH AND WITHOUT PREVIOUS CRIMINAL RECORD*

Classification	No. of Parolees	No. of Violators	Proportion of Violators to Parolees
Without a previous criminal record:			
Lone offenders..	53	26	.4906
Group offenders	121	28	.2314
Difference...	..	..	.2592
With a previous criminal record:			
Lone offenders..	47	21	.4468
Group offenders	85	36	.4235
Difference..	..	..	.0233

* Taken from Clark Tibbitts and Samuel A. Stouffer, "Testing the Significance of Comparisons in Sociological Data," *American Journal of Sociology*, XL (1934), 358.

are group offenders (i.e., $\mathfrak{P}_1 = \mathfrak{P}_1'$); then the sampling variance of $d_1 = p_1 - p_1'$ is $\mathfrak{P}_1\mathfrak{Q}_1(1/n_1 + 1/n_1')$, where $\mathfrak{Q}_1 = 1 - \mathfrak{P}_1$. In this particular case where $\mathfrak{P}_1 = \mathfrak{P}_1'$, it is true that the sampling variance of d_1 can be estimated by $P_1Q_1(1/n_1 + 1/n_1')$, computed from the observed data. However, if there is some relationship between whether a parolee without a previous criminal record is or is not a lone offender and whether he is or is not a violator (i.e., if $\mathfrak{P}_1$ is not equal to $\mathfrak{P}_1'$), which is, in fact, what was suggested by Tibbitts and Stouffer, then it can be shown that $P_1Q_1(1/n_1 + 1/n_1')$ will *not* be a consistent estimator of the sampling vari-

coln E. Moses, *Elementary Decision Theory* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1959).

ance of d_1. In this case, the sampling variance of d_1 is

$$\frac{\mathfrak{P}_1\mathfrak{Q}_1}{n_1}+\frac{\mathfrak{P}_1'\mathfrak{Q}_1'}{n_1'},$$

and a consistent estimator of this variance is

$$\frac{p_1q_1}{n_1}+\frac{p_1'q_1'}{n_1'}=v_1+v_1',$$

where $q_1 = 1 - p_1$, $q_1' = 1 - p_1'$, $v_1 = p_1q_1/n_1$, $v_1' = p_1'q_1'/n_1'$, and $\mathfrak{Q}' = 1 - \mathfrak{P}'$. While Tibbitts and Stouffer estimate the sampling variance of d_1 to be

$$\tfrac{54}{174}\left(\tfrac{120}{174}\right)\left(\tfrac{1}{53}+\tfrac{1}{121}\right) = .00581\,,$$

we would suggest the estimate

$$\frac{(.4906)(.5094)}{53}+\frac{(.2314)(.7686)}{121} = .00619\,.$$

Dorn and Stouffer refer to the formulas for these two different estimates in a footnote, stating that "a somewhat more stable estimate of the unknown sampling variance is probably given by the former."[8] If $\mathfrak{P}_1$ is not equal to $\mathfrak{P}_1'$, this will not be so. In fact, we noted above that, if $\mathfrak{P}_1$ is not equal to $\mathfrak{P}_1'$, then the estimator recommended in the Dorn-Stouffer article and in the Tibbitts-Stouffer article will not even be a consistent estimator of the appropriate sampling variance. If $\mathfrak{P}_1 = \mathfrak{P}_1'$, then the estimator presented in the present paper and the estimator recommended in the earlier published articles will both be consistent estimators of the sampling variance. (If the null hypothesis is that $\mathfrak{P}_1 = \mathfrak{P}_1'$, then there is some justification for the use of either estimator, although there may be some reasons for preferring one to the other.) However, when it is desired to "evaluate the statistical significance of the excess of one difference between two proportions over another difference between two proportions," then the null hypothesis of interest does not specify that $\mathfrak{P}_1 = \mathfrak{P}_1'$, and in this case the estimator proposed in the present paper should be used rather than the estimator recommended in the earlier published articles.

Tibbitts and Stouffer also state that the second difference, $d_2 = p_2 - p_2'$, has a sampling variance $P_2Q_2(1/n_2 + 1/n_2')$, where P_2, Q_2, n_2, and n_2' are defined for the parolees with a previous criminal record analogously to the definitions of P_1, Q_1, n_1, and n_1', respectively, for the parolees without a previous criminal record. However, if p_2 is the proportion of violators observed in a random sample of n_2 individuals from the population of parolees with a previous criminal record who are lone offenders, and if p_2' is the proportion of violators observed in a random sample of n_2' individuals from the population of parolees with a previous criminal record who are group offenders, then it can be shown that $P_2Q_2(1/n_2 + 1/n_2')$ will not be a consistent estimator of the appropriate sampling variance in situations where $\mathfrak{P}_2$ is not equal to $\mathfrak{P}_2'$,where $\mathfrak{P}_2$ and $\mathfrak{P}_2'$ are defined for the population of parolees with a previous criminal record analogously to the definitions of $\mathfrak{P}_1$ and $\mathfrak{P}_1'$, respectively, for the population of parolees without a previous criminal record. In this case, a consistent estimator of the sampling variance of d_2 is

$$\frac{p_2q_2}{n_2}+\frac{p_2'q_2'}{n_2'}=v_2+v_2',$$

where $q_2 = 1 - p_2$, $q_2' = 1 - p_2'$, $v_2 = p_2q_2/n_2$, and $v_2' = p_2'q_2'/n_2'$.

For the data in Table 1 we see that $d_1 - d_2 = .2592 - .0233 = .2359$. As an estimator of the sampling variance of $d_1 - d_2 = (p_1 - p_1') - (p_2' - p_2')$, Tibbitts and Stouffer suggest

$$P_0Q_0\left(\frac{1}{n_1}+\frac{1}{n_1'}+\frac{1}{n_2}+\frac{1}{n_2'}\right),$$

where P_0 is the ratio between the total number of violators (those without and those with a previous criminal record) and the total number of parolees (those without and those with a previous criminal record), and

[8] Dorn and Stouffer, *op. cit.*, p. 409, n. 1.

$Q_0 = 1 - P_0$. By an argument similar to that presented above, we note that, if $\mathfrak{P}_1$, $\mathfrak{P}_1'$, $\mathfrak{P}_2$, and $\mathfrak{P}_2'$ are not all equal, then the estimator suggested by these authors will not be a consistent estimator of the sampling variance of $d_1 - d_2$. We would suggest the consistent estimator $v_1 + v_1' + v_2 + v_2'$, which is simply the sum of the estimators offered above for the sampling variance of d_1 and d_2. Thus, while Tibbitts and Stouffer estimate the sampling variance of $d_1 - d_2$ to be

$$\left(\tfrac{111}{306}\right)\left(\tfrac{195}{306}\right)\left(\tfrac{1}{53} + \tfrac{1}{121} + \tfrac{1}{47} + \tfrac{1}{85}\right) = .01391\ ,$$

we would suggest the estimate

$$\frac{(.4906)(.5094)}{53} + \frac{(.2314)(.7686)}{121} + \frac{(.4468)(.5532)}{47} + \frac{(.4235)(.5765)}{85} = .01432\ .$$

A SECOND EXAMPLE

For a hypothetical set of data (Table 2) concerning rates of parole violation it will now be shown that the results obtained using the earlier published formulas can be very different from those obtained using the formulas suggested here.

In Table 2 we see that $d_1 - d_2 = -.04$. As an estimate of the sampling variance of $d_1 - d_2$, the Dorn-Stouffer-Tibbitts articles would recommend

$$\left(\tfrac{1500}{3000}\right)\left(\tfrac{1500}{3000}\right)\left(\tfrac{1}{500} + \tfrac{1}{1000} + \tfrac{1}{500} + \tfrac{1}{1000}\right) = .00150\ ,$$

while we would suggest the estimate

$$\frac{(.03)(.97)}{500} + \frac{(.05)(.95)}{1000} + \frac{(.97)(.03)}{500} + \frac{(.95)(.05)}{1000} = .00025\ .$$

The relative difference between these two estimates is rather large and can lead to quite different interpretations of the data. The Dorn-Stouffer-Tibbitts formula would suggest that $d_1 - d_2 = -.04$ is clearly not significantly different from zero, while the formula recommended here would indicate that the observed difference may be statistically significant. Approximate confidence intervals for the expected value of $d_1 - d_2$ would be larger in this particular case if the Dorn-Stouffer-Tibbitts formula was utilized, rather than the formula suggested here, to estimate the sampling variance in the computation of the confidence interval.

TABLE 2

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN HYPOTHETICAL PAROLE VIOLATION RATES OF LONE AND GROUP OFFENDERS, WITH AND WITHOUT PREVIOUS CRIMINAL RECORD

Classification	No. of Parolees	No. of Violators	Proportion of Violators to Parolees
Without a previous criminal record:			
Lone offenders..	500	15	.03
Group offenders	1000	50	.05
Difference...	....	..	−.02
With a previous criminal record:			
Lone offenders..	500	485	.97
Group offenders	1000	950	.95
Difference...	....	...	.02

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE DIFFERENCES IN TWO PROPORTIONS

The Tibbitts-Stouffer article also presents an estimator for the sampling variance of the difference between the differences between the differences in two proportions. However, it is possible to show that this estimator is not, in general, a consistent estimator of the appropriate sampling variance. On the other hand, it may be modified so as to be consistent. We shall now illustrate this modification using the Tibbitts-Stouffer data concerning foreign-born offenders (Table 1) and their data concerning native-born offenders (Table 3).

For the data in Table 3, p_3, p_3', p_4, p_4', d_3,

and d_4 are defined for native-born offenders analogously to the definitions of p_1, p'_1, p_2 p'_2, d_1, and d_2, respectively, for the data in Table 1. (We introduce here the terms d_3 and d_4 for native-born offenders, since we shall want to compare $d_3 - d_4$ with $d_1 - d_2$ computed for the foreign-born offenders.) For Table 3 we see that $d_3 - d_4 = .0856 - .1539 = -.0683$. (As an estimate of the sampling variance of $d_3 - d_4$, the Dorn-Stouffer-Tibbitts articles would recommend

$$\left(\tfrac{187}{838}\right)\left(\tfrac{451}{638}\right)\left(\tfrac{1}{128}+\tfrac{1}{311}+\tfrac{1}{66}+\tfrac{1}{133}\right)$$

$$= .00698 \,,$$

while we would suggest the estimate

$$\frac{(.3203)(.6797)}{128}+\frac{(.2347)(.7653)}{311}$$

$$+\frac{(.4697)(.5303)}{66}+\frac{(.3158)(.6842)}{133}$$

$$= .00768 \,.)$$

From Table 1 we saw that $d_1 - d_2$, the excess of the differences in the foreign-born group, was .2359. The difference between $d_1 - d_2$ and $d_3 - d_4$ is .3042. While Tibbitts and Stouffer estimate the sampling variance of this difference to be

$$\left(\tfrac{298}{944}\right)\left(\tfrac{646}{944}\right)\left(\tfrac{1}{53}+\tfrac{1}{121}+\tfrac{1}{47}+\tfrac{1}{85}+\tfrac{1}{128}\right.$$

$$\left.+\tfrac{1}{311}+\tfrac{1}{66}+\tfrac{1}{133}\right) = .02028 \,,$$

we would suggest simply the sum of the estimates presented above for the sampling variance of the two excesses:

$$.01432 + .00768 \cong .022 \,.$$

The point of view and general method here presented are rather simple. To each observed proportion, p_i (or p'_i), there is associated an estimator of its sampling variance; namely,

$$\frac{p_i q_i}{n_i} = v_i \left(\text{or } \frac{p'_i q'_i}{n'_i} = v'_i\right).$$

To obtain an estimator of the sampling variance associated with any particular comparison, say,

$$(d_1 - d_2) - (d_3 - d_4) = [(p_1 - p'_1)$$

$$-(p_2 - p'_2)] - [(p_3 - p'_3) - (p_4 - p'_4)] \,,$$

it is only necessary to add together the estimators of the sampling variances associated with the particular p's and p''s appearing in the comparison. Thus, we offer as an

TABLE 3

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PAROLE VIOLATION RATES OF LONE AND GROUP NATIVE-BORN OFFENDERS, WITH AND WITHOUT PREVIOUS CRIMINAL RECORD

Classification	No. of Parolees	No. of Violators	Proportion of Violators to Parolees
Without a previous criminal record:			
Lone offenders.	128	41	.3203
Group offenders	311	73	.2347
Difference. . .	.	. .	.0856
With a previous criminal record:			
Lone offenders. .	66	31	.4697
Group offenders	133	42	.3158
Difference. . .	. . .	.	.1539

estimator of the sampling variance of $(d_1 - d_2) - (d_3 - d_4)$ the statistic

$$\sum_{i=1}^{4} (v_i + v'_i)$$

rather than the quantity presented in the earlier literature.

OTHER COMPARISONS

Other comparisons might also be of interest; for example, $d_1 - d_3$, $d_2 - d_4$, $p_1 - p_2$, $p'_1 - p'_2$, $p_1 - p_3$, $p'_1 - p_3$, $p_2 - p_4$, $p'_2 - p'_4$ $p_3 - p_4$, $p'_3 - p'_4$, $(p_1 - p_2) - (p_3 - p_4)$, etc. An estimator of the sampling variance associated with each of these comparisons can be obtained using the general method just described.

Tibbitts and Stouffer examined the differences between the observed values of

$d_i = p_i - p'_i$ for $i = 1$ and 2 and for $i = 3$ and 4 (i.e., for foreign-born parolees with and without a previous criminal record and for native-born parolees with and without a previous criminal record). There were four values of d_i ($i = 1, 2, 3, 4$), since the classification of parolees into those with or without a previous criminal record among those, in turn, foreign-born and native-born forms a 2×2 cross-classification and thus four subgroups. If still another dichotomous subdivision of the population were of interest (e.g., married or unmarried) and if the relevant data were available, there would be $2 \times 2 \times 2 = 8$ values of d_i. One of the many possible comparisons that could be made would be the following:

$$[(d_1 - d_2) - (d_3 - d_4)] - [(d_5 - d_6) - (d_7 - d_8)],$$

where d_1, d_2, d_3, and d_4 are defined as above for the data referring to married parolees and d_5, d_6, d_7, and d_8 are defined for unmarried parolees analogously to the definitions of d_1, d_2, d_3, and d_4, respectively. An estimator of the sampling variance associated with this comparison would be

$$\sum_{i=1}^{8} (v_i + v'_i),$$

where

$$v_i = \frac{p_i q_i}{n_i}$$

and

$$v'_i = \frac{p'_i q'_i}{n'_i}$$

for $i = 1, 2, \ldots, 8$.

The comparison considered above can be written as

$$\sum_{i=1}^{8} a_i d_i,$$

where $a_1 = a_4 = a_6 = a_7 = 1$ and $a_2 = a_3 = a_5 = a_8 = -1$. We note that

$$\sum_{i=1}^{8} a_i = 0.$$

In general, a linear comparison of the d_i is defined as

$$\sum_{i=1}^{8} a_i d_i,$$

where the a_i can be any specified constants such that

$$\sum_{i=1}^{8} a_i = 0.$$

All the comparisons of the d_i mentioned earlier herein are particular examples of linear comparisons. Quite a large number of published articles deal with testing the statistical significance of *all* possible linear comparisons of a set of means, or a specified subset of these linear comparisons, in the particular context of the analysis of variance.[9] Since the present article is not concerned with data obtained from the usual analysis of variance, the particular techniques presented in the published literature are not directly applicable, although some of them can be modified, under certain circumstances, so as to be appropriate for data of the kind considered here.[10] We shall not be concerned herein with the problem of testing the significance of all possible linear comparisons, of making an over-all confidence statement for all possible linear comparisons, or of making other related kinds of over-all confidence statements. However, the research worker should be aware of the concepts and methods presented in the literature cited, since it deals with making a number of different comparisons based on a

[9] See, e.g., Henry Scheffé, "A Method for Judging All Contrasts in the Analysis of Variance," *Biometrika*, XL (1953), 87–104; David B. Duncan, "Multiple Range and Multiple F Tests," *Biometrika*, XI (1955), 1–42; and the references cited in these articles. Scheffé also discusses several methods for making multiple comparisons in the analysis of variance (*The Analysis of Variance* [New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1959], chap. iii).

[10] A discussion of these particular kinds of modifications is beyond the scope of the present article. The interested reader is referred to chap. xvi of Statistical Research Group, Columbia University, *Techniques of Statistical Analysis*, and to the literature cited there.

specified set of data, where the different comparisons may be related to each other, with testing a number of different hypotheses suggested by the data, etc. In the following section we shall consider only the situation where a particular comparison is of interest or where it is desired to test a particular hypothesis.

APPROXIMATE CONFIDENCE INTERVALS AND TESTS OF HYPOTHESES

The preceding sections of this paper were concerned mainly with determining the appropriate estimator of the sampling variance of the difference between proportions, of the difference between differences between proportions (e.g., $d_1 - d_2$), of the difference between differences between differences between proportions [e.g., $(d_1 - d_2) - (d_3 - d_4)$], of the difference between differences between differences between differences between proportions (e.g., $[(d_1 - d_2) - (d_3 - d_4)] - [(d_5 - d_6) - (d_7 - d_8)]$) etc. These estimators of the sampling variances can be used, in situations where the random samples are sufficiently large (so that the usual normal distribution will be a satisfactory approximation to the exact sampling distribution of the relevant statistic), to obtain an approximate confidence interval for the expected value associated with a particular comparison—for example, an approximate confidence interval for the expected value of, say, $d_1 - d_2$. Textbooks on elementary statistics explain how to obtain such approximate confidence intervals in the situation where a statistic that has a sampling distribution that can be approximated by a normal distribution is observed (say, $d_1 - d_2$) and where there is a consistent estimator of the sampling variance of this statistic.[11] The usual elementary methods presented in textbooks can also be used to test various hypotheses concerning the expected value associated with a particular comparison. For example, it is possible, using these methods, to test the hypothesis that the expected value of $d_1 - d_2$ is equal to some specified value.

Tibbitts and Stouffer were interested in the particular hypothesis that the expected value of $d_1 - d_2$ was zero; that is, that the expected value of d_1 was equal to the expected value of d_2. Using the estimators presented above for the sampling variance of d_1 and d_2, it is relatively easy to test, by the usual methods, the null hypothesis that the expected value of d_1 is equal to the expected value of d_2. It is also possible to generalize this procedure in order to obtain a test of the null hypothesis that the expected values of d_1, of d_2, of d_3, and of d_4 are all equal to each other. In fact, if appropriate kinds of estimators of the relevant sampling variances are used (e.g., the estimators suggested above), then a general procedure is available for testing whether any specific set of independent statistics (e.g,. any specific set of d's) that are approximately normally distributed is such that the expected values of each of the statistics in the set considered are all equal to each other.[12]

SOME MEASURES OF ASSOCIATION

The quantity d_i, which is the difference between the observed proportion, p_i, of violators among a sample from a subgroup of the population of parolees who are lone offenders and the observed proportion, p'_i, of violators among a sample from a comparable subgroup of the population of parolees who are group offenders, can be considered to be a particular kind of measure of association computed for the 2×2 cross-classification table describing the relationship between whether a parolee is or is not a lone offender and whether he is or is not a violator, as observed from the data in the samples. In some situations, measures of association other than d_i might be preferable,[13] and for

[11] See, e.g., Walker and Lev, *op. cit.*, chap. vii. Where the samples are large, confidence intervals based on the normal distribution (i.e., the *t*-distribution with an infinite number of degrees of freedom) will often lead to satisfactory approximations.

[12] For further details, see Leo A. Goodman and William H. Kruskal, "Measures of Association for Cross Classifications. III: Approximate Sampling Theory" (dittoed manuscript).

[13] For a more detailed discussion of measures of association for cross-classification tables, see articles by Goodman and Kruskal, *op. cit.*

them somewhat different methods must be used for testing the various hypotheses that may be of interest.[14]

The difference between two d's, say d_1 and d_2, can be viewed as a measure of a certain aspect of the association present in the $2 \times 2 \times 2$ cross-classification table describing the relationship between whether a parolee is or is not a lone offender, whether he has or has not a previous criminal record, and whether he is or is not a violator. A number of different aspects of association might be of interest in such a $2 \times 2 \times 2$ table. The difference between $d_1 - d_2$ and $d_3 - d_4$ can be viewed as a measure of a particular aspect of association present in the $2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2$ cross-classification table describing the relationship between whether a parolee is or is not a lone offender, whether he has or has not a previous criminal record, whether he is or is not foreign-born, and whether he is or is not a violator. What will be appropriate methods of analysis of data presented in such $2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2$ tables will depend on the particular hypotheses being considered.[15]

[14] Statistical procedures for testing hypotheses concerning measures of association for cross-classification tables, and for obtaining (approximate) confidence intervals for them have been presented for a variety of different kinds of such measures in Goodman and Kruskal, "Measures of Association for Cross Classifications. III: Approximate Sampling Theory."

[15] For further details, see, e.g., M. S. Bartlett, "Contingency Table Interactions," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Supplement*, II (1935), 248–52; S. N. Roy and Marvin A. Kastenbaum, "On the Hypothesis of No 'Interaction' in a Multi-way Contingency Table," *Annals of Mathematical Statistics*, XXVII (1956), 749–57; Juan Bejar, "Contingency Tables," *Trabajos de Estadistica*, IX (1958), 85–101 (Spanish with English summary); Alexander McFarlane Mood, *Introduction to the Theory of Statistics* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1950), pp. 273–82; and the articles by Goodman and Kruskal, mentioned in nn. 5, 12.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Samuel Andrew Stouffer

1900–1960

Samuel A. Stouffer, professor of sociology and director of the Laboratory of Social Relations at Harvard University, died after a brief illness on August 24, 1960. Thus, prematurely, was terminated his brilliant career just as he had begun a new and significant research enterprise. On behalf of the Population Council he was on a year's leave of absence from Harvard helping to design and initiate important studies on motivation in the control of fertility in the economically underdeveloped regions of the world.

Stouffer was born on June 6, 1900, in Sac City, Iowa. He won his A.B. degree at Morningside College in 1921, his A.M. in literature at Harvard in 1923, and his Ph.D. in sociology at the University of Chicago in 1930. He began his academic career as an instructor in statistics at the University of Chicago in 1930–31. He was called to the University of Wisconsin in 1931 and left as professor of social statistics in 1935, when he returned to the University of Chicago as professor of sociology. In 1946 he was called to Harvard, after serving as director of the professional staff of the Research Branch, Information and Education Division, War Department, from 1941 to 1946 while on leave from the University of Chicago.

Stouffer became one of the leading statisticians in sociology by way of prior experience in journalism, general sociology, and social psychology. After winning his A.M. at Harvard, he served from 1923 to 1926 as editor of the *Sac City Sun*, a newspaper founded by his father. He acknowledged his obligation to William F. Ogburn for first introducing him to statistics in 1927. As a speaker at the memorial service for Ogburn in Bond Chapel on the campus of the University of Chicago on June 8, 1959, Stouffer stated:

> One graduate student who was particularly antagonistic to statistics had been hired to collect and analyze some election data by another professor who remarked, "Any clerk can do this kind of thing: it requires no thinking." The student soon got beyond his depth in the analysis and called on Will Ogburn in his office for the first time. Patiently, yet rather languidly, Ogburn reviewed the problem, and commended with almost embarrassing kindness the student's awkward originality in several alternate attempts at analysis—an orginality stemming from not knowing what couldn't be done. When the problem was straightened out and the conference ended, Ogburn rose to his full height and smiled down on him, saying, "You may not realize it, but you have a real knack at quantitative thinking."

He then indicated that he was the student involved and that within a year he

> was not only working on other statistical problems but was studying elementary college mathematics, a subject which a few months earlier he would have considered as irrelevant to sociology as Sanskrit.

His intensive study of mathematical and statistical methods was climaxed by a year as a Social Science Research Council Fellow at the University of London in 1931–32, where he availed himself enthusiastically of the opportunity to work with Karl Pearson, among others.

Samuel Stouffer, like Ogburn, was a pioneer in promoting quantitative methods of research in sociology. Probably more than any other sociologist of his own generation, he focused his activity on bridging the gap between global speculative theorizing, on the one hand, and the blind collection of data, on the other. Stouffer was equally impatient with "talky-talk" sociology and with theoretically unoriented gathering of data. He felt that progress in sociology could be achieved primarily through the interplay of theory and empirical research—either, alone, was sterile.

Much of Stouffer's work contributed materially to the improvement of the sample social survey as an instrument of research. Here his influence was felt beyond the academic world, for his work had an important impact on commercial survey research, including the public opinion polls. He did much to direct the attention of sociologists to the experimental method as a model for designing and conducting sociological investigations. He played an important part in the statistical program of the federal government in his work with the Central Statistical Board (1934–35) which led to the establishment of the Division of Statistical Standards in the Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President.

It was more than a coincidence that a number of Stouffer's research projects were associated with major national crises and that his last assignment—with the Population Council—was associated with a major world crisis, for agencies concerned with crucial problems had needs which demanded

the best in research leadership. The search for the best led to him.

During the thirties, not only the economy but also society as a whole was badly disrupted by the nation's longest and most severe economic collapse. The Social Science Research Council recognized the importance of encouraging research to evaluate the influence of the depression on the social order. The Council arranged for a major project to blueprint the types of research that could provide the needed information, and Stouffer was called to direct this enterprise. Its results are recorded in thirteen monographic research memorandums on "Social Aspects of the Depression."

During World War II the Department of Defense created a Research Branch to provide as scientific a basis as possible for inducting, training, directing, and managing the armed forces and, eventually, demobilizing them. Stouffer received the call to serve as director of this enterprise. Some indication of the prodigious nature of this activity, both as social science and as a basis for policy formation and management, is reported in an enduring four-volume work, in three of which, Stouffer was directly involved: the two volumes on *The American Soldier* and the volume, *Measurement and Prediction* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1949–50). The research was the effort of a team, not the work of Stouffer alone; but it was a team in large measure created and directed by him. The volumes constitute a major demonstration of the potentialities of social science and will remain a monument to him and his colleagues.

During the postwar fifties, another type of national crisis was manifest in the hysteria of the McCarthy era. The Ford Foundation's Fund for the Republic, in an effort to illuminate this chapter of American postwar history, provided for a nationwide survey to probe the public's attitude toward the threat of communism, its feeling about conformity, and its respect for civil liberties. Again it was Stouffer who directed the enterprise. This study was reported in *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1955).

It is readily understood why Stouffer was chosen by the Population Council to help to design and initiate studies of motivation in the control of fertility, for the Council, regarding the explosive increase of world population, especially in the economically underdeveloped areas, as perhaps the major crisis confronting mankind, also sought out the best possible talent in research. Unfortunately, this task remained unfinished.

Professor Stouffer's significant contributions were widely acclaimed. He was elected president of the American Sociological Association for 1952–53 and president of the American Association of Public Opinion Research for 1953–54. He was made a member of the American Philosophical Society and of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and a fellow of the American Statistical Association. He was a member of the Institute of Mathematical Statistics, of the Population Association of America, and of the Psychometric Society. He held two honorary degrees, an LL.D. from his alma mater, Morningside College, granted in 1939, and an Sc.D., rare for a social scientist, from Princeton University in 1948.

To those of us privileged to have known Sam intimately, his identifying characteristic was the fervor and excitement with which he approached every assignment. He was completely dedicated to the advancement of knowledge through research and teaching and possessed the rare capacity to communicate both his devotion and enthusiasm to his students and colleagues. Intellect, wit, drive, unceasing labor, endless endurance—these all marked him. But those who knew Sam well will retain their image of his selflessness, his humility, his genuine friendship, and his amazing ability to make them feel as he appeared to them—ten feet tall as scientist, teacher, and man.

PHILIP M. HAUSER

University of Chicago

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

ZELDITCH, *A BASIC COURSE IN SOCIOLOGICAL STATISTICS*

January 26, 1960

To the Editor:

After using *A Basic Course in Sociological Statistics: A Textbook and Workbook Combined,* by Morris Zelditch, Jr., as teaching assistants for a semester course in introductory statistics, we must take exception to Theodore R. Anderson's laudatory review (*American Journal of Sociology,* LXV [January, 1960], 428).

According to Anderson, "Materials are presented carefully but without excessive attention to technical details." Unfortunately, although he is mistaken in his first statement, he is only too correct in his second. The Zelditch book is so shot through with small but vital technical errors as to make it almost useless for teaching purposes.

The errors are of several types. Numerous typograhical errors, such as the confusion of symbols on page 106 where $\Sigma f_x d_x$ is represented as $\Sigma_x f_x d$, are particularly unfortunate in a beginning text. Poor examples which often do not illustrate the range of computation involved in calculating a statistic are rife. For instance, in Table 4.1 on page 72 Zelditch makes the pedagogically unfortunate choice of using class intervals of size 1.00 rather than some other size which would illustrate more clearly the effects of interval size in coding data. Similarly, when illustrating the unique binomial case where the probability of a successful event is just equal to that of a failure (p. 272–75) he gives students the impression that the product of the two probability terms always has a constant value.

The student is bewildered by the fact that the same symbol is often used to represent entirely diffrent things—sometimes within the same formula. Problem 5 on page 262 gives the formula $P(\ldots \leqq P \leqq \ldots) = 0.95$ which the student is instructed to interpret as "the probability that P is greater than . . . , but less than . . . is 0.95." However, Zelditch seems to excel himself when inventing statistics such as s_p, the non-existent sample estimate of the standard deviation of the population proportion (also non-existent).

The idea of using real sociological examples is an excellent one, were it not for the fact that the examples chosen are often too briefly presented for the statistical logic to appear and sometimes incorrectly copied from the original sources. A good example can be seen on pages 265–66 (Tables 1, 2) where the identification of the groups involved has been confused. This difficulty is further compounded by the occasional, almost unintelligible instructions to the student (see, e.g., line *c*, p. 33 or par. *b*, p. 266, *et seq.*).

The organization of the material, although quite good on the whole, could be improved somewhat by reversing the order of chapters ix and x, thus presenting "probability" before "inference."

The cavalier attitude with which the entire book seems to have been put together is epitomized in the Index. Of the eight names in the "B" section alone, all have false page citations, and two of them (Bendix, R., and Bennett, K. R.) do not even appear in the text at all.

We cannot agree with Anderson that "Zelditch has written what may well prove to be the best current elementary text on statistics."

Mary McIntosh
David Nasatir
University of California, Berkeley

REJOINDER

June 3, 1960

To the Editor:

I have read the letter from Mary McIntosh and David Nasatir in which they make a rather severe criticism of Zelditch's book, *A Basic Course in Sociological Statistics.* I have also used the text for a semester since writing my review for the *Journal.*

Let me simply comment that in nine years of teaching statistics I have never found a text that did not confuse some students (and some teaching assistants) or contain elements which might profitably be modified somewhat. There are pedagogic problems in Zelditch's book as in all other statistics texts.

The important point, in my opinion, is that the Zelditch book is no more subject to such criticisms than are other texts in the field. Statistics students, in general, will have great difficulty in learning statistics from any text. The main burden of proof lies with the teaching personnel. I am sure that many teachers will find Zelditch's book an effective aid in their courses. I did.

THEODORE R. ANDERSON

State University of Iowa

"INDUSTRIAL MAN: THE RELATION OF STATUS TO EXPERIENCE, PERCEPTION, AND VALUE"

September 2, 1960

To the Editor:

The very interesting and careful article by Alex Inkeles in your issue of July, 1960 ("Industrial Man"), brings together much valuable material and is presented with a full awareness of the dangers involved in drawing too confident conclusions from evidence of this kind. However, Professor Inkeles seems to assign little importance to the possibility that some of the findings which he discusses may be at least partly explicable by the different times at which the surveys cited were carried out. Thus (pp. 11–12) he interprets the anomalous finding from a British survey that security is most preferred to high wages among salaried clerical and professional groups by reference to the wording of the question and shows that a similarly worded question put to an American sample in 1949 revealed an overwhelming preference for security at all levels. This does not, however, at all explain the greater preference for security by salaried as opposed to wage-earning respondents in Britain, and it is this which contradicts Inkeles' general hypothesis. Even if a breakdown by class of the data from the American survey supports the general hypothesis (which in fact it does—precisely this tabulation was among a series prepared for me by the Roper Public Opinion Research Center, Williamstown, in February of this year), the British finding is still unexplained. Now the date of the British survey, which Inkeles does not give, is January, 1946. Might it not be plausible to suggest that the greater preference for security among higher-placed groups is the result of the country's having only just emerged from six years of war?

A survey conducted by Research Services, Ltd., in Britain in 1955, when economic conditions in Britain had become far more nearly comparable to those in the United States, in fact supports Inkeles' hypothesis. The relevant data (survey J723, question 2B) were also analyzed for me by the Roper Center. Unfortunately the question is multiple-choice and not at all directly comparable; but a breakdown by SES of respondents citing "good wages or earnings" or "opportunities to get on" as against "security of employment" bears out Inkeles' contention both about the effect of including "advancement" in the question and about the greater

preference for security among lower-placed groups. It accordingly seems reasonable to suggest that the different dates and therefore different historical circumstances of different surveys may be more important than Inkeles seems to allow. If so, it is to be hoped that systematic trend data may be collected from different countries in order to test the hypothesis over time as well as place.

W. G. Runciman

Trinity College, Cambridge

REJOINDER

October 4, 1960

To the Editor:

Naturally, I appreciate Mr. Runciman's description of my article "Industrial Man" as careful and properly cautious. Certainly such care and caution include taking due account of the time at which a particular survey was carried out. If I assigned little importance to this dimension, I did not mean to do so. In fact, I believe I *did* consider the problem—but could only do so within the stringent space limits which existed. As illustration I point to page 16, where I called attention to the high proportion of British owners who, in 1948, were dissatisfied with how they were getting on, and I related this to the strength of sentiments in favor of nationalization in Britain at that time.

The basic question, however, is this: How far can we allow presumably momentary, or at least transitory, situational factors to enter into our theory concerning the presumed regularity in the structure of response manifested from country to country? Let us assume I explore a question and find that the expected pattern fails to emerge in seven of the ten cases in hand. Clearly my theory becomes useless, and my endeavor ludicrous, if I try to explain this failure by adducing an *ad hoc* excuse for each "deviant" case based on the unique concatenation of events in time. I may perhaps legitimately follow this line for one or (at most) two cases out of ten. But even then I am put under obligation by my theory to show for the deviant cases so explained that at a later point in time, when events had returned more to "normal," the country in question also returned to the fold, exhibiting the same pattern as did others.

For this reason I am particularly grateful to Mr. Runciman for presenting the additional material which indicates that my data on Britain for 1946 were apparently much influenced by the effects of the immediate wartime situation and that by 1955 British salaried and wage workers were responding more according to the expected pattern.

Alex Inkeles

Russian Research Center
Harvard University

NEWS AND NOTES

On the first of January, Peter M. Blau became Editor of this *Journal*, succeeding Everett C. Hughes, the Editor since July, 1952, and an Associate Editor from 1938 to 1952. Professor Blau became an Associate Editor in 1953 on joining the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago.

Association for the Aid of Crippled Children.—Matilda White Riley, former executive officer of the American Sociological Association, has joined the staff of the Association, a foundation with national and international interests in the prevention of handicapping conditions. She will have a major responsibility in the further development of relevant research in the behavioral sciences. She is continuing as a member of the graduate faculties at Rutgers and at New York University.

Boston University.—Albert Morris has returned from a year of research and consulting in New Zealand and Australia and is developing courses in criminology and social deviance for the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

Louis H. Orzack, formerly of the University of Wisconsin, has joined the staff as associate professor and is developing the courses offered in large-scale formal organization.

Arthur Richardson, formerly of the University of Rhode Island, is visiting assistant professor to replace Alvin Zalinger, who is on a two-year Ford Foundation fellowship for research in Ghana.

Irwin T. Sanders, departmental chairman, and Frank Sweetser are developing the courses on the community; Sweetser has a grant from the Massachusetts Department of Mental Health to publish a series of ecological maps of metropolitan Boston and accompanying text.

Other departmental members include T. Scott Miyakawa, associate professor, and Jean Hendry and George Horner, assistant professors.

Hyman Rodman is a part-time assistant professor, teaching courses on the family and on minority groups.

Leland Wyman has sabbatical leave for the second semester to do field work in the Southwest. He has been given a research grant by the American Philosophical Society for this work and also a publication grant from the National Science Foundation for partial support of the publication of a book on the Navaho Windway.

Graduate School appointments in sociology and anthropology are held by William O. Brown, director of the African Studies Program, and Philip Gulliver of the same program. Daniel McCall, who holds a similar appointment, is spending this year on a research project in Africa.

Dorrian Apple, of the School of Nursing, is giving a course on medical sociology in the Department.

Teaching fellows for 1960–61 include Robert Lowrie, Jaroslav Moravec, Thomas Osborne, and Albert Sherring.

Bowling Green State University.—The Sociology Department has announced several staff changes: C. G. Swanson, a senior member of the staff who is on a one-year leave of absence from his university duties; Joseph K. Balogh who has a one-semester leave of absence to continue many research projects, including one on capital punishment on a nationwide scale; Joseph B. Perry, a new faculty member as of last year; and Arthur G. Neal and Norbert Wiley, who are new full-time faculty members.

L. Wallace Hoffman, director of the Family Court Center, Toledo, Ohio, is a visiting lecturer in the first semester of the current school year. He is teaching an evening class in juvenile delinquency.

The following research projects by faculty members within the department are in progress: Arthur G. Neal, "The Structure of Alienation among Non-manual Workers: A Factor-Analytical Approach" and "A Predictive Study of Normlessness"; Joseph K. Balogh, "A Social-Interaction-Pattern Analysis as Related to Chronic Regressed Female Schizophrenics" and "Capital Punishment: A Sociological Analysis of Social Attitudes"; Samuel H. Lowrie, "Early and Late Dating: Patterns in Such Behavior" and "Some Conditions Associated with Early

and Late Dating"; Donald S. Longworth, "A Study of the Family Adjustment of Bowling Green State University Graduates" and "Consumer Problems of Married People"; Frank F. Miles, "A Directory of Social Work Facilities and Services in Wood County" and "Scientific Method in Social Work."

University of California, Los Angeles.—Donald R. Cressey, chairman of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, has recently been appointed acting dean, Division of the Social Sciences. The sixth edition of Edwin H. Sutherland's and Cressey's *Principles of Criminology* has just been published.

Social Status and Leadership by Melvin Seeman, a monograph in the Ohio State Leadership series, has been published. He is currently working on studies of alienation in community and organization settings.

Eshref Shevky, professor emeritus, has been recalled to active service.

George C. Meyers has been appointed to the sociology staff as acting instructor.

Oscar Grusky has been awarded a grant by the Division of Research of the Graduate School of Business Administration for the study of determinants of career mobility among professional managers.

Wendell Bell, Melville Dalton, and William Robinson are on sabbatical leave for the fall semester, 1960.

Cambridge University.—Sociology will from now on be taught for the first time as a subject in which the student may be examined for the B.A. degree. It will be offered as an optional subject inside the economic Tripos.

David Lockwood and Michael Young have been appointed lecturers in sociology.

T. H. Marshall, professor emeritus of the London School of Economics, will open the regular lectures in sociology this autumn and will continue until Christmas. Professor Marshall has just completed a term as director of the Department of Social Science of UNESCO, and he now resides in Cambridge.

Canisius College.—Thomas P. Imse has assumed duties as chairman of the Department. He heads a study of organizational and fiscal implications of population loss in the central city of a metropolitan area.

William Jarrett, formerly at Michigan State University, has been appointed instructor in sociology. The department also includes Michael P. Penetar, associate professor, and Joseph Cantillon, S.J., assistant professor.

Central Michigan University.—Robert L. Stewart is on leave for the current academic year to the Teacher Education Project of this institution. His work is being supported by a Ford Foundation grant. The graduate program of the Department was initiated last fall, and the first Master's degree will be granted next June.

David L. Westby, formerly of Michigan State University, has been appointed assistant professor.

University of Chicago.—Otis Dudley Duncan has been appointed professor of human ecology in the Department of Sociology. He also continues as associate director of the Population Research and Training Center.

The National Opinion Research Center is moving into its newly reconstructed headquarters at 5720 South Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois. The remodeling, which was financed by a grant for research facilities from the United States Public Health Service, will increase the capacity of the Center by one-third.

Ernest W. Burgess is the editor of *Aging in Western Societies*, which was published this fall, and the author of several chapters in it.

Philip Hauser, with Donald Bogue, who has now returned from a year spent in Bombay at the United Nations Demographic Training Center, attended the joint meeting called in New York in mid-autumn by the Milbank Memorial Foundation and the Population Council. Proceedings of the meeting, whose members came from all over the world, are to be published.

Everett C. Hughes has relinquished the editorship of the *Journal*. After being in residence in the fall and winter quarters, he will spend the spring term at the University of Kansas, filling out his term there as Rose Morgan Visiting Professor.

Duke University.—The School of Law has published a symposium on "Population Control" as its Summer, 1960, issue of *Law and Contemporary Problems*. It contains the following items of interest to sociologists, among other articles: "World Population Growth," by Robert C. Cook; "Space and Human Culture," by Henry van Loon; "The Current Status of Fertility Control," by Christopher Tietze,

M.D.; "The Ethics of Population Control: A Roman Catholic Viewpoint," by Rev. William J. Gibbons, S.J.; "The Ethics of Population Control: A Non-Catholic Viewpoint," by Richard M. Fagley; "Population Control and World Politics," by W. Parker Mauldin; "Population Trends and Controls in Underdeveloped Countries," by A. J. Jaffe; "The Japanese Population Problem: An Economic Theory and Its Application," by Martin Bronfenbrenner and John A. Butterick; "Population Control in India: Progress and Prospects," by S. N. Agarwala; and "Population Control in Puerto Rico: The Formal and Informal Framework," by Kurt W. Back, Reuben Hill, and J. Mayone Stycos.

The issue sells for $2.50, postpaid in the United States, and may be ordered from *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Duke Station, Durham, North Carolina.

Florida State University.—The Department now includes Professors Gordon Blackwell, Charles Grigg, Lewis M. Killian, Meyer F. Nimkoff (chairman), and F. Ivan Nye; Associate Professors Francis R. Allen and John Griffin; and Assistant Professors T. S. Dietrich, William S. Felton, Russell Middleton, and James H. Williams.

Francis Allen is engaged in a study of the social effects of Sputnik.

Gordon Blackwell is the new president of Florida State University. From 1957 to 1960 he was chancellor of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina. Earlier, he was Kenan Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina and director of the Institute for Research in Social Science.

William W. Felton is a research consultant with the American Telephone and Telegraph Company on their study of management progress.

Lewis Killian and Charles Grigg have received a grant from the Field Foundation for a study entitled "Feedback of Social Science Data into Local Communities: An Experiment in Communication." Data on living conditions and community satisfaction of whites and Negroes in a southern community will be compiled and used as a basis for discussion with community leaders. The grant makes possible the continuation and expansion of pilot studies conducted by the Institute for Social Research under grants from the University Research Council. James H. Williams is associated with Killian and Grigg in the research.

Russell Middleton has received grants from the University Research Council to conduct studies in the sociology of religion and to investigate the role of the civil rights issue in voting behavior.

Meyer Nimkoff is president-elect (1960–61) of the Southern Sociological Society. He is a member of the editorial board of the newly established *International Journal of Comparative Sociology.*

Ivan Nye is director of the Interdivisional Doctoral Program in Marriage and Family Living. A new full-year course designed to offer a practicum in family research will be taught by Nye.

University of Hawaii.—The staff of the Department of Sociology consists of the following persons: Andrew W. Lind, senior professor; Clarence E. Glick, chairman and professor; C. K. Cheng, Bernhard L. Hormann, and Douglas S. Yamamura, professors; Tamme Wittermans, associate professor; and Otomar J. Bartos, Irving Krauss, and George K. Yamamoto, assistant professors.

During the past year Dr. Lind was acting director of the University's newly organized Social Science Research Institute. This year he is at Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok under a Fulbright award, assisting in the development of a social science research program.

Bernhard Hormann is acting director of the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory and main faculty advisor to the student editorial staff of the publication, *Social Process in Hawaii.* This publication is now a joint enterprise of the Laboratory and the Sociology Club; Volume XXIV, the current annual issue, is concerned with "The Sociology of Speech and Language."

Yukiko Kimura, who is on a full-time research appointment with the Laboratory, is working on a study of European and Japanese war brides as well as on a study of the Okinawans in Hawaii.

C. K. Cheng is spending the fall semester on sabbatical leave in Japan, where he is studying postwar trends in Japanese family organization.

Douglas Yamamura is deputy chairman of the University Study and Development Commission, which has been conducting a survey of the University's present policies and organization and plans for growth. He is also directing a survey of the cytological services

of the Hawaii Cancer Society.

Dr. Wittermans has resigned his former position as Head of the Educational Department of the Museum of Ethnology in Rotterdam to accept a permanent position in the Department. He is now preparing for publication a study of Ambonese refugees in the Netherlands.

Dr. Bartos has returned to the campus after having spent the past year at Harvard and Columbia on a postdoctoral Social Science Research Council award; at these institutions he concentrated upon further training in mathematics and small-group research.

Irving Krauss, who came to the Department from the University of California, Berkeley, is now completing a study of the determinants of social mobility.

George Yamamoto has returned to the Department after spending a year on a John Hay Whitney fellowship, making a study of lawyers in Hawaii of Japanese ancestry.

Harwin L. Voss, who resigned from the Department to accept a position with the Economic Research Center of the University of Hawaii, is now directing a survey of drinking habits on the island of Oahu under a research contract for the Honolulu Liquor Commission.

Several members of the Department have been involved in the work of planning the programs and structure of an International College to be established on the University of Hawaii campus. The first appropriation of $10 million for the Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange between East and West in Hawaii, of which the International College is a part, was made by Congress in September. Contracts for several new buildings will be let during the current fiscal year. The programs are being planned primarily for graduate students, approximately four-fifths of whom are to come from Asia, Australia, and New Zealand, and the remainder to be American students. It is anticipated that the Center will have about two thousand students by 1965.

Institut für theoretische Geschichte und geisteswissenschaftliche Grundlagenforschung. Internationale Gesellschaft für vergleichende Kulturforschung (The Institute for Theoretical History and Basic Psychosocial Research; International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations).—By the initiative and leadership of Othmar F. Anderle, these mutually connected research institutions were established in Salzburg in 1960. Officers of the Society are: Pitirim A. Sorokin, president, and Othmar F. Anderle, secretary-general; members of the *Kuratorium* of the Institute are: Professors Sorokin and Anderle, E. Betti (Rome), C. Brinton (Harvard), P. J. Daniélou (Paris), A. Dempf (Munich), A. Hilckman (Mainz), P. Th. Michels (Salzburg), A. J. Toynbee (London), J. Vogt (Tübingen), and F. Wagner (Marburg).

Research of the Institute is divided into three main parts: first, basic problems of the universal history and psychosocial (*Geistswissenschaftlichtliche*) disciplines; second, problems of integration of the universal history; and third, meta-history and philosophy of history. The Institute is to serve as the center of documentation and information for all synoptic research in universal history and comparative study of civilizations.

The main task of the Society is a comparative study of civilizations or cultures. Through international co-operation of all scholars interested in a comparative investigation of the structures and life courses of known civilizations or cultures, the Society aims to continue and develop this kind of study systematically and as validly as possible. Membership in the Society is open to all qualified scholars; the membership fee is $5.

Inquiries should be addressed to the Secretary-General, Dr. O. F. Anderle, Bahnhofstrasse 5, Salzburg, Austria; or to the President, P. A Sorokin, 8 Cliff Street, Winchester, Massachusetts, or to Professor C. Brinton, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund.—The Fund will consider applications for grants for doctoral research in social work on the subject of children or services for them. The amount of such support will depend upon the nature of the project. There is no deadline for such applications. Processing will require ninety days; no special application forms are needed. Inquiries should be addressed to Donald Brieland, Executive Director, Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund, 155 East Ohio Street, Chicago 11, Illinois.

McGill University.—Aileen D. Ross has been appointed associate professor of sociology in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

McLean Hospital (Massachusetts General Hospital—Harvard Medical School).—William A. Caudill has resigned as acting chief of the

Social Science Department to join the staff of the Socio-environmental Laboratory at the National Institute of Mental Health in Bethesda. Norman W. Bell has been appointed acting chief. Robert Rapoport, first chief of the Department, continues as a consultant to the Department.

Research grants totaling over $100,000 have been awarded during the past year to members of the Department and their collaborators. Norman W. Bell is working with Stanley Eldred and Lewis Sherman on a study of the relationship of schizophrenic symptomotology to the ward milieu. Rose L. Coser is engaged in a study of the socialization of psychiatric residents. Donald Kennedy, who has recently joined the staff of Arthur D. Little, Inc., is continuing a study of group therapy with Sheila Hafter. Murray Melbin, a Russell Sage Fellow, is investigating certain dimensions of interpersonal behavior between aides and patients. Anne Parsons is continuing her studies of cultural variation in hallucinations and the family structure of schizophrenic patients. She returned to Naples for the summer to complete the collection of data begun during a year's stay in Italy. Katherine Spencer, research consultant to the Social Work Department, is completing a study of administrative processes in that department.

University of Michigan.—The Ford Foundation has awarded a five-year grant to the Bureau of Public Health Economics of the School of Public Health, to establish a program of graduate training for research involving social science in medical care. Academic appointments for research assistants are available to a limited number of students in public health, social work, economics, sociology, and the several other social sciences. Appointments are made annually on a half-time basis, with a beginning stipend of $2,150 for the academic year.

In subsequent years predoctoral fellowships will be available to assist students with their dissertations. Research assistants who have participated in the research training program, as well as other predoctoral students who are planning to write dissertations on topics relevant to medical care, will be eligible for these fellowships.

Applications must be submitted before February 1 to be acted on for the fall semester. Those interested may write to Dr. S. J. Axelrod, Director, Bureau of Public Health Economics, School of Public Health, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

University of Minnesota.—Roy G. Francis is the consulting editor for the sociological series being published by Allyn & Bacon, Inc., Boston, and editor of *Inform*, the publication of the University of Minnesota chapter of the American Association of University Professors. He is currently exhibiting some recent oil paintings in the gallery of a local theater.

Don Martindale's book, *Nature and Types of Sociological Theory*, has just been published.

Edward Gross, who joined the Department from Washington State University, has begun an analysis of sociometric data gathered by the Industrial Relations Center, of which he is a faculty associate.

Marvin J. Taves is beginning a study of the interaction of federal policy programs and social values among rural populations.

Arnold Rose is chairman of the Permanent Committee on Social Psychology of the International Sociological Association. He has begun research on perceptions of influential persons in local communities. He is a member of the (Minneapolis) Citizen's League Committee on revision of the city charter and will head the Minnesota delegation to the White House Conference on Aging in January, 1961.

Elio D. Monachesi's new book, *An Atlas of Juvenile Profiles* (with Starke R. Hathaway), is scheduled for spring release by the University of Minnesota Press. He and Hathaway have received another five-year grant from the National Institute of Mental Health to continue a longitudinal study of development of social adjustment.

Virgil Kroeger and Peter Hall have received grants from the Ford Foundation to assist in the systematic development of new concepts and practices in the area of juvenile delinquency.

Reuben Hill has returned from Puerto Rico, where he recently led a seminar on Strategies of Family Research at the University of Puerto Rico in Rio Piedras.

M. Lee Taylor, who is continuing his research on the sociology of art, is currently analyzing data on his project of the place of the gallery in the American college and university.

Montana State University.—Mason Griff has returned to the campus after a year's leave of

absence, during which he served as a visiting professor in sociology at Brandeis University.

Albert Heinrich has joined the staff as instructor in anthropology.

Dallas Reed has left the staff to study differential institutional images at Montana State Prison.

Moreno Institute.—The Institute's new headquarters are at 236 West 78th Street, New York, where psychodrama sessions are now being held. Lecture demonstrations are, as usual, being conducted on Friday evenings.

Every Saturday evening a matrimonial clinic will be held for premarital and marital partners in which marriage problems will be treated by psychodramatic methods. In addition, a greatly enlarged, daily program of activities will be offered: a psychological clinic, group and individual consultations and treatment, psychodrama and role-playing, group psychotherapy and group dynamics, industrial training, family therapy, and courses in psychodrama, group psychotherapy, and sociometry.

North Carolina State College.—Selz C. Mayo has been named chairman of the Department of Rural Sociology, C. Horace Hamilton having requested to be relieved of the responsibilities of this position.

Elmer H. Johnson has returned to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, School of General Studies, upon completion of two years of leave to serve as assistant director of prisons in the North Carolina Prison Department. He will continue to serve as a prison consultant.

Oregon State College.—John G. Curry, for the past three years on the staff of Eastern Washington College of Education, has joined the staff as instructor.

University of Oregon.—Joel V. Berreman returns full-time to the Department after two years as research associate with the Oregon Study of Rehabilitation of Mental Hospital Patients. He contributed extensively to the final report on the project.

Harry Alpert has been appointed editor of the *American Sociological Review,* effective September 1, 1960. He was elected vice-president (Northern Division) of the Pacific Sociological Association (1960–61) and secretary-treasurer (1960) and president (1961) of the Sociological Research Association.

Robert Dubin resumes his position as research professor, returning from a year as Ford Visiting Professor of Behavioral Sciences at the School of Commerce, University of Wisconsin. His current research, on the analysis of power, authority, and status, is under his Ford Master Fellow program and involves graduate students and Dr. Elisabeth Dubin as research associate.

John M. Foskett and Walter T. Martin have completed field work for their study of adjustment of elderly persons to old age, a project financed by the National Science Foundation and the University's Office of Scientific and Scholarly Research. Martin also serves as director of the Study of Resistance to Educational Television, a three-year project financed under Title VII of the National Defense Education Act of 1958.

Robert A. Ellis has joined the Department as associate professor. He assumes primary responsibility for graduate training in methodology. He will teach a three-term course and practicum in methodology and courses and seminars in social psychology, social stratification, and sociology of education. Ellis has been appointed book review editor of the *American Sociological Review,* effective September 1, 1960. He continues his work on the Stanford Study of the Stress Concomitants of Social Mobility.

Ted T. Jitodai has been appointed instructor in courses on introductory sociology, population, and methodology.

Kenneth Polk has been appointed instructor for 1960–61 to teach courses in principles of sociology, delinquency and criminology, and methodology.

Other members of the teaching staff in residence are Herbert Bisno, Theodore B. Johannis, Jr., Benton Johnson, and James L. Price.

The Department of Sociology was allocated four additional fellowships under the National Defense Education Act, bringing the total to eight.

University of Pennsylvania.—Herbert Gamberg, doctoral candidate at Princeton University, and Seymour Leventman, formerly at Pennsylvania State University, have joined the staff as instructors.

E. Digby Baltzell, who has been promoted to

associate professor, is completing a book on De Tocqueville.

William Kephart has been elected chairman of the Research Section of the National Council on Family Relations. His book, *The Family, Society, and the Individual*, is being published in January.

Thorsten Sellin has returned from a year's sabbatical leave during which he served as Fulbright lecturer at the University of Cambridge. While in Europe he lectured at the Universities of London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Helsinki, Uppsala, Louvain, Brussels, Paris, Athens, and La Laguna at Tenerife. He was an official delegate of the United States to the Second United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders in London, and in September he presided over the Fourth International Congress of Criminology at The Hague. He received an honorary doctorate from the University of Leiden, the eleventh such award by that University since its founding in 1575.

Dorothy Swaine Thomas is serving as a member of the Technical Advisory Committee on Population for the United State Census Bureau.

Vincent Whitney is again serving as chairman of the Committee on Grants-in-Aid of the Social Science Research Council.

Marvin Wolfgang has received the August Vollmer Research Award for his book, *Patterns in Criminal Homicide*. This study received honorable mention in the Denis Carroll Prize competition of the International Society of Criminology. He is serving as consultant in criminology research to the Social Science Research Center of the University of Puerto Rico.

Two grants have been received in the Department from the Ford Foundation, both for three years. Thorsten Sellin and Marvin Wolfgang will direct a study of the measurement of delinquency with Norman Johnston, Ian Lennox, and Stanley Turner serving as research associates; the second grant is for analyses of urban migration data from the 1960 census and for the study of historical data on the role of migration in industrialization and urbanization. Hope Tisdale Eldridge and Ann Miller are research associates on this project, under the direction of Dorothy S. Thomas.

Dorothy Thomas and Everett S. Lee are collaborating with Benjamin Malzberg in an analysis of New York state data on the incidence of mental disease in relation to migration to the state. The study is supported by the Research Foundation for Mental Hygiene.

David Glass of the London School of Economics was the guest and speaker at a luncheon in October sponsored jointly with Haverford College.

Pomona College.—The *Journal* is indebted to Alvin H. Scaff, of Addis Ababa, for an account of the life of the late Ray Baber, from which the following is drawn:

Ray E. Baber, aged 69, died on June 20 after a long illness in Los Angeles. One of the distinguished second generation of American sociologists, he studied under the brilliant pioneer, E. A. Ross, at the University of Wisconsin. His Ph.D. dissertation, "Changes in the American Family in One Generation" (1923), made sociological history. His interest in the sociology of the family never flagged; he published important new material on the Japanese family after his retirement and only a year before his death. His textbook, *Marriage and the Family*, has long been used in hundreds of colleges and universities throughout the country. He was a member of the committee which in 1954 published a research report (*Our Needy Aged*) on problems of old age assistance in California.

Dr. Baber came to Pomona College in 1939 and became chairman of the Department seven years later. Prior to this he had taught at Lignan University, Canton, China, the Universities of Wisconsin and Illinois, and New York University, where he was once voted the most popular teacher on the campus. After retirement from Pomona College in 1956, he immediately took a two-year assignment in teaching and research at International Christian University in Tokyo. Previously, in 1954, he had spent a year in Japan on a Fulbright research grant.

Active in community life, Ray Baber was chairman of the Claremont Co-ordinating Council for four years and a founder and first president of the Claremont Community Welfare Board.

Presbyterian–St.Luke's Hospital, Chicago.—The Department of Patient Care Research has been awarded a grant from the National Institutes of Health to study the consequences of the experimental program in the School of Nursing. Charles Van Buskirk, assistant professor of psychology, State University of Iowa, is serving as principal investigator on a part-time basis.

in planning and developing research and applied activities in the social and behavioral sciences and will be concerned especially with matters of design, methodology, and execution of research.

The Social Science Institute announces an expansion of its program of training in community mental health research for students who seek the Ph.D. degree in anthropology, psychology, sociology, or related social sciences. This program is designed to prepare students for research positions involving the application of theories and methods of social science to the field of mental health. Particular course programs are developed for individual students by an interdisciplinary committee composed of: John C. Glidewell, psychology; Mildred B. Kantor, sociology; Howard S. Gall, sociology; Raymond G. Hunt, psychology; David J. Pittman, sociology; James M. Vanderplas, psychology; Albert F. Wessen, sociology; and George Winokur, psychiatry.

Annual appointments in this program carry a minimum stipend of $2,400 plus tuition and are available to students who have completed one year of graduate training in one of the social sciences. Applications for appointments for the academic year 1961–62 should be directed to the Program Director by March 31, 1961.

Inquiries may be addressed to: Program Director, Community Mental Health Research Training Program, Social Science Institute, Washington University, St. Louis 30, Missouri.

Western Michigan University.—Robert A. Black has been appointed instructor in sociology.

Donald H. Bouma has been appointed associate professor of sociology.

Milton J. Brawer has been appointed assistant professor of sociology.

University of Wisconsin.—William H. Sewell has returned to the chairmanship of the Department after a year as a fellow at the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences at Palto Alto.

Marshall Clinard, president-elect of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, has just returned from two years in India as Ford Foundation consultant on urban community development.

Norman B. Ryder is on research leave, in residence for the year.

Seven new men have joined the Department this year: Albert J. Reiss, Jr., formerly chairman of the Department of Sociology at the State University of Iowa, came to the Department as professor and director of the Survey Research Laboratory. David Mechanic and Keith Warner joined the staff as assistant professors. Four new instructors have been appointed: Milton Bloombaum from the University of California, Los Angeles; Paul Breer from Harvard; Don Johnson from Wisconsin; and Richard Peterson from the University of Illinois and Washington University at St. Louis.

M. S. Gore, director of the Delhi School of Social Work, who will be a visiting professor in the spring semester, will teach a course on Indian civilization and one on social problems of modern India.

Edgar F. Borgotta, professor of sociology at Cornell University, will join the Department as a research professor beginning July 1, 1961.

Brandeis University.—The Graduate Program in sociology offers an opportunity in 1961–62 to a restricted number of graduate students to work in close association with the faculty while preparing for advanced degrees. Applications for admission must be filed by March 1, 1961. Scholarships up to $1,250 are available for remission of tuition; fellowships carry stipends of from $500 to $2,000 in excess of tuition. To be considered for an award, one must apply by February 1, 1961. They are offered competitively to men and women.

Inquiries should be directed to: The Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences Brandeis University, Waltham 54, Massachusetts.

Julius Weinberg is writing an intellectual and social biography of Edward Alsworth Ross. He would appreciate any materials from readers pertinent to Ross's thought and life. Please communicate with: Julius Weinberg, 1113 Olivia, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

BOOK REVIEWS

Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait. By REINHARD BENDIX. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1960. Pp. 480. $5.75.

Few contemporary sociologists have been so close to Weber's tradition, both in subject matter and in problem formulation, as has Reinhard Bendix—a fact that makes his book about this giant predecessor especially interesting. This is the work not of a historian of social thought or of a methodologist of the social sciences but of a practicing midcentury sociologist. If it were not redundant to speak thus of Weber, we would say that Bendix's intellectual portrait presents us with a *sociological* Max Weber. It presents and clarifies the most important concepts and problems of his empirical sociology, throwing new light on Weber's method of work and showing the internal coherence and continuity of his thought. The central theme is the complex interplay of interest constellations, status groups, and authority in different societies in their reciprocal relation to ideas and beliefs. A pertinent suggestion, that the conditions of solidarity based on interests or ideas and the moral order of authority based on belief in legitimacy are the two perspectives through which a comprehensive view of society can be obtained, serves to show the coherence and complementarity of Weber's two central interests, the sociology of religion and politics (e.g., p. 293).

In line with the general conception of the book the author refuses to move into consideration of the methodological disputes in which Weber became involved as a member of the German intellectual world of his time (p. 20). Some readers may regret this decision, but the important works of Schelting and Parsons and a yet unpublished essay by Lazarsfeld should allow them to become familiar with this dimension of Weber's opus. Moreover, discussing Weber's actual methodology in the book's central chapter, "Max Weber's Image of Society," Bendix implies that a considerable part of his methodological writing was not immediately relevant to his own research.

The book is obviously not a portrait of Weber the politician, an aspect studied in Wolfgang J. Mommsen's *Max Weber und die Deutsche Politik, 1890–1920.* Nor is it a psychological study, for which much of the material can be found in the biography by Weber's wife and suggestive ideas for which are offered by Gerth and Mills in their introduction to the *Essays* and by H. Stuart Hughes in *Consciousness and Society.* This is a study of Weber the scientist, an intellectual portrait and, as such, only one of the many books that can, should, and have been written on Weber.

This is, certainly, an objective and a faithful presentation, an excellent summary of Weber's ideas, brought together from different publications, many of which in particular parts of the great *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft,* not yet translated. In his interpretations, even in the selection and reorganization of the expository parts (see p. 21), Bendix brings out a new view of the work of the master, often correcting or questioning other formulations of it. This new view should prove highly fruitful to those interested in comparative macrosociological research, a central concern in our time of rapid social change.

The section on Weber's political sociology (Part III) makes one aware of the usefulness of the analyses of patrimonialism and of bureaucracy without political control for the study of political processes in authoritarian regimes (non-democratic–non-totalitarian systems) and even in totalitarian regimes after the initial charismatic phase. Who could deny the contemporary applicability of the thesis that the new religious conceptions have originated outside the great centers of civilization because man distant from them has cause to face the course of the world with questions of his own? This theme, central to *Ancient Judaism*—a "sociology of innovation," as Bendix calls it—could be fruitful for a sociology of contemporary ideologies and social movements. To have worked out such possibilities here, however, might only have led many readers to confusion about Weber's own thought—detracting thereby from the main purpose at hand.

Some "Weberphiles" may find the study too dispassionate, too unpolemical. These should

remember that, apart from the methodological writings, the critiques and countercritiques of *The Protestant Ethic*, and the strictly political activity, their hero was dispassionate even when deeply involved. The involvement of Bendix with the work of the master and with its meaning for us should be clear to anyone reading the last two chapters, especially the very successful integration of the "scientific" elements of the political writings with the academic writings about the modern state, an attempt to make up for the unfinished *Staatssoziologie* (as Winckelmann has also attempted in his one-volume edition of these writings). The realistic (if you will, skeptical) analysis of democratic politics (pp. 432–49) which focuses on the preconditions for a democratic political order based on legal authority—freedom for groups and individuals, combined with an efficient administration—should be valuable to those, particularly in underdeveloped areas, who tend toward an empty, ideological view of democracy. The threats to modern society from bureaucratic rule in the absence of legal domination, from rule of officials in the absence of control by responsible politicians, from mob action in the absence of strong political parties, from the agitation of coffee-house intellectuals in the absence of an organized working class, are relevant insights.

Bendix's analysis of the inherent tensions between formal and substantive rationality in modern law and legal authority, and his emphasis on the integration of sociology of law and sociology of politics in Weber, should lead away from the prevalent one-sided focus on charisma and bureaucracy. Gerth's and Mills's construction of the irruption of charisma and of the process of routinization of charisma into traditionalism or bureaucratization as a kind of philosophy of history is not shared by Bendix (pp. 299–300). Nor does he hold with Parsons' extension of the concept of charisma to the point of almost identifying it with legitimacy. Rightly, he underlines the multilineal—and by no means irreversible—processes of social change. He stresses those inherent in every system of domination when its rulers fail to live up to the standard by which they justify their domination, violating the limits based on the reciprocity of expectations between rulers and ruled. The idea of such shared beliefs in legitimacy is central both to the analysis of the functioning of political institutions and to the understanding of social change. But, just as in Weber's sociology of religion the accent was never exclusively, though dominantly, on religious values and beliefs but also on the social *Träger* (carriers) of those values—status groups of religiointellectual leaders and the interest constellations supporting them—so here, too, he focuses on the rulers and their staffs. The fiscal, military, and judicial administrative apparatus develops its own interests, and conflict between these, the other great source of social change, forms the dominant theme of his political sociology, as can perhaps best be seen in the comparative analysis of patrimonialism and feudalism in East and West and in different countries of the West. This analysis, central to *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, was already implicit in *The Religion of China*.

Considering the sociology of religion, Bendix follows the same method of stressing Weber's concern with certain recurrent structural problems common to different societies. The focus on religious roles differentiates Bendix's presentation from that of Parsons (in *The Structure of Social Action*). The latter sees in Weber's work "primarily a comparative study of the ethics of other religions in respects relevant to the spirit of capitalism and the ethics of ascetic Protestantism" (*op. cit.*, p. 540). Bendix's presentations, summarized in an excellent table (p. 275), is much more complex, and perhaps for that reason less brilliant, but closer to Weber's ideas.

It is interest-constellations—a concept close to the idea of class in its broadest sense, making people receptive to specific ideas by an "elective affinity" that leads to the emergence of status groups with a distinctive style of life and ethos bringing stability to a society—which form, together with the later emphasis on authority, Weber's main conceptual tools and the orientation of his research in the comparative study of civilizations. With these a one-sided materialistic interpretation and an equally one-sided spiritualistic interpretation of culture and history are possible; as Weber says, however, "each is equally possible, but each, if it doesn't serve as the preparation, but as the conclusion of an investigation, accomplishes equally little in the interest of historical truth" (quoted on p. 68).

A text of Hintze is used to summarize the perspective that guided Weber: "Wherever interests are vigorously pursued, an ideology

tends to be developed also to give meaning, re-enforcement and justification to these interests. . . . And conversely: wherever ideas are to conquer the world, they require the leverage of real interests, although frequently ideas will more or less detract [sic] these interests from their original aim" (p. 69). I wish I could refer to the evidence presented supporting this interpretation of the relation between ideas and social structure (e.g., pp. 52, 68, 85, 90, 113, 115, 266–67). This stress on contradictory tendencies, real interests, and status groups, leads to a focus on the understandable behavior of individuals in society and to a rejection of any attempt to interpret societies as wholes in a way that might recall German romantic thought or the sociologistic confusion latent in Durkheim. (This position I would call "methodological individualism.")

Following this perspective, the presentation of *The Protestant Ethic* stresses the way the social structure of the sectarian community complemented and supported the belief system, the ethos, and its psychological consequences as factors in the development of a secular ethic of economic activity. The exposition of the different elements entering into the comparative studies of religion leads to a certain neglect of the theme of disenchantment with the world, the progressive rationalization of life, etc., although this theme is not entirely neglected (particularly in the summary of the sociology of law). This neglect is also the result of underscoring the "as-if" character of the typological constructions. The technique that Bendix calls "construction of logical irreconcilability" (p. 405) actually allows him to sort out, especially in his paired concepts, the constituent elements in each empirical constellation and thereby to point to areas of tension, to the persistence in every society of contradictory tendencies that could lead to different developments often depending on more or less fortuitous circumstances.

Perhaps, even at the risk of repetitiousness, the numerous explicit or implicit references to the differences between East and West and the factors that cumulatively have contributed to the uniqueness of Western civilization could have been brought together in a summary. The suggested link between this East-West theme and Hegel (pp. 383–85) is an extremely interesting point. In accounting for the uniqueness of the West, Bendix makes special reference to *Ancient Judaism*, the study on "the City" and the writings on sociology of law. works of which Parsons' classic anlysis takes far less account.

I wish that the implications for Weber's political sociology—and, even more, for the role of the social scientist and intellectual in society—of the distinction between *Gesinnungsethik* and *Verantwortungsethik* had been touched on, especially since there is an explicit recognition of the strong ethical undertones of many formulations (e.g., the criticism of a status group—the Junkers—acting as interest group and of classes falsely taking over a style of life not their own; pp. 66–68 in the excellent chapter on his early studies).

It is impossible to refer to the large number of fruitful ideas the attentive reader will find all through the book, often in footnotes, which space, unfortunately, did not allow Bendix to develop extensively. The style of the exposition, uninterrupted by a profusion of minor comments and critical remarks or by pedantic bibliographic references, will facilitate access to Weber's gigantic work for those unwilling or unable to read his opus. But the book can be still more valuable to those who, familiar with his work, are interested in a new systematic analysis highlighting its over-all conception, unity, and basic concepts.

JUAN J. LINZ
Columbia University

Man's Way: A Preface to the Understanding of Human Society. By WALTER GOLDSCHMIDT. Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1959. Pp. 253. $4.00.

Although this treatise on social organization and social evolution is inadequate as a scientific theory, it forcefully exhibits the relevance of social anthropology to sociology. To be sure, the conceptual framework is imprecise: "culture" and "society," for example, are defined on the basic of "community," but subsequent usage makes "culture of a society" proper; "social forms" (p. 14) becomes "human behavior" (p. 31) and then a "recurrent cultural behavior" (p. 92). However, rigorous methodological standards are not met by any present-day theoretical work in social science. Therefore, the following criteria may more clearly indicate this book's worth: Is the vulnerability of the work obvious? Are general con-

siderations called for? Are alternative positions clearly indicated?

This work can easily be criticized: Advocacy of the necessity of eclecticism may be taken to be antitheoretical. Assertion of social imperatives in conditional form, but denying their status as laws (p. 220), invites tautological or teleological interpretations. Taxonomies of societies and evolutionary stages may not satisfy predictive standards (cf. pp. 126, 137). These issues provide grist for the methodologist's mill, but Goldschmidt's insightful approximations may thereby be overlooked.

The principles advanced of integration, differentiation, and process compel systematic analysis. At least three integrative doctrines are postulated: a diffused need committing man to social life; the instrumental nature of social forms in resolving inherent individual-societal conflicts; and an inner causal dynamics in technology distinguished from social organization. Differentiating principles include: the adjustive nature of social institutions; the concomitance of social and technological stages; functionally equivalent satisfaction of social imperatives; and unique historical developments. Internal and external processes involve the mechanisms of selection, continuity, and congruity. The sociologist will probably find himself in disagreement with Goldschmidt's treatment, but he should be stimulated to systematic consideration of comparative analyses.

Presentation of alternative views is not satisfactory. (Could it be otherwise?) A simplistic form of reductionism is rejected (p. 30); the directional force of ideas in social change is discounted outright (p. 141); and many views, such as that of structural differentiation, are disregarded as general positions.

Goldschmidt has admirably laid out the battleground. The loser is he who will not enter the contest.

RICHARD H. OGLES

Washington State University

The Social Psychology of Groups. By JOHN W. THIBAUT and HAROLD H. KELLEY. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1959. Pp. xiii+313. $7.00.

This book has better scope and precision than any other general work concerned with small group behavior has had. It should replace rather than supplement the many books of readings of uneven quality now serving as grist for assignments in college and graduate courses. As an inky thicket of testable hypotheses, this textbook balances the reading of Homans' more elegant and charming overview, *The Human Group*.

Nearly two-thirds of the book is given to the analysis of dyadic relationships, but by emphasizing the *functions* of two-person interaction the authors avoid exaggerated stress upon psychological process. The concerns of sociologists from Simmel and Ross to Parsons and Merton are neatly subsumed in a perspective sufficiently catholic to cover the social adaptations of the individual, the constraints of larger group systems, and the limitations imposed by cultural contexts. The last third of the text is reserved for attention to macrosocial phenomena.

In some ways this book goes a good distance toward supplying the psychological underpinning for functionalist sociology, not only in the authors' illuminating treatment of power, norms, status, and roles, but in their analytical procedure. Sometimes overworked, sometimes apparently empty exercises in schematizing, their use of the two-person "matrix of outcomes" is, for the most part, of great heuristic value. Moreover, a few of the dozens of matrixes shown summarize well what is already known or give a good point of departure for research designs.

The matrixes illustrate carefully formulated hypotheses which are then interpreted with references drawn from a bottomless reservoir of experimental findings, "think-pieces" by social scientists from every discipline and from most schools within disciplines, and from fragments of fiction and biography. The combination of formal theorizing with eclectic scanning of examples from "life and literature" is frequently unbearable for the reader. Generally, however, this procedure is justified, since the problems are intricate, the phenomena nonlogical, the literature unsatisfactory and unbounded. And the reader is aided by excellent chapter summaries, the repetition of points across the chapters, and a good first chapter on concepts.

The task the authors set themselves, that of writing what is at once a text and a guide to future small-group research, perhaps required this heady blend of formalism and eclecticism. But in places this approach becomes a distaste-

ful mix of jargons. In summarizing their approach to the problem of homophily, for example, Thibaut and Kelley introduce "value areas . . . opinion support . . . learned reinforcement value . . . value similarity . . . dyad formation . . . unexpressed dissimilarity . . . perceived similarity . . . stimulus value . . . and . . . relationship formation."

What gives this book its durable worth is neither its elaboration of the matrix of outcomes nor its fabulous coverage of research findings. Rather, it is the achievement of the authors in interrelating such elements as salience, levels of comparison, level of aspiration, and dissonance from the cognitive-perceptual side of Lewinian field theory with such concepts as status and role, power and dependence, and normative structure from the many rich sources that address these elements. The treatment of levels of comparison is especially promising; it gives strategic location in future group studies to reference-group phenomena. In attending with equal sensitivity to the properties of systems and of actors, Thibaut and Kelley seem to shortchange only one essential element, namely, *temporal* effects, though even these are not ignored.

ROBERT A. DENTLER

University of Kansas

Evidence and Inference: The Hayden Colloquium on Scientific Concept and Method. Edited by DANIEL LERNER. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. Pp. 164. $4.00.

This book attempts to do something that very much needs doing. It raises expectations, however, which it does not entirely fulfil. Specialists in diverse fields—history, law, psychoanalysis, nuclear physics, sociology, and medical research—were asked to report on the roles played by evidence and inference in the areas of their particular interest. In other words, practitioners—that is, expert compilers and users of evidence and makers of inferences—were asked by the organizers of the first Hayden Colloquium to stand back and reflect upon activities which engage them during almost every moment of their professional life. The philosopher of science is badly in need of the products of such reflection. Regardless of his abilities, energies, and good intentions, he does not "keep up" with the work actually done in the sciences. This fact goes part of the way toward explaining why philosophers of science become so fond of models and logical schemes which seem remote to the scientists whose work is presumably reflected in them. It is good to have those who are "in the know" report on such crucial issues as evidence and inference.

But how does one "report" on such problems? The problem faced by the specialist in attempting to communicate about his specialty to the layman is a difficult one. Not all the essays in this volume succeed in steering a straight course between generality and vagueness on one side and particularity and technicality on the other. Paul Lazarsfeld, in his essay on social research, admittedly prefers to take his chances with particularity. The result is an informative essay about a number of techniques widely used in social research. It will at least give the philosopher of science food for thought. Raymond Aron's essay on history founders on the shoals of generality. Without paying much attention to the large recent literature on the subject, he touches on almost every problem in the philosophy of history, but on a level of analysis of which this quotation is typical: "The aim of causal inquiry . . . is to reveal the structure of history, to disentangle the chain of great underlying causes and particular events" (p. 31). The essay on law by Henry M. Hart, Jr., and John T. McNaughton, though more in focus than Aron's, attempts to cover more than can be handled in the brief space available. It is a survey of problems in the course of which several interesting issues are tacitly raised but hardly discussed. Erik H. Erikson's discussion of psychoanalysis is only apparently a concrete one. It consists of what might best be called marginal comments on a particular clinical encounter which leave at least one reader just as mystified about evidence and inference in psychoanalysis as he was before.

The paper on nuclear research by Martin Deutsch makes central a theme which runs through a number of the other papers as well: the element of subjectivity in scientific experimentatiton. Deutsch notes "the striking degree to which an experimenter's preconceived image of the process which he is investigating determines the outcome of his observations" (p. 96). His concern, however, is to depict the psychological role of such models in different types of experiments rather than the way in

which such models logically influence the results of experiments.

The final essay, Jacob Fine's "In Search of a Poison" (included here from the issue of *Daedalus* in which this set of papers was originally published, though not a contribution to the colloquium) is a beautiful write-up of a series of experiments designed to isolate the cause of death in certain cases of shock. Fine has succeeded in communicating with the layman, not by talking about evidence and inference, but by giving an almost classical account of how they function in a particular episode of medical research. Its particularity has clear-cut universal implications. This essay alone is worth the price of the book—or it would be, if one could approve of a four-dollar price for an offset reproduction (misprints and all) of a part of the Fall, 1958, issue of *Daedalus* which cost only $1.25.

RUDOLPH H. WEINGARTNER

San Francisco State College

Henry E. Sigerist on the History of Medicine. Edited by FELIX MARTI-IBANEZ. New York: MD Publications, Inc., 1960. Pp. xviii+313. $6.75.

Henry E. Sigerist on the Sociology of Medicine. Edited by MILTON I. ROEMER. New York: MD Publications, Inc., 1960. Pp. xiii+397. $6.75.

Henry E. Sigerist has been acclaimed as the outstanding medical historian of our time, as one who broke new ground in the history of medicine and immensely widened its horizons and objectives. There can be no doubt that this was one of the major aims of his life's work. Sigerist thought of himself, however, as more than just a historian of medicine; on various occasions he referred to himself also as a medical sociologist. Furthermore, he not only set as his life's goal a monumental history *and* sociology of medicine, but even the most superficial review of his published writing makes abundantly evident that for him the sociology of medicine was an integral part of his work as an investigator, teacher, and writer.

Nonetheless, recognition of the significance of his work in medical sociology has been retarded partly by the brilliance of his reputation as a historian, partly because it was developed and carried on outside the orthodox confines and interests of academic sociology, and partly because of his social and political views. Lack of attention to Sigerist's work in this area was probably also a consequence of the tendency current among American professionals and academicians to look askance at anyone proficient in more than one narrowly specialized field and to regard with ambivalent admiration anyone with a broad range of interests and wide erudition. Finally, it must be pointed out that Sigerist's contributions to the sociology of medicine are scattered through a series of books and articles spread over a period of more than thirty years.

This imbalance has now been in part removed by the publication of the two volumes reviewed here. The distinction between the two collections of papers is largely an artificial one, for Sigerist was both historian *and* sociologist. The essays in the volume labeled "history" were selected by Sigerist himself, but historical and sociological ideas and aspects will be found interwoven in both volumes. The reason for this is simple. As one studies the work of Henry Sigerist, it is evident that he was concerned with setting out panoramically the development of health service in society, with understanding the phases or stages through which this evolution has passed, and with elucidating the factors and processes involved. In his mind's eye he saw this panorama of development from the earliest periods of human life through the present into the future. Within this frame of reference Sigerist conceived the sociology of medicine as the study of the social and economic structure of past and present societies and the determination of the place and function of health services in these societies. Most generally therefore, Sigerist in the course of his work had moved toward : historical sociology of health services.

His position may be stated as follows. Mai lives in society and is a member of a group By entering into relations with his fellows, h creates a number of social systems. Thes eventuate in various institutions, modes o life, and the like. In living together, men ex perience problems concerned with health whic affect the individual and/or the group. A societies develop some kind of social organiz tion to deal with such problems. The natu of this organization and how it functions a determined by various factors, some scientifi others deriving from other areas of communit

life. Thus the goal of medicine is a social one, since its aim is to enable the individual as far as possible to be a useful and healthy member of society and to protect the group. This function is carried out in a social relationship involving two parties, the physician and the patient, or, more broadly, the medical profession and the rest of society. The nature of this relationship is not the same in all societies, nor has the medical function been performed in the same manner at all times. This raises certain questions: What has been the position of the sick person in different societies? Of the healer? What did disease mean in different historical periods and in different societies? What factors have been involved in these changes? Sociological concepts are interwoven with or implied in the historical development. Notions of social organization, social class, social status, attitudes, and others are used to work out patterns characteristic of various civilizations or periods in history.

Many of the papers in these volumes can be considered building blocks for the intellectual edifice envisaged by Sigerist. Among these are "The Special Position of the Sick," "The Place of the Physician in Modern Society," "From Bismarck to Beveridge," "William Harvey's Position in the History of European Thought," "The Social History of Medicine," and "The Development of the Hospital." In these and other papers the reader can see the mind of a scholar, philosopher, and social analyst at work on problems of the present, but ranging back and forth in time and relating and comparing the past and the present. Henry Sigerist saw historicosociological analysis as an instrument to be employed for the benefit of human beings. It is given to but few men to have original visions, and Sigerist was one of them.

Much of what he envisaged is today a reality. Medical sociology is a recognized area of study, the economics of health service is receiving increasing attention, and the social nature of health service is under increasing investigation. Yet there are few studies in the historical sociology of health. One can only hope that the writings that Sigerist left behind will be read by those concerned with the sociology of health. To some, what he says will appear obvious; but the reader should keep in mind that these volumes cover a period from 1928 to 1955. What is obvious today was not so obvious decades ago. These papers, like the previously published writings of Sigerist, are timely and meaningful and offer much that can still be learned with benefit. The product of a civilized and urbane mind, these essays cover a varied and wide range of knowledge and will quicken the interest of the reader. The volumes in which they appear are tastefully produced and well indexed.

GEORGE ROSEN

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Zur Berufswahl Schweizer Ärzte ("The Vocational Choice of Swiss Physicians"). By FRANZISKA BAUMGARTEN. Bern: Francke Verlag, 1959. Pp. 189. Swiss Fr. 18.

There are styles of research and styles of writing which are quite out of fashion in American sociology. The subtitle of this book, "A Contribution to the Genealogy of Occupations," is justified, first, by the discussion of data on the occupations of fathers and grandfathers, as well as other relatives, of Swiss physicians and, second, by intermittent hints of a concern no American student would dare to show his colleagues, namely, the biological inheritance of occupational predispositions. The data presented in this volume are derived from questionnaires mailed to all Swiss physicians, more than 50 per cent of whom returned them. It is possible that, if a small sample rather than a population had been approached and some follow-up procedures had been used, a statistically more reliable result might have been obtained. While for genealogical purposes this might not be so important, good statistics would have been of interest in relating occupational distributions to opportunity structure. But this matter is not treated statistically. The data involving more than two related individuals are almost exclusively presented in anecdotal form, which is fascinating, but they would profit greatly from statistical analysis, granting that sociometric statistics provide certain difficulties.

The difference between the basic assumption of the book and the studies of intergenerational mobility with which American sociologists are familar is well indicated by a sentence in one of the concluding paragraphs: "While Galton claims that heredity is everything, . . . the

statements of our physicians suggest that the influence of the environment is as great as that of [inherited] predispositions."

This book will raise many interesting questions for methodologists and those who have a substantive interest in the social origins of physicians.

ARNOLD SIMMEL

New York State Department of Health

Sociological Theory and Mental Disorder. By H. WARREN DUNHAM. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1959. Pp. xii+289. $5.50.

Plainly described, this volume is a collection of Dunham's published writings and research reports, to which have been added an introductory essay and three previously unpublished papers—one on the social personality of the paranoid-schizophrene, another on trends in mental disease in the United States, and a third on the ideological position of psychoanalysis. The various articles are organized under four general headings: theoretical perspectives; the ecology of mental disorder; personality, role, and mental disorder; and culture and mental disorder.

The articles, as may be expected of any man's long-term work, are uneven in quality. The author is at his best in the critical assessment of ecological and epidemiological studies and their associated methodologies. His epochal research on mental disorders in the Chicago area, represented here by an early report, has become clouded by particular methodological controversies and indeed, in some quarters, by peremptory challenges to ecology itself. However, Dunham's research on schizophrenic patients and his investigation into the relation of schizophrenia to criminal behavior stand as solid and useful pieces of work, although they are in a somewhat older sociopsychological tradition. The papers grouped under culture and mental disorder, particularly on war and personality disorganization and on war and mental disorder, will be the least satisfying to the hopeful reader. Perhaps they can serve best as signposts for the unwary to stay out of what must be regarded as sociological bush country.

Two previously unpublished papers well reflect the author's sound and careful scholarship, both in handling statistical materials and in generalizing from case-history data. The study of paranoid schizophrenics is the more provocative of the two, although the claim that this is a personality study in the interactional sense will be questioned by those familiar with Cameron's formulation of the paranoid pseudocommunity. The paper on the ideological place of psychoanalysis might have been better omitted, inasmuch as the things said in it have been said much better by other writers.

Any review of this book will have a gratuitous flavor because the author criticizes his own contributions to the field with the same *sang-froid* as those of others. However, if the integrity of Dunham's extant work is beyond question, many sociologists concerned with mental disorders will nevertheless find his theoretical viewpoint synthetic and omissive. The impression which he quite clearly leaves, that sociology must await improvements in psychiatric diagnosis, particularly of schizophrenia, in order to push forward its own research fronts, has an odd sound today as psychiatrists turn increasingly to social scientists for qualitatively new ways of thinking about mental disorder. That sociologists should develop their own formulations of mental deviation in terms of community definitions and segregative reactions is for Dunham little more than a secondary expedient. Yet the theoretical deficiency of this position shows through when he discusses the personalities of a hospital sample of paranoid schizophrenics, at the same time disclosing that staff psychiatrists had been compelled to rely upon descriptions of social behavior in the case histories in order to make their differential diagnoses.

This book would have been much more complete and currently useful had it included or appended some discussion of the large number of studies on the hospital community and the action analysis of mental patient roles, which have accumulated in the past ten or fifteen years. This might have been done easily enough either as a review of the literature or as a bibliographical appendix. That Dunham appreciates the importance of this new area is revealed by a brief statement that he will have soon published his own institutitonal study of a mental hospital. It will be interesting to see what kind of a theoretical orientation he

uses to cross over into this new field for his talents.

EDWIN M. LEMERT

University of California
Davis

The Mother-Child Interaction in Psychosomatic Disorders. By ANN M. GARNER and CHARLES WENAR, with JENNIE B. KAHN and JEAN P. CHAPMAN. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1959. Pp. x+290. $6.00.

When and how do children develop susceptibility to psychosomatic disorders? Based on psychoanalytic theory as well as on the clinical experience of the authors, the hypothesis explored in this book states that the root of these disorders may be found in faulty interaction between mother and child during the latter's first year of life. The mother of the infant who later manifests psychosomatic difficulties —so the hypothesis goes—lacks "motherliness"; she looks after the infant's bodily needs but can neither meet them effectively nor find personal satisfaction in the process. As a result, both mother and infant are frustrated, and maladaptive patterns are laid down.

To test this diffuse hypothesis three groups of six- to twelve-year-old children and their mothers were studied. The groups were equated for children's intelligence, sex, race, socioeconomic status, and family constellation; they were differentiated on the basis of diagnosis (twenty-six had psychosomatic illnesses, twenty-six had neurotic problems, and twenty-six had non-psychosomatic illnesses). Through a variety of methods that included interviews with mothers, controlled observation of mother-child interaction, and administration of projective tests to mothers and children, the investigators attempted to reconstruct the past and understand the present relationships between mother and child. Elaborate statistical comparisons of the three groups along numerous dimensions yielded some evidence that could be interpreted as supporting the basic hypothesis. But irrelevant and inconsistent findings also emerged, so that the study is at best suggestive.

No one could be more aware of the shortcomings of the study than the investigators themselves. With disarming frankness and impressive methodological sophistication they regularly describe what they might have done —but did not do—to improve one or another aspect of their work. Thus the fundamental weaknesses of the study are best phrased in the investigators' own words: "An hypothesis which makes statements about the early months of life should most properly be tested by means of direct observation of maternal and infant behavior. In the same way, statements about the continuity of behavior should be tested by continuing longitudinal methods. Probably the most unwelcome choices made by the investigators were the decisions to deal with school-age children rather than with infants, and the decision to do a cross-sectional rather than a longitudinal study" (p. 20). One can only hope that such "make-do" choices become so increasingly unwelcome as to be rejected in favor of more adequate alternatives.

MARY E. W. GOSS

Cornell University Medical College

Family Organization and Crisis: Maintenance of Integration in Families with a Severely Mentally Retarded Child. By BERNARD FARBER. ("Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, XXV, No. 1.) Lafayette, Ind.: Child Development Publications, 1960. Pp. 95. $3.00.

In this, the second of two monographs based on interviews with nearly five hundred parents of severely retarded children, Bernard Farber improves the general rigor and utility of techniques available for analysis of family behavior. The study achieves its aim of assessing the ways families organize to "counteract the disintegrative effects" of having a retarded child. But among sociologists this monograph will endure because it contains a widely applicable strategy for handling generic aspects of family research.

The model used is game theory. An "original state of Nature" in which no game is played is assumed. The advent of a severely retarded child is defined as a move by Nature to undermine family organization, requiring effective countermoves. Farber's major hypothesis —that a *consistent* orientation toward parental roles, or toward the welfare of normal family members, or toward the home, constitutes effective counteraction—is first derived neatly

from his model and then tested through a series of ingenious indexes. The strategies open to Nature amount in essence to the social and economic circumstances surrounding the family, which are also indexed and measured.

Clever indexes of parental values are combined to delineate three consistent, integrative types of family organization termed "traditional," "domestic," and "companionate." Traditional families respond to their crises by reinforcing the role specialization characteristic of each normal family member; domestic families, by giving special emphasis to the home welfare of their normal children; and companionate families, by extensive parental sharing of the maternal role. The types are also defined on matters of upward mobility, interaction among siblings, and community participation. Some idiosyncratic strategies are considered, but families not classified in one of these types are categorized as residual and used for comparison.

The consistent forms of organization are shown to resist stress most effectively if family circumstances or moves of Nature are held constant. Farber had shown earlier that marital integration was usually adversely affected by the advent of a severely retarded child and that it serves as an adequate index of over-all family integration; thus, his index of marital integration becomes his best instrument for assessing the success of alternative strategies.

Farber's practical objective is to evaluate the utility for families of institutional placement of retarded children. He is able to conclude that institutionalization is *not* a solution in itself of problems facing such families, though it may improve chances for integration. He also shows empirically that a retarded child tends continually to become the youngest child in the family, socially, and that normal sisters who serve as mother-surrogates are likely to suffer personal maladjustments as a result. This monograph offers helping practitioners a great deal more than the customary "understanding" they have come to expect—often at best—from survey analysis.

Unfortunately, Farber obtained no direct data on either the retarded or the normal children in these families. As in studies of child-rearing practices, the researcher must "invent" the children from the responses made by parents. Farber has avoided overinterpretation, however, by restricting his primary concern t the topic of marital integration.

In the sphere of marital relations Farber index of integration, his index of role tensio and his scale of mobility attitudes are superb representative of the increasing technical pow er of the survey to answer questions that ma ter to practitioners and social scientists alik The monograph gives one confidence that en pirical precision and meaningfulness in fami research are not always inversely related.

ROBERT A. DENTLI

University of Kansas

Tropical Childhood: Cultural Transmission a Learning in a Rural Puerto Rican Villag By DAVID LANDY. Chapel Hill: Universit of North Carolina Press, 1959. Pp. xii 291. $6.00.

This earnestly written description of chi training in a Puerto Rican village was link to a large-scale study of family and fertility Puerto Rico and to another, of cross-cultur differences in socialization, in the United Stat Landy, apparently pledged to produce scientif data for several grand schemes, did his be He and his family and assistants spent eig months in a small sugar-cane-growing cor munity. After making a census, they selected sample of eighteen families in the lower-cla group for intensive study, having long int views with both parents and using doll pl and other study techniques on the childre Three chapters, including one on marriage a the family, introduce the reader to the cor munity; four more describe socialization; tv provide a comparison with data from N England; and there are two concluding theor ical chapters.

The study is neat and seems methodica there are thirty-eight tables, based largely interview results, and everything is scor and weighted. But the author is at his be when he is being least self-consciously scie tific. It is not really illuminating to be tol "My analysis of songs, stories, myths a other folklore they [parents] were exposed t or that parents exposed their children to, led the conclusion that songs are generally n often sung by parents to children" (p. 13(Where Landy observed, however, and repo

what he saw, the description is pleasant, interesting, and educational.

The author concludes that the Puerto Rican lower-class child is afforded but a weak ego structure; the male child in particular is ill prepared for the demands of adult life. This interpretation is made out of data, largely interview data; it is straightforward and, presumably, verifiable in some way. Landy's beliefs in an underlying and pervasive fatalism, in a "mañana" orientation, and in a progressively more disorganized family structure, however, cannot really be thrown back against the data. They may have been accepted too unskeptically as first premises.

In ending the book, the author suggests the main shortcomings of his research, one being that not enough account was taken of variables relating to emotionality and love. The reviewer would pose two others, both less intimidating. First, the concern with interview materials apparently triumphed over day-to-day ethnographic recording, even on such central themes as the interaction of children with children and of children with parents. We learn what people answered but not enough of what they do. Second, the data on family organization and social structure are either wanting or disappointingly shallow and, as a result, the socialization data lose force. This latter weakness is serious. Landy relies too heavily on the work of the reviewer and of other researchers in Puerto Rico. But their materials on family organization, collected earlier, are weak and conceptually inadequate. The author adds little that is new in this connection, and his references to studies of lower-class family organization elsewhere in the Caribbean reveal only uneven and casual familiarity with them. His use of such phrases as "the widespread consensuality, premarital or extramarital 'natural' children . . . and philandering . . . ," with none of these terms adequately defined, suggests that he had some strong opinions on family organization in Valle Caña; but he does not tell us what we need to know to understand.

As a study of how children are said to grow up in a rural Puerto Rican village and, to some extent, of how they do grow up, this modest and conscientiously prepared book succeeds. But one feels its author may have been made to serve too many masters. There are, incidentally, too many typographical errors, particularly in Spanish, to be ignored.

SIDNEY W. MINTZ

Yale University

The Family and Population Control: A Puerto Rican Experiment in Social Change. By REUBEN HILL, J. MAYONE STYCOS, and KURT W. BACK. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959. Pp. xxvi+481. $8.00.

Densely populated Puerto Rico is characterized as a country of demographic paradox. Few countries are so favorably situated for a potential decline in the birth rate, yet the birth rate thus far has declined very little. The people claim small-family goals, but they have large-family achievements. A family of about three children is almost universally regarded as the ideal, but the average achieved is about six. Facile explanations for Puerto Rico's high birth rate, such as the desire for large families, religion, ignorance of contraceptive methods, or unavailability of contraceptive materials, have been shown to be inapplicable. The key to the situation is sought in the present study in the decisions of husbands and wives and the methods by which they recognize their problems. In other words, techniques of psychological research are used to investigate the problem. The present report is the culmination of seven years of work during which the authors received advice and help from many sources —over one hundred and twenty persons are individually acknowledged in the preface of the book.

The book presents thirteen chapters that deal with such matters as the demographic setting, the evolution of the research project, family goals, facilitation mechanisms in family planning, incidence of birth control, steps toward a model of fertility dynamics, correlates of fertility control, a field experiment made to validate the model, and implications of the study for a program of fertility control and for commonwealth policies and programs.

The research involves an interactional frame of reference (between husbands and wives) that provided a body of theory from which diagnostic study questions could be formulated and tested, with the goal of providing the commonwealth with the findings necessary for

formulating policies and programs to reduce effectively the high birth rate. The research intentionally dealt chiefly with the hard core of the fertility problem—the many fertile couples who have little schooling. Hence, in the quantitative verification phase of the research, data were obtained from 888 participating families of proved fertility (at least one child in the union), with husband and wife living together and married from five to twenty years, wife with six grades of education or less, roughly equal numbers from four categories of fertility planners ("never-users," "quitters," "current-users," and "sterilized"), and widely distributed geographically within Puerto Rico. Thus, the study deals with special groups of the extensive lower class in Puerto Rico, and the results do not purport to represent conditions in the relatively small middle and upper classes.

It appears from the study that there are many reasons for the relatively modest achievements of the planned-parenthood clinics in rendering effective fertility control. While generally favorable attitudes exist towards the small family, the attitudes lack intensity and clarity. Adequate motivation and knowledge must characterize the couple rather than the partners as individuals; but husband and wife in Puerto Rico tend not to communicate their knowledge and attitudes in this area and thus often block otherwise favorable conditions for adequate motivation and information. Despite the fact that a substantial proportion of the adult population has at one time or another used a birth control method, contraceptive practice is characterized by irregularity and short-term use. A greater degree of communication, mutual understanding, and co-operation between partners is required for efficient family planning that is needed to precipitate use. The birth-control clinics have generally worked exclusively with the wife, as if she could practice birth control autonomously; they have completely disregarded the husband's traditional role of authority and family protector. Moreover, they have stressed methods that are not always acceptable to the people. They have ignored the deeply ingrained modesty of Puerto Rican women who stay away from clinics because they dread examinations by male physicians or because they fear being seen by village gossips as they enter the clinic. Although most Puerto Ricans in the lower class are aware that birth control is possible, they often lack an appreciation of the methods that are available, do not know where the clinics are located, and possess erroneous information about the nature and the consequences of the methods. The commonwealth government is assured by the authors that it has been too timid about religious obstacles, which are not strong among the people of the lower class.

Several experimental programs for fostering a greater and more sustained degree of family planning were tested on a small scale to see if they would work. Where attitudes toward birth control were unfavorable, it usually proved quite easy to change them, but it was a more difficult problem to instil the desire to keep up a sustained effort. In areas of the world where illiteracy is high and levels of living are low, word-of-mouth communication via primary groups or local opinion leaders is of much greater importance than is the direct impact of mass media for changing the opinions and knowledge of large numbers of the population. The birth-control clinics have not been a major element in social change in Puerto Rico for several reasons: first, the clinics are not utilized to any great extent by the general population; second, the Puerto Ricans tend to seek help relatively late in childbearing; and, third, attendance at clinics is characterized by high rates of defection. In the judgment of the authors, much more could be accomplished if it were possible to utilize the services of agencies that meet large numbers of people, such as the Department of Education through its adult-education and illiteracy classes, the Department of Health, the Division of Community Education, and the Department of Agriculture. It is recommended that the Puerto Rican Family Planning Association experiment with programs of mass persuasion on radio, television, and films, and that there be more research by pertinent organizations into methods of developing improved communication between husband and wife and of helping families achieve effective family planning.

There are, of course, some long-range factors that may, in time, help to reduce the birth rate in Puerto Rico; but their effects may come about slowly. Thus, the educational achievements of the people have been climbing. The women with some high-school or college edu-

cation have much smaller families than do those with less education, in Puerto Rico as elsewhere. The country is becoming quite industrialized, and a larger middle class is emerging. There is extensive migration to the United States and back, with the result that returning migrants bring with them customs and attitudes acquired while in the United States. These developments may result in greater aspirations for social mobility or socioeconomic ambitions among the people and provide a stronger incentive for efficient family planning than now exists.

The lessons learned in Puerto Rico have some implications for other countries also, especially those that are culturally similar to Puerto Rico. The authors have performed a genuine service.

WILSON H. GRABILL

Bureau of the Census

Family Planning, Sterility, and Population Growth. By RONALD FREEDMAN, PASCAL K. WHELPTON, and ARTHUR A. CAMPBELL. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1959. Pp. xi+515. $9.50.

Emerging population trends will never be completely understood until we have information for *the whole nation* on the factors which determine the number of children that married couples have and the time when they have them. This book provides many of the necessary facts, based on a nationwide study made in 1955. Several prior studies have dealt with the subject of family planning in more or less detail, but their results are for selected population groups or for a specific city and do not necessarily typify the ever changing conditions in the country as a whole. Moreover, they generally deal with the children born thus far and leave out expectations for the future. Much has been learned from these studies about the social and psychological factors affecting fertility and about the hypotheses, questions, and analyses that are the most rewarding for the study of population renewal. All these studies, including the present one, are important steps in a succession of ever improving studies of causes of variation in American fertility. In addition to the material from the 1955 study, the book deals with projections of the population to the year 2,000.

The 1955 study of family planning is based on interviews with a nationwide area-probability sample of 2,713 white married women eighteen to thirty-nine years old. Among the principal findings are the following:

1. Fecundity impairments are very widespread in the American population, as in other populations; but they are mainly a personal problem for the couples involved rather than a significant item in determining population trends. (Even if *all* fecundity impairments were eliminated, the number of births among whites would be increased by only 10–15 per cent.)

2. A majority of white couples in all social strata have families no larger than they want, although an important proportion of pregnancies comes earlier than desired. (About one-fourth of the users of preventive methods of family limitation say they have had at least one accidental pregnancy. Almost all fecund couples eventually use a preventive method.)

3. All classes of the white population seem to be converging toward a common set of values about family size (within a range of two to four children).

4. The consensus on the two- to four-child family may be an important indication of a more familistic orientation in American life. (That is, there is *less* desire than formerly for childlessness or only one child.)

5. If present family plans are continued and realized, the American population will grow rapidly. (A "medium" estimate for all races is 311,997,000 by the year 2,000.)

The material on the fertility expectations of the married couples is difficult to interpret in the absence, as yet, of a proven relation between the expectations and the eventual realizations. It appears, however, that many young couples have optimistic initial expectations and that they may reduce their goals as they later arrive at a better realization of the costs and problems involved in rearing children. It appears that couples with low income and little education are especially likely to have excess fertility or more children than they expect, because of ineffective planning and lack of complete co-operation between husband and wife.

Although the fertility expectations of *individual* women may not be realized exactly, there is much hope that the average expectation for a *group* of women can be used to estimate future fertility within tolerable limits.

This will become increasingly true as more is learned about the relation between expectations and the subsequent changes in plans and about the extent to which the minority of women who will have more children than they expect will be offset by the minority who are unable to have as many children as they want.

The population projections make use of a cohort fertility approach, in which attention is focused on the childbearing of actual groups of people as they pass through the childbearing ages. Employing this approach, the authors are able to introduce women's expected completed family size, as well as their past childbearing, into the formulation of population projections. Perhaps the main problem in projecting fertility by a method that employs information on expected fertility is that the bulk of the births after the next few years will come from the oncoming cohorts who have not yet married or formed reliable expectations of future fertility.

Many of the materials in the book relate to differences in family planning among social and economic classes. Relatively few of the white wives in the United States have had only a grade-school education, unlike the situation in Puerto Rico mentioned in the preceding review. The problem of ineffective or partly effective family planning among the poorly educated, low-income groups in Puerto Rico has a counterpart in the United States, although the problem is not so severe here as in Puerto Rico. For example, in the present study only about 10 per cent of the white wives with only a grade-school education had successfully planned the number and spacing of all their children, but many of the others were partly successful.

The study brings out an interesting potential exception to the traditional pattern of fewest children among the best-educated women, especially for Catholic women: among white wives married for less than five years, the "most likely" expected total number of births averages out at 3.2 per wife with some college education, 3.0 for high school graduates, 2.8 for wives with one to three years of high school, and 2.7 for wives with only a grade-school education. This reversal of the traditional pattern may reflect only the initial attitudes rather than the eventual accomplishment, but it may nonetheless be a significant portent for the quality of the American population.

As the foregoing comments indicate, ther much enlightenment in this book. The prese tion of findings is straightforward, and analysis is competently done. The mate on Catholics is especially welcome, as li had been known about the family limita practices of this 26 per cent of the populat except for some small and unrepresenta groups. The book should be of great inte to all who deal with trends in family size with population trends.

WILSON H. GRAI

Bureau of the Census

American Judaism. By NATHAN GLAZER. (cago: University of Chicago Press, 1' Pp. xi+176. $3.50.

Jews in Suburbia. By ALBERT I. GORDON.] ton: Beacon Press, 1959. Pp. xxv+. $3.50.

Jews, who currently comprise only 3½ cent of the American population, are none less a group of intrinsic interest to soci gists. Jews possess all three of Robert Merton's suggested criteria for definin group: patterned interaction, self-definitio a group, and definition by others as a gr While most groups last a relatively short t Jews have survived as a group for thous of years. The sociological study of Jews th fore affords opportunities for assessing fac in group survival and for the analysis of l term changes in group norms. Glazer, utili historical and contemporary data, and Gor concentrating on the current scene, thus sent far more than an American Je chronicle.

Glazer, in a concise, thoughtful book, v American Jewish history largely as a con between self-definitions of Jews as a gr one position, identified with Reform Juda emphasizes that Jews are a religion; the ot endorsed by Zionists, claims Jews to b nation. He feels that neither position triumphed. For, unlike the American et churches, "it is inconceivable that Juda could survive the disappearance of the Je people." The modern national state st towards homogeneity, however. The ethnic of Judaism is thus undermined. Yet, if J ism is but a religion, then contemporary

phasis on science (science and religion, after all, *are* in conflict, says Glazer) together with modern belief in the pursuit and attainability of happiness have tended to emasculate all religions. Moreover, Glazer feels Judaism may be even worse off than other religions, for possessing neither doctrine nor dogma, yet emphasizing the rigid observance of rituals "each as presumably holy as the next," the practice of traditional Judaism in America has severely declined during the nineteenth and first part of the twentieth centuries. Many indicators cited by both Glazer and Gordon, however, seem to point at least to a current renewed interest among Jews in Jewish communal life, if not in Jewish religious observance. The meaning and cause of this revival, they feel, calls for an explanation.

Glazer reviews the familiar history of Jewish migration to the United States: first, the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, few in number but with a strong sense of Jewish communality; then, in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, the German Reform Jews who created a "religion of economically comfortable Jews who wanted to be accepted by the non-Jewish world"; and, from 1880 to 1920, the East European Jews, who, unlike previous waves, teemed into large cities bringing with them new "isms"—socialism, Zionism, and anarchism. Some, in their struggle for success, gave up all faith "with practically no soul searching." Glazer brilliantly characterizes nineteenth-century Reform Judaism as committed to a logic pointing to a possible integration with liberal Christianity while holding a "subconscious insistence that the Jews be maintained as a people." His analysis of Conservatism shows that although founded by German Jews, Conservatism was a movement espousing no clear doctrine, supporting "Jewishness" while liberalizing a traditional faith, thus meeting some of the needs of many twentieth-century Jews of East European origin. Despite the development and the remaining strength of traditional Orthodoxy, in 1938 synagogue members were a minority of American Jews.

As both Gordon and Glazer show, since 1940 American Jews have again become as homogeneous as before the East European migration. For example, between 75 and 90 per cent of all Jews are non-manual workers. At the same time, they seem to have a similarity of religious life and organization. Gordon points out that many now live in suburbs "in areas that have more Jews than others" and are subject to the same allegedly "homogenized" suburban society as other Americans. These families are apparently "child-centered." Now about 60 per cent belong to synagogues whose school, social, and communal activities generally dwarf the weekly religious service. Few suburban or other Jews observe the Orthodox religious rituals but many observe some Sabbath and festival practices, often enough, curiously, to please the children whom they send to religious schools so that they may know why they are Jews. These trends seem true of Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform groups almost alike. Nonetheless, only about 7 per cent (a low for American religious groups) intermarry with non-Jews.

The reasons and causes for the existence of these alleged conditions are not clear. We cannot even be certain there is a "revival" of Jewish life in America. Glazer believes that "we will not get far . . . if we attempt to answer such questions by collecting evidence from sociological and social-psychological studies." He prefers to rely on his own intuition and that of perceptive novelists but is not averse to utilizing the results of meticulous historiography. His claim that he can predict the responses of American Jews to a well-conducted study of their religion is dubious and certainly not susceptible to proof until someone actually does the study. Glazer's intuition is admittedly exciting and stimulating. Unfortunately, it is often wrong or misleading. To offer one small but typical detail, Jewish religious rituals are clearly not "each as holy as the next" to a student of the Talmud. To imply that the ignorance of some East European Jews is typical of traditional Judaism is misleading, if not wrong. Gordon's study is largely empirical but not definitive. Properly hesitant to rely on a questionnaire of synagogue members which yielded only a 24 per cent rate of return, he is forced to depend largely on his own and other Jewish communal leaders' observations—a good source for preliminary insights but a poor one for demonstrable facts. Since he deals mainly with "marginals," we fail to profit when he does have adequate data. For example, we cannot learn from his report whether certain organizational and membership charactersistics of synagogues are related to the type of religious and communal program they present. A knowledge of these relationships, however, might aid in the

prediction of future events in the American Jewish community.

The sociologist interested in problems of group survival and changes in group norms has been presented with some interesting ideas. Yet he still does not know whether the alleged refusal of American Jews to become non-Jews and their new form of Judaism can be attributed to a special mid-century climate of opinion, to special historical events, to the synagogue, to an interest in religion, to the form and content of their religion, to external or internal social pressures, or to any other reasonable hypothesis.

CHARLES KADUSHIN

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The Sociology of Religion. By GEORG SIMMEL. Translated by CURT ROSENTHAL. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959. Pp. 76. $3.75.

This is a translation of Simmel's short monograph on the sociology of religion, which appeared in German under the title *Die Gesellschaft* in 1905 as Volume II of a series edited by Martin Buber. The book complements and to some degree overlaps Simmel's paper, "A Contribution to the Sociology of Religion," which was recently republished (1955) in this *Journal.*

In this work Simmel is at once sociologist, philosopher, and, one might almost say, theologian. Certainly, the book reflects Simmel's theological interests. Simmel recognizes religion as having three components which may be analyzed separately: man's reaction to exterior nature, his response to his fate, and his relation to his environment. The book is principally concerned with examining the last of these.

Simmel, like Durkheim, asserts that a necessary condition for the development of religious sanctions is the acknowledgment by a society of the social significance of what is represented in those sanctions. The book develops this theme much more abstractly than does Durkheim. In fact, it would be difficult to draw from Simmel's work any one proposition or set of propositions that might be subjcted to empirical validation. Support for the central thesis is offered in a perceptive chapter involving the comparative analysis of religious forms in different societies and in another chapter dealing with the concept of faith. Simmel recognizes a basic antagonism between society and the individual and sees in religion clear manifestations of this conflict. In its organized form, religion can best be understood as a societal rather than a psychological phenomenon. Yet, insofar as religion deals with man's response to nature and to his fate, it cannot wholly be understood from a sociological frame of reference.

The book is a reminder of the virtual abandonment in contemporary sociological work on religion, at least in America, of a concern with general theory. What Simmel and his contemporaries had to say at the turn of the century still continues to stand virtually unchallenged and certainly not superseded by more recent work. This is not to say that Simmel's theoretical ideas are without fault. He is frequently guilty of a lack of conceptual clarity and, viewed by current standards, there is a lack of orderliness in what he has to say. One feels stimulated by reading the book but not informed about what the next steps ought to be.

We should be grateful that this work has been translated. It is not an easy book to read; in fact, it is most difficult. Yet, as is most of Simmel's work, it is worthy of the effort. The price of the book, even in this day of high publication costs, still seems out of line, given its length—76 pages. Those who wish to add it to their libraries might be well advised to look first to the remainder counters for a copy

CHARLES Y. GLOCK

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Soziologie der Pfarrgruppen ("Sociology of Parochial Societies"). By JOSEPH H. FICHTER. Münster: Aschendorff, 1958. Pp. 178.

Although the manuscript for this book was originally written in English and translated into German by Dr. Franz Klueber, the study has not yet been published in English. The book is devoted to a detailed structural-functional analysis of twelve parochial societies of one German parish, St. Konrad. Unlike Fichter's work on Southern Parish, U.S.A., this study contains no information on the parish-

ioner's participation in the religious life of the church, nor does it delve into the familial, social, or economic backgrounds of the members of these parochial societies. It is, in other words, exclusively concerned with the sociological character of but a sample of parochial societies in one Catholic parish.

The twelve societies studied include such organizations as the choir, the women's clubs, the workers' association, the rifle club, the acolytes, and the vestry board. A brief historical description of these groups is followed by a systematic exposition of their structural characteristics, complemented by a detailed analysis of the functions of these societies for the individual members and for the societies as ongoing social systems. The analysis might have profited from a more systematic treatment of certain dysfunctional aspects which, at best, are only hinted at. The discussion of differential role commitments of lay members, lay leaders, and priests within the framework of parochial society life should be of interest not only to those working in the field of religion but also to sociologists interested in the dynamics of lay-professional relationships.

Fichter has provided a useful example of structural-functional analysis of parochial societies. Yet this reviewer, for one, cannot suppress a conviction that the study of parochial society life as an independent social system ignores at its peril the relation of parochial societies to their structural contexts: to the parish, the community, and the secular society as a whole. Further, the total isolation of the parochial-society status of a given individual from his other religious, social, economic, and political statuses, although analytically advantageous, distorts some important institutional interrelationships. Few will quarrel with the notion that what Fichter has written here is "demonstrably so," but some, at least, would like to know more about the implications of this study for the world which lies outside the twelve parochial societies of St. Konrad.

GILLIAN LINDT GOLLIN

Long Island University

Soziologie der Kirchengemeinde ("Sociology of the Parish"). Edited by D. GOLDSCHMIDT, F. GREINER, and H. SCHELSKY. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1960. Pp. viii+256. DM. 29.

This collection of essays is divided into three parts: Part I comprises seven reports designed to acquaint the reader with the international status of the sociological study of the parish; Part II is devoted to eight fairly recent parish surveys in Western Germany and Austria; Part III contains a summary of statistical information on the population size, distribution, and composition of religious groups in West Germany. A bibliography of international research on the sociology of the parish, 1930–59, concludes the volume.

Some of the most useful material of this book is to be found in the summary of religious statistics for Germany and in the international bibliography, even though the coverage of the latter, especially in the sections on France and the United States, is far from exhaustive.

The "international survey" suffers from an editorial misnomer, since the only countries whose research is discussed are Belgium (2 pp.), France (3 pp.), Great Britain (16 pp.), Holland (23 pp.), and the United States (24 pp.). Nor does coverage extend to all the major denominations in these countries. In France, for example, only studies of Catholic parishes are considered. The only article dealing with Jewish groups (Maurice Freddman, "The Jewish Congregration in the Diaspora") is devoted to an interesting but highly specific discussion of the structure of Jewish minority groups and thus does not offer a comparable survey of relevant Jewish studies. One is thus led to believe that any work worth reporting has been done in Protestant France, Scandinavia, and Switzerland, or, for that matter, in Catholic Italy, Spain, and Latin America. I am forced, however, to take exception to the editors' claim that these countries may be legitimately omitted because there "the problems of the church in an industrial society are less pressing." For to do so would be to deny the reality of such events as the recent pastoral letters of protest of the Catalan priests in Spain, not to mention the continuous battle of the Catholic church in Italy for the retention of political power in an industrial society.

Norman Birnbaum's lucid account of the contributions of the social survey movement to studies of the parish in nineteenth- and twentieth-century England is an excellent illustra-

tion of the level of reporting one would have liked to have seen equaled in some of the other national surveys of the literature. In the United States, Linus Grond's review of the development of the sociology of the Catholic parish, although based on extensive and systematic bibliographical research, nevertheless concludes that sociological studies of the Catholic parish in America really center on the work of one man, Joseph H. Fichter. And, although Paul A. Albrecht's review of studies of Protestant parishes does at least get to the point of stating what some of the problems analyzed in these studies are, it fails to do justice to the more recent work undertaken in this country. (Surely Pope's *Millhands and Preachers,* published in 1949, does not constitute the latest work in the field!)

Surveys included in Part II vary considerably, both in content and in degree of analytical sophistication. Friedrich H. Tenbruck's report on the Reutlingen study, unlike some of the surveys included, goes well beyond a mere presentation of the marginals and develops a provocative theory of secularization. Unfortunately, his theoretical presentation is far too cryptic and his empirical data too sketchy to permit a proper evaluation here.

As a unit the essays do not provide a coherent picture of the status of sociological studies of the parish. The editors apparently could not decide whether they were aiming at a survey of the literature, in which case a straightforward annotated bibliography would have been preferable, or whether they wanted rather to delineate strategic empirical methodological, or theoretical problem areas in the field. There is a real need for the latter, which this volume has failed to meet.

GILLIAN LINDT GOLLIN

Long Island University

Southern Tradition and Regional Progress. By WILLIAM H. NICHOLLS. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960. Pp. xviii+202. $5.00.

Readers of this *Journal* will have to judge for themselves the justice of the author's observation: "Haven't we found it too easy to leave to our more courageous colleagues in sociology the analysis of the most important and controversial issues of today, most of which have enormous economic implications?" Surely an important feature of this book is that it was written by an economist.

The social scientists will find this a modest work. Around the general hypothesis that economic progress is impeded by obsolescent social tradition, it organizes materials about which students of southern society have been mulling for several decades. Much of the argument is "old hat" to cultural anthropologists and sociologists, who may be taken aback by the publisher's claim that "never before has a leading economist challenged, thoughtfully and frankly, the prevalent view that the South can keep its tradition and have substantial progress as well." If by "challenged" is implied effective communication of such a challenge, the publisher is probably right.

The non-economic barriers to progress with which Nicholls deals are the dominance of agrarian values, the rigidity of the social structure, the undemocratic political structure, the weakness of social responsibility, and conformity of thought and behavior, all of which he identifies with southern tradition. He ends with an enumeration of public policies which would be helpful in breaking through the crust of tradition and an appeal for the "emancipation of the Southern white." The suggested polices are designed to facilitate industrial-urban development, outmigration of surplus farm population, and the movement of additional farm capital into low-income areas.

While the general reader will doubtless miss an elaboration of this positive program for action, the social scientist may feel that the points of the central hypothesis lack adequate documentation. But the book was not meant to be comprehensive, and the author should be congratulated upon the success of his effort simply to state the general relationship, as he sees it, between southern tradition and retardation of progress.

Nicholls relies rather heavily upon the writings of the so-called southern liberals for observations which might as readily be demonstrated from the historical record, but the net result may be a more readable work. Related to this, some would question the usefulness and expediency of such gambits as gratuitously identifying the "pygmies" in southern political

leadership in a work otherwise characterized by good taste and absence of malice.

E. F. SCHIETINGER

Southern Regional Education Board

Automation and the Worker: A Study of Social Change in Power Plants. By FLOYD C. MANN and L. RICHARD HOFFMAN. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1960. Pp. xiv+272. $4.50.

Automation and the Worker is purportedly a study of the impact of automation in the electric power industry. Its best contributions consist of a discussion of the over-all effects of automation and a description of the job changes associated with the new technology. Its limitations lie in the fact that, because of the many differences in social characteristics between the work force of the automated work place and that of the non-automated one, it is difficult to determine whether the differences in other responses and behaviors are attributable to the lack of similarity in social characteristics (age, education, seniority, etc.) between the two work groups compared or, instead, attributable to the differences in the technological arrangements. Many of the differences, indeed, may have been due to the contrasting management philosophies.

The authors are quick to state all these limitations in the early pages of the book. However, they frequently give the impression of having lost sight of their own admission. And in the final chapter, dealing with the important topic of the administrative and research implications of introducing automation, they again state: "Since we were unable to investigate the effects of automation per se, the goals of our study were enlarged to include the organizational and psychological dimensions of technological change, with special reference to the construction of a new plant with automated equipment" (p. 192). It is this final chapter which is the most interesting and stimulating, even if it bears little relationship to the detailed empirical data presented in the previous chapters. These early chapters include material on the shift-work problem, the positive effects of job rotation and enlargement, and the effects of differences in supervisory behavior and attitudes.

Obviously, the authors had nothing to do with the fact that there were important contrasts between the characteristics of the two work forces. Nevertheless, the research results vis-à-vis the effects of automation in this case do not have the advantageous relevance characterized, for example, by those obtained by William Faunce, who recently was fortunate enough to have access to an automated–non-automated case involving a single group of workers—thereby eliminating the offsetting influences of differences in the social backgrounds of the subjects who experienced technological change.

The final chapter, to repeat, is an important contribution and warrants serious consideration by researchers and administrators. The major theme is the necessity to integrate social planning into the preconstruction phase of technical planning for changes in the production process. For Mann and Hoffman this means more than the careful selection of personnel who best fit the requirements of the new type of job and workplace. It means more than a skilful communications and "employee-participation" program. The authors, in effect, make a worthy case for utilizing social scientists as part of the team planning change, and not merely as observers and recorders of the aftermath of change.

In the "New Frontier" of modern technological revolution now confronting our changing society, there will be an even more urgent need for such an outlook in private and public spheres. In this respect, *Automation and the Worker* makes a positive contribution.

HAROLD L. SHEPPARD

U.S. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare
Subcommittee on Problems of the Aged and Aging

Konflikt und Kooperation im Industriebetrieb ("Conflict and Co-operation in the Industrial Plant"). By PETER ATTESLANDER. Cologne and Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1959. Pp. 341.

Atteslander's book is a missionary work. It attempts to introduce the human relations approach to German *Betriebssoziologie* (sociology of the factory). As such, it draws heavily on American research in human relations, both

pioneer and current. Because of this the book should be examined in terms of the point of view of its major audience, Atteslander's peers in Germany and in Switzerland. As the author notes, German sociologists interested in the organization of the factory can be divided into two groups: a large conservative group relatively uninterested in empirical research and concerned with the social-philosophical aspects of industry and a much smaller group interested in empirical research. Atteslander as missionary tries to convert the former group to a more empirical orientation and to convince the embattled latter group that *his* kind of research is both valid and useful.

Konflikt und Kooperation is essentially an amplification of one basic point, that the social system of a factory consists of two aspects, the formal and the informal. The formal aspect of the system is the organization-chart aspect; its norms are the bureaucratic rules. The informal aspect is the sum of many work-friendship groups; its norms are the norms of these informal groups. The total social system of the factory is the result of the interplay between the formal and the informal aspects.

The book is divided into three sections. In the first Atteslander briefly summarizes the work of Taylor and the history of the human-engineering movement. He then quickly moves to his chief interest, a discussion of the factory as a social system and the use of interaction theory to explain both the extent to which the formal aspect of the system is realized in behavior and the extent and operation of the various informal groups within the factory. In the second section several reports of research in different factory settings are summarized. Most of the reports stem either from work previously published in the United States or from the work of students and colleagues of Atteslander. This section sets forth in some detail the working of several informal groups of laborers, the ambiguous position of the foreman in both formal and informal systems, and an exposition of the human-relations position on industrial conflict. The third section of the book is an attempt to delimit the human-relations approach and to relate it not only to the sociology of the factory but also to other social disciplines.

In making as strong and convincing a picture as possible of the human relations approach, Atteslander tends to present some points that should be questioned. His implication that *Betriebssoziologie* should be considered a discipline separate from industrial sociology means that dangerous gaps can exist in his work. It is true that the individual factory offers the best locus for the method of the human relations approach. But influences outside the factory strongly affect the internal social system as well. The worker spends only a part of his day at work, and often it is the least meaningful part of his day. To eliminate, even in part, a consideration of some aspects of interest to the larger field of industrial sociology—the effects of new technology, mass communication, the condition of the economy, the patterns of life in the surrounding community—from the study of the individual factory is a grievous oversight.

Atteslander further fails to examine rigorously the ideological implications of the human-relations approach. Although the techniques of human relations have been taken over by other sociologists (the interactionists in particular) the ideology of human relations generally has not. Human relations is as much manipulative as it is scientific. Its ideology from the time of Mayo has been similar to that of management. Its goal has been as often as not to provide data for action decisions by management. Atteslander fails to point out that to commit one's self to the human-relations approach can mean a commitment to an ascientific ideology as well as to a scientifically useful set of techniques.

For these reasons, Atteslander's book can be recommended to its German audience but with reservations. For these same reasons and because the book offers few new findings, it cannot be highly recommended to an American audience.

ARTHUR J. KOVER

New York, New York

Leadership Dynamics and the Trade-Union Leader. By LOIS MACDONALD *et al.* New York: New York University Press, 1959. Pp. xi+156. $2.50.

Students of labor relations have often expressed concern about the gap between theory and research in their field. This concise review of the literature relating to one small segment of labor relations will reinforce this concern. However, if it also stimulates students to try

to bridge the gap, the venture will have been worthwhile.

The opening chapter indicates why more studies of labor leaders have become necessary: not only has the labor movement grown in importance and complexity but leadership analysis has shifted from a focus on leadership characteristics as such to one emphasizing leadership as a function of group situations, structures, activity, and performance. Chapter ii is a survey of recent developments in theory and research as reflected in the general literature on leadership, mainly in small informal groups. The frames of reference of seven approaches are discussed under the following headings: the social psychologists, the human-relations school, group dynamics, sociometry, small-group research, leaderless groups, and the Ohio State Studies in leadership. Few of these approaches have been applied to the study of trade-union leaders. Leadership in formal organizations is analyzed in chapter iii, with particular reference to Weber's and Michels' theories of bureaucracy. Although not primarily focused on the labor unions, this discussion includes reference to a few labor studies such as Lipset, Trow, and Coleman's *Union Democracy* and Wilensky's *The Intellectual in Labor Unions*.

The main discussion of leadership and labor studies is contained in chapter iv. Here the author presents a quick but insightful series of analytical comments on a wide variety of studies classified under five headings: (1) who are the leaders; (2) lives of labor's great men; (3) leadership within the union structure; (4) leadership in the context of labor-management relations; and (5) pressures on labor leadership. The final chapter concludes that trade-union leadership merits a good deal more serious research than it has had, that future studies should show more concern with their conceptual frameworks, that work done by the human-relations group has contributed significantly by emphasizing the complex motivations underlying individual, group, and organizational activity although often ignoring the realities of power relationships, and that more consideration should be given by scholars to the conduct of studies which might meet union needs and public purpose.

The specialist in labor studies will not find in this monograph much that is new about his subject, but he may be directed to leadership studies outside of his field that open new lines of thought. Students of leadership in other fields may be challenged to extend their work into what is surely one of the most complex and intriguing contemporary institutions—the trade union.

MILTON DERBER

Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations
University of Illinois

The Local Union-Management Relationship. By MILTON DERBER, W. ELLISON CHALMERS, and ROSS STAGNER, with the co-operation of MILTON EDELMAN. Urbana: Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, 1960. Pp. x+208. $4.25.

This volume reports the results of a valiant and dogged effort to reduce the present hurly-burly of speculation and polemic on union-management relations to some degree of conceptual and empirically demonstrable order. Beginning with notions current in the professional literature, many of them not far removed from folk thought and some not at all removed, the authors attempt to develop a conceptual framework which includes most explanations current for different types of relations. Excluding "collusion" and "death-struggle" relationships (and, thereby, events which are highly significant as indicators of necessary limits), they focused upon forty-one establishments in Illinois, located in East St. Louis, in the Decatur area, and in the southern part of the state.

Their method of data collection was the administration of extensive scheduled interviews to four top leaders in each establishment, two from the union local and two from management. With the results of these interviews they attempted to define operationally such concepts as: *autogeny*, or the extent to which the parties make their own decisions without the participation of third parties such as mediators; *autonomy*, or the extent to which the parties are independent of outside controls; *union influence*, or the degree to which the union participates in directing the operations and determining work conditions in the establishment; *conceding*, or each party's modification of its position to take account of the problems of the other side; *initiative*, or the extent to which proposals originate on one side or the other; *legalism*, or insistence upon strict

adherence to written agreements; *past practice*, or acceptance of precedent as controlling current decisions; *pressure*, or the introduction of threats to obtain concessions; *speed*, or the rapidity with which collective business is transacted; *attitude*, or the favorable and unfavorable ways leaders view each other and their respective organizations; *emotional tone*, or the friendliness and hostility displayed by parties in the bargaining process; and *understanding*, or the conviction of the parties that they understand the intentions, objectives, statements, and actions of the other side. The study is based, then, on union-management relations as perceived and reported by union and management leaders, coded in terms of these summarizing notions.

The items that furnished components for these variables, together with measures of hourly earnings, size of establishment, and skill ratio of the work force, were then subjected to factor analysis. The results were not encouraging. Ten factors emerged, the largest accounting for about 15 per cent of the variance involved. The authors then tried typological analysis. Using three dimensions—influence, pressure, and attitude—they developed a dozen types of situations. These could be meaningfully collapsed into five which, ordered by a conflict–co-operation continuum, were (1) aggression and resistance, (2) repressed hostility, (3) quiescence, (4) moderate joint participation, and (5) extensive joint participation.

These types account, for all their cases and manifest considerable discriminating power with respect to legalism, speed, work stoppages, past practice, and other variables. However, the authors were unable to account for the development and persistence of their five types of situations. Here it seems that their basic reliance upon implicit theory leaves them at a dead end. Having no explicit theory of either union or management structure, they are hard put to handle relations between the two structures in more than a theoretically casual and descriptive fashion.

One could list a bill of particulars in criticism of the methodology. For example, the authors conscientiously show the low agreement in responses from leaders of the same union local, or top managers of the same plant, with respect to simple matters of fact and the even lower agreement among all four informants from any given establishment; yet on certain occasions they make use of scores produced by combining the four responses. (As a corrective measure, reliability on some items was increased by reinterview, but it is not clear what occurred in the reinterview.) Such faults, however, are common in rough-and-ready research with limited resources, and the team has at least been very honest in reporting research procedure. They have also provided a considerable amount of very useful description. For example, (1) only three establishments reported no significant technological change had taken place in the past year; (2) the union is usually viewed by management and labor leaders as the initiator in changes of relationship between local and company; (3) management is acknowledged, usually, to be the administrator of the agreements; (4) management usually makes the broader decisions of economic, technological, and fiscal policy. Such findings substantiate a theory, not here stated, which would derive the dynamics of the union-management relationship from technological change, with the union as an adjustive mechanism. And such findings are only a sample of the provocative and generally sophisticated observations reported.

For these reasons the volume is a contribution which should be on the shelves of those concerned with industrial sociology, union-management relations, the sociology of conflict, and similar subjects.

Scott Greer

Northwestern University

Involuntary Labour since the Abolition of Slavery: A Survey of Compulsory Labour throughout the World. By W. Kloosterboer. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960. Pp. vii+216.

This monograph not only is a worthwhile contribution in its own right to the literature on comparative labor systems but is doubly interesting in that it explicitly takes as its point of departure H. J. Nieboer's *Slavery as an Industrial System*—perhaps one of the most undeservedly forgotten works of early sociology. Writing at the turn of the century with an orientation far in advance of his time, Nieboer found the abolition of slavery to be dependent on the possibility of a free labor force adequate to exploit resources to at least the same degree as slave labor. Dr. Kloosterboer is struck by many apparent exceptions to this

theory and thus seeks to modify it. Through a comparative analysis of thirteen historical cases he attempts to show that, where slavery is abolished in the absence of an adequate free labor force, other forms of compulsory labor tend to be substituted. The main body of the work consists of the *seriatim* description of these cases in a historical narrative style with a scholarly attention to detail, particularly as regards mechanisms of compulsory labor—debt peonage, contract labor practices, use of "vagrancy" laws, and the like. The cases themselves are drawn from the British West Indies, the Netherlands Indies, Latin America, and various regions of Africa, the United States, and Soviet Russia. Both primary and secondary sources are copiously cited.

On the whole, Kloosterboer succeeds in making a convincing case for his thesis and, in the process, provides the reader with much interesting descriptive material. But herein, ironically enough, also lies the major shortcoming of the monograph. Considering the quantity and variety of data adduced, one feels that more general theoretical propositions should result. Apart from the demonstration of the thesis, the discussion seldom proceeds beyond the point of pure description. In effect, one is left with thirteen case studies and an impression of a painstaking compilation combined with a sociologically incomplete analysis.

Nevertheless, a single interesting thesis combined with thirteen well-executed cases replete with much information can hardly be brushed off. This monograph can be read with great profit by anyone interested in work organization. In fact, the very nature of the criticism which we have made in itself provides a good reason for not ignoring this work.

STANLEY H. UDY, JR.

Yale University

Colonial Labor Policy and Administration: A History of Labor in the Rubber Plantation Industry in Malaya, c. 1910–1941. By J. NORMAN PARMER. Locust Valley, N.Y.: J. J. Augustin, Inc. (for the Association for Asian Studies), 1960. Pp. xii+294. $6.00.

The events described in this volume provide a background for the oft repeated contention that many non-self-governing underdeveloped areas are incapable of self-government. This indeed may be true, at least in the sense that they are incapable of self-government of the type to be found in a highly developed urban, industrial society. If Malaya has not developed a society capable of such a government, its failure to do so may be explained in part by British labor policy and the structure of the economy.

It is contended, and with good reason for relatively recent periods, that one of the fundamental purposes of Western colonial rule has been to develop the type of environment which private capital finds attractive. Among other things, this means that there must be a large supply of cheap labor. The author points out that British labor policy and administration has also had as its goals the abolition of indentured labor, the assurance of the laborer's freedom of movement, and basic protection of the laborer's health and welfare. While it is contended that rubber planters shared these objectives to a considerable extent, it also appears that there was usually strong resistance to any attempt to increase wages and no reluctance to cut them if sufficient rationale could be found.

Aside from what appears to be a carefully prepared and well-documented description of the formation of the estate labor force, partially through the recruiting of laborers in India, China, and Java, and a discussion of labor legislation and administration, there is an excellent discussion of the problems faced by labor officers in attempting to enforce the Labour Code. Various degrees of conformity to the code were found, and the labor officer concluded that, without the support of the planter, enforcement would be a nearly impossible task.

The role of the labor officer was to represent a labor force that had not yet developed to the point that it could adequately represent itself. At the same time it was likely that many labor officers had backgrounds similar enough to those of the planters with whom they dealt that identification was more readily possible with planters than with plantation laborers. If this was the case, labor did not have such a strong friend in court as might have been expected. Parmer indicates the same when he states that some labor officers took positions in industry after retirement from civil service in Malaya.

Although it may be concluded that the labor policies detailed in this volume were successful, considering their limited objectives, it may also

be concluded that the plural society, developing out of unassimilated groups of immigrant laborers, presents other adjustment problems.

LYLE W. SHANNON

University of Wisconsin

A West African Trade Union: A Case Study of the Cameroons Development Corporation Workers' Union and Its Relations with the Employers. By W. A. WARMINGTON, New York: Oxford University Press (for the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research), 1960. Pp. ix+150. $3.40.

Commencing with a brief sketch of the West African setting in which the trade union developed, this report follows with two chapters on its founding, growth, and eventual role in dealing with major industrial disputes. The first chapter views social environment and historical background as determinants of the peculiar structure of labor unions in the West African setting, a situation in which the organization and function of the union differs from that of the traditional "democratic" trade union. The basic explanation of these differences lies in the recent emergence of its members from tribal society and their only partial integration into the commercial-industrial order.

The development of the plantation workers' union is described in detail, as is the organization of social machinery for consultation and negotiation. The history of major industrial disputes indicates that employers have not accepted labor unions as responsible bodies and that there has sometimes been a basis for their hesitation in the shortage of experienced union leadership. The lack of reliable statistical data on levels of living has been another impediment to realistic labor-management bargaining.

Perhaps of greatest interest to the sociologist is chapter v, "The Union and its Members." In addition to the fact that it is not possible to ascertain the size of the union, since workers' conception of membership differs from union definitions of membership and the latter results in a smaller group, identification of the population of workers is a problem for both union and management.

When a sample of workers was interviewed in an attempt to ascertain their reasons for membership in the union, it became apparent that there was not much relation between members' conception of the union and the nature of the union as expressed in its constitution. Although some of the beliefs about the function of the union were so far from the facts as to appear fantastic, many of the mistaken beliefs would be found among union members in an advanced industrial society. Even to ask the workers to formulate an answer to questions may be expecting too much when the high illiteracy rate and undeveloped verbal and conceptual facility of the group is taken into consideration.

On the other hand, the author concludes, if the members of a union desire that it have certain functions, what objection can be made to organizing it for these functions even though they be apart from the traditional functions of a trade union? If the existing social environment calls for a particular kind of institution to serve unmet perceived needs of workers, why not organize such an institution?

LYLE W. SHANN…

University of Wisconsin

Trade Union Development and Industrial Relations in the British West Indies. By WILLIAM H. KNOWLES. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959. Pp. vii+214. $5.00.

Many students of trade unions and/or industrial sociology have become so absorbed in the American scene that they often neglect some of the more basic issues, for example, origin and growth. Realizing that the American labor movement may not answer many of his questions, William Knowles looks toward non-industrial areas of the world for possible solutions.

The British West Indies, composed of a number of small islands whose major income is from sugar exports, has begun to shake off the paternalistic estate system which retarded industrial growth and job consciousness among workers. Knowles feels the latter has inhibited union growth more than has the opposition of management: employers appear neutrally disposed because they fear riots and wildcat strikes more than responsible unionism. Permeating all union-management relations, as well as union development, is overpopulation. Jobs are scarce and competition severe. Fluctuating crop yields make stable employment almost impossible for the majority of workers

and there is a lack of capital for investment and expansion of the few fledgling industries. In some cases racial differences become a temporary rallying cry to which workers respond, but, generally, race relations, while crucially determining the stratification system, appear to have little influence upon union development.

The research that went into this examination of social economic, historical, and political aspects of trade union development has been carefully applied and painstakingly documented. Knowles spent fourteen months in the British West Indies (1953–54) interviewing labor leaders, political figures, estate owners, and colonial administrators. The viewpoints expressed are carefully summarized. Throughout the book Knowles suggests some of the biases and limitations of his findings. He notes, for example, that few interviews were held with workers themselves.

The wide scope of Knowle's study nevertheless provides data and insights into sundry sociological specialties. Those interested in political organization might ponder the relation between unions and politics in the British West Indies. Knowles feels that one of the barriers to successful union development, besides those mentioned above, has been the attempt of many power-seekers to exploit workers' misery and use unionism to gain office. Many charismatic leaders promise wage increases, better working conditions, and jobs if the workers will but vote for their candidate. Knowles describes how unions are formed just before elections with no internal organization. If the candidate loses, then the unions tend to disband. When an election is won, the workers receive few benefits because the newly won office requires the full time and energy of the incumbent. These leaders, indeed, are not building a union but are merely cultivating an electorate. As a result, many unions develop and fight among themselves, and innumerable strikes are called as leaders jockey for position. The few unionists disassociated from politics who work intensively with the rank and file building local leadership appear relatively successful in providing better working conditions and wages for their followers. One wonders if organizational success might be dependent upon subduing many similar organizations in order to sustain a strong relationship with dissimilar organizations. If a union uses its strength and resources to fight many other unions, can it still maintain a powerful position vis-à-vis management?

Knowles eschews almost all the theoretical significance which his work has. For example, Lipset has argued cogently that unions organized from the top down will tend to be less democratic than those with grass-roots origins. Knowles's data indicate that irrespective of the locus of origin, the crucial determinants of a democratic union lie in the development of strong local leadership with many channels of communication to the workers. Although Knowles argues that Selig Perlman's job-conscious unionism will not explain the rise of trade unions in the British West Indies, he apparently believes that only job-conscious unionism will ultimately succeed. Is it not possible that some unions might skip some of the initial stages through which many American unions have passed? It would appear to this reviewer, at least, that some unions might be organized from the top down and care taken to develop democratic procedures built into the organization with good local leadership. Job-conscious unionism may or may not develop. In other words, locus of origin, democracy, and job-conscious unionism may be independent. Knowles's discussion of the Jamaica situation, (at the time of the research the outcome was still sufficiently in doubt) bears directly on this point. Had Knowles tied some of his research into Weber's theory of the routinization of charisma, the data might have yielded more formidable results.

The less industrialized areas of the world provide opportunities for the social scientist to explore some basic problems in his field. William Knowles has taken advantage of this fact and has written a suggestive and stimulating book. If he has not exploited the situation in order completely to satisfy a sociologist's theoretical interests, he has nonetheless provided a solid foundation for a future undertaking.

PHILIP M. MARCUS

Purdue University

White and Coloured: The Behaviour of British People towards Coloured Immigrants. By MICHAEL BANTON. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1960. Pp. 223. $4.00.

It is refreshing to find an investigator attempting to explain a pattern of discrimination against colored men without recourse to prejudice as a causal factor. ("Men" because the colored immigrants to Great Britain are typically males—from the West Indies, West Africa, Pakistan, and India.) Banton has carried out a sociological program, after disentangling race relations from prejudice and establishing the point that social patterns are not the product of individual sentiments but, rather, the consequences of changing structural and normative constraints.

British society is presented as dependent, to a much greater extent than other Western societies, upon *unspoken norms*. Within this context the following picture is constructed: (1) the colonial relationship between Britons and colored peoples has traditionally implied the social superiority of Britons and their responsibility for their charges; (2) this traditional form has become inappropriate, mainly because of the increasing unwillingness of colonials and former colonials to enter relationships with Britons on such terms; (3) in this setting—where the old norms no longer apply—what remains is the Briton's view of the colored man, first, as socially inferior (except where high status is clearly indicated, e.g., visiting maharajah, etc.) and, second, as a representative of another cultural tradition, a *stranger*—in fact, the "most distant of all strangers" and thus unaware of "the unspoken language" of British society.

Accordingly, a peculiar discriminatory pattern has developed. Banton's primary focus is on the pattern of avoidance in social relations. The pattern is explained in the following way: (1) the more a relationship is governed by implicit norms, the greater the tendency of the Briton to avoid involvement with strangers, and more particularly with the colored man who is seen as "the archetypal stranger"; (2) "the weaker the sanctions upon . . . undesirable consequences relative to the importance of the relationship to the actor, the more likely will he be to avoid admitting a coloured man to the relationship"; (3) the social climber and would-be climber tends to feel that his social position would be jeopardized as a result of informal contact with colored men. Thus what K. L. Little calls "colour-class-consciousness" also operates to reinforce this pattern. The situation is pictured as fluid. Custom has failed, and new norms are in the making. Their character, however, is not envisioned.

Hopefully, this résumé conveys enough for the reader to see that Banton has achieved an analysis which, in addition to being sociological has an added virtue. Because of his concern for development and change, *White and Coloured* may be expected to become part of the cumulating research in this field rather than an antique.

It is not surprising that there are some gaps in so brief a work. These do not mar the construction of the approach, but one may well wish, for example, that the paradoxical shifting of the cultural image of the "coloured man" were made clearer. It is also to be hoped that Banton could be persuaded to develop and test further the concept "antipathy" which is merely glimpsed by the reader of *White and Coloured*. The same hope may be uttered with reference to the "unspoken language" of British society.

Gaps and wishes notwithstanding, we have received a welcome addition to the literature of the sociology of race relations from the Social Sciences Research Centre, University of Edinburgh.

LESTER SINGER

New York City Community College

The Chinese in New Zealand. By NG BICKLEEN FONG. New York: Oxford University Press, 1960. Pp. v+145. $4.00.

Chinese immigration to New Zealand took on significant proportions after the discovery of gold in the 1860's, and the Chinese population reached a peak (about five thousand persons, of whom fewer than ten were women) just prior to the imposition of immigration restrictions in the early 1880's. In this slight book Mrs. Fong traces the rise and fall of popular prejudice and the course of the discriminatory legislation which was its political consequence. Anti-Sinicism all but disappeared from the New Zealand scene during World War II, and the last of the Chinese legal disabilities was removed in 1952. The 1951 census recorded 4,832 persons of unmixed Chinese ancestry, 420 Chinese Eurasians, and 471 offspring of Chinese alliances with non-Europeans.

It can hardly be said that Mrs. Fong begins to develop the sociological potential of her

data. She wrote this study in 1955—it has not been updated—as a Master's thesis in education. Her theoretical concepts are naïve derivations from Park and Stonequist, and she lacks familiarity with the literature of immigrant groups in general and of overseas Chinese elsewhere in particular. Concerned more with interracial justice, international understanding, and personal justification than with sociological analysis, the author inevitably misses the significance of much of her data.

As a personal document, however, Mrs. Fong's book has much to recommend it. Time and again she typifies in its pages the characteristics of overseas Chinese reared in immigrant families: the drive to get ahead—Mrs. Fong describes herself as "the first Chinese [in New Zealand] to get a book published"—and the attendant snobbery, the tremendous faith in education, and the Olympian deprecation of overseas Chinese society coupled with acute sensitivity to the criticism of outsiders. The author cannot bring herself to recognize, much less discuss, the extensive Chinese miscegenation with the native Maoris, but she dwells long and fondly on the achievements of New Zealand-born Chinese children, who, she demonstrates, compare favorably with their white schoolmates in every respect, including popularity as measured by sociometric questionnaires. And, as she never tires of repeating, these are the offspring of mere peasants; what might not be the results if (p. 35) "a better class of Chinese immigrant . . . were permitted to come to New Zealand"?

G. William Skinner

Cornell University

The Dispossessed: A Study of the Sex-Life of Bantu Women in and around Johannesburg. By Laura Longmore. New York: Humanities Press, 1960. Pp. 334. $6.00.

This volume, published in Great Britain last year, is another of the valuable studies which various social scientists of the University of Witwatersrand, despite their heavy teaching loads, have somehow been able to produce. Miss Longmore is a lecturer in both social anthropology and African administration at this university. The volume is part of seven years of research in a "native" township located within three miles of the Johannesburg City Hall, closer than any other "location."

This is not a "Kinsey report," although a number of case illustrations are used. All statistical findings are omitted as "too costly to produce" and unappealing to the general reader. The purpose of the study was "to investigate the effects of modern contacts on African marriage and family systems under the impact of urbanization." It is a broadly conceived study. In addition to chapters discussing preliminaries to marriage, the marriage structure, marriage negotiations, the wedding itself, and the functioning of urban African family life, there are several chapters or sections which discuss liquor, its use and abuse, children, and the role of institutions, such as the church and school, and their influence on marriage and family life. "Divorce-desertion" and death are also given chapter treatment. This method of presentation results in a certain amount of repetition, since any given behavior, teaching, or superstition may apply to a number of the topics considered.

A valuable feature of the study in Miss Longmore's practice of sketching tribal conditions so that comparisons can be made with the urban practices described were significant.

It is, of course, an appalling picture which the study presents. The joint-family unit and system was the framework of indigenous African society. Its functions extended to all significant situations, including economic activities. The European demand for cheap labor has completely upset the balance of African life and its social controls, and nowhere more than in the gold-mining city of Johannesburg. The presence of tens of thousands of men in the mine hostels, their wives and children left in the reserves, the low wages, the barriers to advancement, the harassment of illy understood regulations enforced by an unsympathetic police—all these and other factors have resulted in a complete moral disintegration of African life and culture under urban industrial conditions.

All this is carefully portrayed and explained. In only a few places does the author forsake objectivity for interpretation and for commonsense suggestions, which there is small hope a fear-ridden white minority and an insensate government will heed.

One regrettable omission in the volume is the absence of any methodological notes. Miss Longmore says the study is based on "intensive

interviewing." At one point there is an implication that an interpreter was at least sometimes necessary. It is a tribute to the author that, though white, she obviously won the confidence of her informants and thus produced a significant study.

EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER

Bureau of Applied Social Research

Apartheid: A Socio-historical Exposition of the Origin and Development of the Apartheid Idea. By N. J. RHOODIE and H. J. VENTER. Cape Town: Hollandsch Afrikannsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1960. Pp. xii+268. 35*s*.

South Africa is the locale of an interesting sociological experiment: the effort of a small white group, Afrikaners or Boers, to force their culture on four other groups, the Bantu, English, "coloured" (mixed) and Indians, which collectively outnumber them five to one. Not once in this volume is South Africa mentioned. The focus is "Afrikaner nationalism."

The volume discusses a key element in this effort, apartheid. It is a "socio-historical study of the development of the idea" and its ideological basis. Since the authors claim that "it is a mistake to regard the theory and practice of apartheid as one and the same thing," they are not concerned with the government's apartheid policy (except where the government's recent real achievements in housing and welfare reflect credit on it). Thus freed from embarrassing realities, the authors paint a glowing picture of the development and fruition of "justifiable" Bantu national aspirations in the areas set apart for them. Apartheid is a "mechanism" which allows this outcome to be "reconciled with Afrikaner nationalism." It "anticipates the great socio-political developments taking place in the non-white world." This will be news to the Afro-Asian nations. The reserved areas, if cultivated as efficiently as the Netherlands are, allegedly could support nineteen million people, almost twice the present Bantu population. The authors ignore the thin soil in many of the Reserves, far poorer than in the Low Countries.

Some attention is paid to the "Tomlinson Report," the most recent study of the "native problem." It presented elaborate plans for self-sustaining Bantustans. The authors fail to mention that the government repudiated the financial aspects of the report. They do accept, despite the earlier disclaimer, the fact that the report "shows very clearly the organic relationship between apartheid as a philosophy of life and as a practical racial policy."

Apartheid "rests on Western culture, Christian morality and racial identity. . . . It does not imply that the Bantu is inherently inferior," though later we learn that "the Bantu was and still is an inferior racial group." Hence "intimate intercourse" between Afrikaner and Bantu was and is "rare because of moral characteristics of the Boer" and because of their determination to preserve their racial identity. (The million colored in South Africa are allegedly chargeable to visiting sailors and the English!)

The authors claim that the "imperialist, liberal-negrophile British" are responsible for the considerable integration of the Bantu into the economic life of South Africa, which the present government will stop. White immigration and automation will replace the Bantu as they go to apartheid heaven on their reserves. Yet according to government reports of the last decade, South Africa has been steadily more dependent on the Bantu each month for food and manufactured products.

The authors do not say how the Bantu are to be prepared for self-government on self-sustaining reserves, with their own agriculture, services, and industries, when many occupations are currently closed to them and when they are excluded from the Union's universities and offered makeshift tribal colleges as a substitute, to say nothing of other handicaps. But with all its contradictions and crudities the book is valuable as the first apologia for apartheid theory in English. To the authors this review will typify the "biased, ignorant, prejudiced overseas views" of apartheid, spread by the English and the "neo-internationalists of U.N."

EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER

Bureau of Applied Social Research

Freedom and Culture. By DOROTHY LEE. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959. Pp. vii+179. $1.95 (paper).

One of the major contributions of cultural anthropology has been to demonstrate and illustrate the variability of culture. Most of the

factual material in this book is well known to students in the field. It is drawn in large part from studies of the Wintu, Hopi, Tikopia, and Trobriand societies. The unique character of the work is a result of the way these contemporary materials are used. The author contrasts the meaning of freedom, individual autonomy, the self, responsibility, and creativity as found in other societies with that of our own. The fourteen essays in the book are concerned, as the author puts it, with the "philosophical dimension of culture." At the same time, they center around common, almost routine experiences. Once again it is revealed that what is taken for granted may be the most meaningful. Probably the best known of these essays—a significant contribution to the study of national character—is "View of the Self in Greek Culture."

Several of the chapters present as a point of departure some personal experience of the author in the United States or some common, everyday behavior or oral expression. Contrasts are then drawn with other cultures. An analysis of language is employed as a cue to understanding the way people see themselves in relation to the world. This technique appears in most of the papers but is probably best illustrated in the two on the Wintu: "Linguistic Reflection of Wintu Thought" and "The Conception of the Self among the Wintu Indians." The theme that holds the previously published papers together is the conceptual and value implications of language in relation to freedom as it is experienced as a cultural reality.

The author's concept of culture is consistent with this central theme and also helps to bring these separate essays together under the appropriate title. With regard to culture, she says: "Culture is a symbolic system which transforms the physical reality, what is *there*, into experienced reality . . . a system whereby the self is related to the universe. . . . I [do not] agree," she writes, "with those social scientists who hold that culture is inhibiting and frustrating in nature." For, "generally speaking, culture offers a guide to the individual, and provides limits within which the individual can function in his own way. . . . I do not think that societies 'impose.' Some offer culture, not as a binding standard, but as a guide for procedures."

Considering that the essays were written between 1944 and 1958 and were published in a variety of journals and books, the theoretical approach and technique are amazingly consistent. Such consistency is, of course, the result of rigorous, systematic study over a period of years. In the introductory chapter Dorothy Lee gives a brief personal account of her method of study.

There is some variation in level of abstraction and technical exposition. The writing, however, is excellent in clarity, and the style is one that contributes to the intrinsic interest of the materials.

JOEL B. MONTAGUE

Washington State University

Personality and Persuasibility. Edited by CARL I. HOVLAND and IRVING L. JANIS. ("Yale Studies in Attitude and Communication," Vol. II.) New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1959. Pp. xiv+333. $5.00.

These studies continue the work of Janis and Hovland on opinion change and show progress in the understanding of opinion change in response to media appeals and in the number of students stimulated by them to work in this area. Janis and Peter Field show that there is a homogeneous factor in evidence of opinion change which they term "persuasibility"—a regular tendency for some persons in the audience to change their opinions in the direction advocated by an appeal regardless of content, the style of the presentation, or the identity of the communicator. The studies reported in this volume do not give us sufficient estimates of the portion of the audience who would tend to shift a specified degree as a result of the persuasibility factor alone, but it is made clear that any gross estimate of the opinion change attained by an appeal includes a significant number of listeners or readers who would have moved toward agreement with the appeal regardless of the opinion advanced. The findings have a good deal in common with results on suggestibility.

The first and last chapters by Janis and Hovland restate a theoretical position established in 1953 which stimulated the research reported but which does not bear a sufficiently direct relation to the studies and their findings. The outstanding articles are those by Harriet Linton and Elaine Graham, demonstrating some personality correlates of persuasibility, and by Irving Janis and Donald Rife, extend-

ing the investigation of persuasibility in normal populations to the more extremely variant population of persons with behavior disorders. The former establishes small but significant correlations between resistance to opinion change and measures of authoritarian submission and cynicism and between persuasibility and measures of inadequacy, inhibition, anti-intraception, and subjectively felt power or toughness. The latter study shows a strong association of persuasibility with antisocial aggressive behavior as observed by hospital staff members and weaker associations with social passivity and paranoid symptoms in persons with behavioral disorders. These measures are interpreted as evidence of low self-esteem accompanied by compensating aggressive behavior. The strength of the relationships could be improved, the authors think, if measures of self-esteem not subject to defensive distortion and less dependent on introspection could be applied. A successful direct test of the relation of low self-esteem to accepting influence and of high self-esteem to being influential in small-group situations is provided in a study by Arthur Cohen.

The sociologist is not likely to be surprised that correlations are small when social influence is reduced to an ability—persuasibility—even when other influence variables such as content, communicator, and style of presentation are controlled. After the presentation of evidence by Janis and Field that persuasibility is a relatively unitary factor in responses to appeals, the theoretical discussion repeats an earlier division of persuasibility into intellectual abilities and evaluative abilities, though there is no relationship of persuasibility to intelligence quotient.

Chapters by Robert Abelson and Gerald Lesser reporting studies from a developmental point of view are the weakest in the volume with regard to technique. Particularly noticeable in this regard is a correlation between two measures, "Favorable Image of Mother Score" and "Teacher Persuasibility." (p. 182), which are technically much alike. Such correlations are likely to be factitious. Although age groups are compared in these studies, the absence of longitudinal data and of definitely independent reports of parental behavior make developmental inferences suspect. The study by Bert King from the developmental viewpoint is more closely integrated with the work of Janis and Field than are the other developmental studies, which seem to the reader to overemphasize small differences of viewpoint with the major authors, even to the point of offering a substitute definition of persuasibility.

One unexpected finding that should be carefully noted by sociologists using student populations as subjects is the striking difference in persuasibility scores between students at Yale and those at Brooklyn College. Eight of the forty-seven Brooklyn students, who are 85 per cent Jewish, had opinion-change scores in the direction opposite to that advocated by the communications used.

Chapter xi presents an excellent and fair summary of the results, emphasizing the lack of personality correlates to persuasibility among female subjects and the related inference that role expectations, in this case sex role, may explain the greater persuasibility of females.

The volume as a whole is an eminently readable account of a number of interesting and productive studies of differential response to media appeals.

ROBERT J. POTTER

University of Michigan
Flint College

Political Life: Why People Get Involved in Politics. By ROBERT E. LANE. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959. Pp. 374. $7.50.

A book entitled *Political Life* is bound to be overambitious, and the surprising thing about Robert Lane's book is that it succeeds as well as it does. Perhaps this is why the title is so misleading: the coverage is less ambitious than one is led to expect. Mainly about political life in America, it is concerned with how political values and attitudes are related to the institutional settings whence they derive and which then affect political behavior. Lane's effort is to demonstrate the intermeshing of individual motivation and institutional and organizational forces and by this means to introduce some basic features of politics and personality in the United States. Under his careful guidance we witness a fascinating journey into the realm of political behavior.

For those concerned with problems of political sociology, this book is most highly recommended. Its basic theme is political participation. Lane covers an extensive literature dealing historically with conditions leading to the

extension of suffrage and sociologically with group affiliation and its effect on voting. Political means of achieving individual and social satisfaction are examined, as are motivation and ideological expressions of group interaction in the political process. As well, the effect of status on non-voting is analyzed. Finally, Lane attempts to evaluate the effects of mass media on voters and decision-makers.

Considering its subject matter—and Lane draws extensively on the literature of survey research, attitude-testing, and voting behavior—the book shows the virtues of a relatively *ad hoc* approach to the problem of analyzing the American system. This means that the aspects of political life examined are handled in a most practical fashion, with theories derivable at the immediate level of action or behavior. Theories are expressed as propositions and reflect his inferences from the data he has described and the phenomena he has attempted to analyze.

Some of these propositions are extremely provocative and interesting; however, they are mainly explanatory hypotheses which, strictly speaking, do not really derive from the data. Moreover, too many of them rely on multi-functional and all-purpose psychoanalytical notions, some of which are highly questionable when employed for theoretical, as distinct from therapeutic, purposes. For example, one can only be bemused by a hypothesis about one form of political participation: "petitioning public officials is differentiated according to the *manner* of contact. Subtle enough to keep congressional super-egos quiet, lack of belligerence or threat, avoidance of references of suggestions of morality in favor of stressing hard, i.e., group interests, make contacts more effective." One doubts whether the "congressional super-egos" have much to do with the matter.

Occasionally, the propositions collide with one another: "Marginal youth, because of their greater sensitivity to the social environment, become more quickly oriented to political phenomena than others," but "Ethnic groups (based on nationality, religion, recency of immigration, and race) are generally accorded lower than average status in the American society. Low political participation is a function of the acceptance and internalization of this social image of low status and worth by the members of an ethnic group." Surely these two statements require further modification.

The off-the-cuff quality about the propositions or hypotheses is one of the major difficulties of the book. Not integrated solidly with the material cited or examined vis-à-vis one another, they deserve a more critical evaluation by the author himself, who should have qualifed where necessary and explained possible contradiction in the real world. Political life is complex enough to countenance such contradictions, but it is the job of the analyst to eliminate theoretical contradictions or, at least, to explain why they occur.

These last remarks relate to the second criticism. Whatever it is, *Political Life* is not a theory. It makes no effort to be. Characteristics of American politics and social life have been held up to the light, examined, and sorted: a useful candling job has been done. Yet, as is often the case with contemporary behavioral analysis, no image of structure and relationship emerges. The difficulty with behavioral studies is, of course, precisely that. Too often what they gain in precision they lose in analytical power. There is no particular reason why this should be so, except that rarely can the same scholar do both a structural and a behavioral analysis simultaneously. As a result, in the case of behavioral studies, theories of general power such as highly general Freudian concepts or concepts stemming from the "interpersonal relations school" are applied more or less gratuitously. It is not that these are "bad" theories, but they are used in a questionable manner. There then remains the need to integrate the impressionistic forms of "macrocosmic" and "systematic" analysis more effectively with "behavioral" analysis, which deals more directly with motivation.

Given the difficulties inherent in political science as a discipline, it is essential that this be done. Lane is to be commended for his skill and courage; in many ways his is a pioneering book, even if not entirely successful. He is on the right path, and it gives him a focus for more refined efforts.

DAVID E. APTER

University of Chicago

Social Pressures, Attitudes and Democratic Processes. By ULF HIMMELSTRAND. Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1960. Pp. 471. Sw. Kr. 39.

This Uppsala sociologist has gathered into one book the results of four attitude surveys completed recently in Sweden. Legal abortion, strictness versus permissiveness in child rearing, and various aspects of grass-root political activity are taken up. The four studies are published together because of their common concern with a psychological variable, "independence of affective loading of a verbal (or value) attitude," the "*L*-variable," for short. The starting point of Himmelstrand's research, and the source of the *L*-variable, is his desire to find out why some persons "who express valuations with respect to a certain object sometimes attribute more importance to the opportunity of *expressing* these valuations *verbally* than to the *objects* or *events* with which, semantically speaking, the valuations are concerned" (p. 47; italics in original).

At stake here is a distinction made by the author between symbolic activity and referent activity. Persons high on the former and low on the latter rate high on *L*, that is, the symbolic activity has an "independent affective loading." Himmelstrand asserts that his *L*-variable is an innovation but the heir of such concepts as Segerstedt's "power of words" and "fictitious in-groups," Thurman Arnold's "symbols of government," Merton's "ritualism" in the bureaucratic personality, the "expressive symbolism" of Parsons and Bales, and Charles S. Stevenson's "independent emotive meaning."

To measure the *L*-variable, Himmelstrand has developed separate Guttman scales for each of the attitude areas in question. For example, to get the *L*-variable scores on legal abortion, respondents were asked if they agreed with statements like this one:

> With all due respect to practical people like doctors and welfare workers, when one hears some of these people deliver their opinions about abortions one sees how important it is to listen first of all to those whose opinions on this question are based on principle [p. 127].

In brief, the scales seek to measure the individual's tendency to look at something in terms of principles, values, or moral norms rather than in terms of facts or other practical concerns.

Here are some representative specific findings: Compared with low *L*-scores, high-*L* subjects show less consistency (more "dissociation of verbal action") between general and specific value attitudes pertinent to legal abortion. In regard to strictness versus tole ance in bringing up children, high-*L* subjec are more likely to have salient value attitud without much foundation in a differentiate cognitive structure. With exposure to polit cal information held constant, high-*L* subjec have less knowledge about political affair High-*L* subjects show more "homo-political s lectivity" in transmitting political attitude that is, they talk more with people who sha their values. The most general hypothesis pr sented by the author, which finds some suppo in these data, is that high-*L* subjects' behavi tends toward greater frequency and intensit of symbol acts in a more restricted area, whi low-*L* subjects tend toward the elaboration c their activity into other "action families" an into referent behavior.

There are good things about Himmelstrand work. It is, first, the product of a worker wh measures and theorizes equally well. Secon he is ingenious in relying exclusively on soci survey data to deal with a psychological var able. Also, he is exceptionally thorough in se ting down his definitions, assumptions, the rems, results, interpretations, and suggestior for further research. But the book's readabilit and usability are low. An unhappy amount c neologisms and unnecessary symbols clo things, and there are over eight hundred tabl and diagrams, many of them complex, but n index or list of them; nor is there a gener index.

In the future we ought to learn about th distribution of the *L*-variable in different s cial groups and categories and areas of attitu content. The author's present inclination is t attribute high *L*-loading primarily to the ind vidual's failure to deal successfully with re erent objects and events. He must come mo squarely to grips with the fact that sociocultur systems in themselves prescribe high or lo as the case may be, "independent affecti loadings" for values in different areas of co tent.

Of course, the fact that cultural prescriptic is at work does not mean that the tendency t like talk more than action cannot also be variable of personality. Here the generality c *L* is important. Is an individual's score in or content area positively correlated with h score in others? Are there symbol-oriented c value-oriented people? People with more pri ciples than concern with reality? Or, if it is th same thing, is there an "antiscientific perso

ality?" If L-scores are not positively correlated, Himmelstrand may have done no more than give a new name to the notion of variability among different individuals in their value commitment in different areas. But if so, if a general high-L or low-L personality can be identified, then Himmelstrand's work constitutes a very important contribution to knowledge.

KENT GEIGER

Tufts University

In Search of Humanity: The Role of the Enlightenment in Modern History. By ALFRED COBBAN. New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1960. Pp. 254. $4.50.

Professor Cobban, who holds the chair of French history at the University of London, suggests that a "possible source of historical error in the study of ideas is an arbitrary and unduly narrow selection of sources." I fear that he has not managed to escape the danger of which he warns. This rapid and fairly routine "survey of the thought of the Enlightenment" suffers from his rather arbitrary definition of who does or does not belong to the intellectual trend he surveys. Thus, Descartes and Hume are considered here, but not Leibniz or Berkeley. The German *Aufklärung* from Lessing to Kant is left out, and even in the French tradition major figures, such as the physiocrats, are not discussed.

The author sees the Enlightenment as the age in which empiricism, skepticism, toleration, liberalism, humanitarianism, and utilitarianism emerged. These values, he suggests, have to a large extent been frustrated and swamped in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, hence our present predicament. Only a return to a political theory which takes as its starting point the orientations and concerns of the Enlightenment can save us from the disastrous consequences of the ideas of nationalism and popular sovereignty which have infected the Western world since the French Revolution. Since the Enlightenment "represents the achievements of the last stage of vigorous ethical discussion in the history of Western civilization," a modern political theory must return to this humane tradition if it wishes to find a way out of the ethical and intellectual malaise of our age.

Passionate commitment may be a source of knowledge, as Max Scheler suggested, but it may also be a source of selective inattention. Thus, Cobban depicts in glowing colors the political liberalism of eighteenth-century enlightened thought, but he neglects the infatuation of most of the *philosophes* with the supposedly enlightened rulers of Russia, Prussia, and China. Paul Hazard described the situation more adequately when he wrote: "You might have thought that you were looking at a minuet; the princes bow to the philosophers, the philosophers return the bow."

Though the author hardly intended it, his book may serve a useful purpose for the student of the sociology of knowledge. It is too selective and fragmentary to serve as a balanced assessment of the role of the Enlightenment; for this we still depend on such works as Cassiere's *Philosophy of the Enlightenment* or Hazard's *European Thought in the Eighteenth Century.*

LEWIS A. COSER

Brandeis University

The Development of Social Administration. By R. K. GARDINER and H. O. JUDD. 2d ed. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959. Pp. ix+208. $2.00.

Some five years elapsed between the writing of the first edition of this book and its revision. During that period a situation has arisen in which, as the authors say, "the initiative in the emergent countries rests with the inhabitants themselves," and they have kept this fact very much in mind when reshaping and enlarging the text. The coverage is wide, including such subjects as the family, the community, local government, trade unionism, and education in addition to social security and the social services in the narrower sense.

The treatment is lively and gives the feeling that the authors are looking at their subject from the inside and not merely from the outside. As Professor Titmuss points out in his Foreword, they bring to their task practical experience both in administering social welfare services and in training social workers. This familiarity with the scene they are describing has, perhaps, led them at times to write rather too much like people "talking shop" to each other; a good deal is taken for granted, and sometimes the background is lacking into which the reader should be able to fit the various

pieces of information offered to him. This is at times serious because of the dual character of the subject matter, part of which refers to Africa and part to the United Kingdom. African readers may find the British part difficult to follow for want of this background knowledge, and vice versa, owing to the rather scrappy way in which the material is sometimes presented.

The earlier chapters are much concerned with "emergent countries" in general and West Africa in particular, but in the later chapters the story of England predominates. What one misses most is any serious or scientific attempt to examine the relevance of the experience of "old" countries to the problems of "new" ones. Some judgments of this kind are implicit, but only rarely are they explicit.

The authors attach great importance to voluntary organizations, co-operation, democratic control, and preventive measures. Particularly welcome is their opening chapter, in which they explain that the family was the original and universal organ of welfare service and that the need for public services arises from the decline in the functions of the family and the development of new techniques (e.g., in health and education) which the family cannot effectively exploit.

The English reader cannot fail to notice several very dubious or misleading statements about English social history and contemporary English social policy which are a little disconcerting. For example, it is not strictly true that the "Butler Act" of 1944 provides a three-stream system of schools in which the grammar schools are intended "mainly" for those going on to higher education (p. 107). And it is very misleading to say that "old age pensions" are provided, subject to means test, to all persons over seventy, whether they have contributed or not, without referring to the present system of contributory "retirement pensions" which operate quite differently (p. 161). One wonders, too, how many specialists in the psychology of crime would be as dogmatic as are the authors of this book about the causes of juvenile delinquency (p. 168). However, most of these blemishes are due, no doubt, to the need to compress a very large subject into a rather small book.

T. H. MARSHALL

Cambridge, England

China: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture. By CHANG-TU HU *et al.* Edited by HSIAO HSIA. ("Survey of World Cultures," No. 6.) New Haven, Conn.: Human Relations Area Files Press, 1960. Pp. 611. $10.00.

The first five volumes in the Survey of World Cultures series dealt with Poland, Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Cambodia. The sixth volume on modern China, is the work of an interdisciplinary team, among whom are Chinese historians and an economist. The objective is "to meet the need for a comprehensive readable volume, bringing together all those aspects of a country and culture usually studied separately." To this end, "the best and most authoritative materials, published and unpublished," have been "collected and synthesized."

Chapter i, an overview of the book, is followed by chapters presenting a thumbnail sketch of the entire span of Chinese history, geography and population, ethnology, languages, religion, social organization, political behavior and government, mass communication and propaganda, foreign relations, and the economy —including agriculture, industry and trade. It concludes with chapters on public health and welfare, education, science and technology, art and intellectual expression, values and national attitudes. Its focus is post-1949 China, but comparisons with traditional China are frequently introduced, presumably to underline the radical transition now in process. At the end are appended twenty pages of tables, a forty-six-page, partially annotated bibliography of sources on China in the English language and an index. The tables deal mostly with Chinese national economic data of a kind not useful to most sociologists; Table 17, however, compares certain indexes of economic development in China, Japan, and India.

A sociologist's expectations of this book, unfortunately, are not met. We know that high level work has been done in the past on the basis of the Human Relations Area Files—for example, Murdock's *Social Structure.* The three words "people," "society," and "culture" in the subtitle may encourage the expectation that the present volume is a theoretically sophisticated empirical analysis of Chinese social, cultural, and personality systems. But, for the most part, distinctively sociological analysis is lacking. There is no testing of hypotheses, no conceptual analysis, as in Levy's *The Family Revolution in Modern China.* In short, the book is not primarily for specialists, be they

sociologists, linguists, or whatever. The economic analysis is an exception to this.

Specific disconcerting points include: footnotes to document assertions are lacking; Chinese population data are accepted rather uncritically: the population count of 1953 was not a true census as demographers understand it, for it was not based on full enumeration or registration at the local levels. The net error claimed by the Communists for their "census" (0.116) would make its accuracy unexcelled in the history of census-taking; scholars both inside and outside China have questioned its accuracy. A third fault is that the term "clan" is used to translate *tsu* and *tsung* rather than the more correct term, "lineage."

When judged not as a systematic sociological analysis but as a handbook, a fact book on modern China for the intelligent layman, the book deserves considerable praise. Suffice it to say that it is a mine of information on China's internal differentiation and integration and its external adaptation. It shows, for example, that the very group on which the early successes of the Chinese Communists were based —the peasants—may now be increasingly alienated from the regime. The traditional conservatism and reverence for private ownership among the peasants have made it necessary to implement the present collectivization program primarily through coercive means; nor have the peasants fared so well as some others have since 1949. The authors conclude, however, that on the whole "the reaction of the Chinese people to Communists policies is one of acquiescence. They are pleased to find themselves members of a nation which, for the first time in over a century, can demand and expect international recognition of its power and importance in world affairs. They have been constantly reminded that their country can meet and exceed the requirements for modernization and industrialization in the foreseeable future" (p. 517).

ROBERT M. MARSH

University of Michigan

Philanthropy in England, 1480–1660: A Study of the Changing Pattern of English Social Aspirations. By W. K. JORDAN. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1959. Pp. 410. $6.00.

This book records a prolonged social revolution; it also applies an interesting combination of methods to building-up the record.

The movement (or revolution) is the secularization of English society, as shown by the decline of giving to religious institutions from a time well before the Reformation and a tremendous increase in giving for charitable, including educational, purposes in such a way that control was vested in lay hands. The change was definitely a repudiation of the earlier conception of charity as indiscriminate giving for the sake of one's soul and of the role of the clergy and the monasteries in such matters. In place of funeral doles, at which all comers were fed, came the charitable trust whose capital was kept intact. The trusts were administered, and that right well, by the same breed of man as the donors—by the merchants of the cities, especially of London, by the gentry, and to some extent by husbandmen, smaller tradesmen, and professional men. The nobility had little part or interest in the movement.

In a section entitled "The aspirations of the several classes of men" (p. 342 ff.) the author shows what part each of several classes gave of the total gifts in his sample and how each distributed its gifts among several purposes. Although these men, too, gave for their souls' sake, they considered themselves trustees of God's purposes for man on this earth. Those purposes were secular: first of all, relief and reduction of poverty by rational means and, second to it, education that would make men useful and effective members of society, no matter what their origins.

The author shows that a revolution in the class structure was under way at the same time, accompanied by great change in a number of institutions. The rise of the city merchants and of the gentry—made up in considerable part of former merchants and yeomen—was the great change in structure. One of the products of the revolution was the Poor Law, which put relief into the hands of secular authorities and attempted to fix every poor man to his own parish. The law was not enforced much in that day, partly because of resistance of rate-payers but largely because of the tremendous increase in philanthropic giving to permanent trusts. The trusts themselves were part of the revolution and an interesting social invention. Some of them still exist, and with greatly increased capital; not many institutions maintain an un-

broken peaceful succession of officers for a small fraction of that time.

Sociologists have seldom tried to deal with processes of change lasting more than a few years. When they have done so, their statistical practice has not followed the demands of their own preachments. It seems obvious that, if we are to understand social change, we will have to learn to deal with periods longer than a decade or two. *Tempus longum, vita brevis.* But what data can one use over a long time, given that few institutions, either in the sense of social forms or of specific organizations, last for long without such change as to make comparisions dangerous? Jordan has been both lucky and ingenious. He started early in his career to study a period of English history. Certain institutions then taking form have had a long life, permanently recorded. He uses—adding ingenuity to his luck—the wills proved in ten counties of England in his period as his record of giving. Wills, as he says, are tenderly kept; and in England they are assembled in a few places. He makes a good case for believing that the ten counties are a good sample of England. In a chapter on "The Method," something of an innovation in a work of history, he wisely discusses what can and what cannot be done with statistics for an epoch long past Throughout the book are found tables of such of the data as could be put into reliably quantitative form.

The statement that wills are tenderly kept raises the question of relative durability of various records of human behavior. It is notorious that the greater durability of the houses and personal possessions of the rich gives a constant bias to ancient history, especially to history that has to be dug up. Sociologists, except demographers, tend to deal in perishable records. It would be interesting to classify the fields of social science according to the durability of the data each uses. One might also speculate on how much of the difference of opinion and emphasis among the branches of social sciences is due to the accidents of durability of data and, related to it, of the time-span of their studies. Jordan's first volume—for others are to follow, beginning with one on the imposing and increasing role of London—is a case study on this problem.

He also uses the published sermons of the day to show the change in aspirations documented by the figures on giving. It was a great time for preaching, that period of the emergence of Puritanism, and for the printing of sermons I fear no great body of sermons of our day will be so preserved. Future historians will have to rely on other expressions of the passionately held sentiments of our time; perhaps they will conclude that we had none, since opinion polls are generally confined to the more moderate degrees of difference of opinion. It is, indeed possible that sociologists are, by their choices of matters to study and record, creating the biases of the future historians' data!

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

English Rural Life: Village Activities, Organizations and Institutions. By H. E. BRACEY New York: Humanities Press, 1960. Pp. xiv +272. $6.00.

This volume summarizes the author's studies of the patterns of social organization and social change in English rural communities. It is written specifically for a non-professional audience with the general aim of providing a framework for understanding the people and the social life of village England.

The author has achieved more than a description of contemporary villages: he has interpreted their present-day life within a broad historical perspective, focusing attention on patterns of social and cultural change. The migration, particularly of older city people, coupled with a trend toward the extension and increased centralization of government activities has changed the rural way of life. For example. the basis of community leadership has been extended, with labor representatives and officers in woman's organizations taking an increasingly active part here and there in local affairs With his increased case load the doctor has found less time to participate in the activities of the village, and his influence has declined. Many of the people active in local village affairs, migrants from the cities, fail to appreciate the traditional values, and their leadership is often rejected by the rural folk. Coordinated town and country planning has been difficult under these circumstances.

The book succeeds in conveying an appreciation of the villager's reactions to changes in local government, health and welfare services, leadership, recreational activities, and religious patterns. Strong opposition to any reorganiza-

tion of the boundaries of local governmental units hampers efficient adjustment to new conditions. At several points in the book the author expresses his personal concern with the conditions he describes and offers suggestions as to how they might be improved.

There is much in the book of interest to the professional sociologist. However, the author's failure to provide a more systematic framework for his analysis weakens the study. Had he identified the communities he studied and been more systematic in his comparison of the structure and changes within each, he would have made a greater contribution to comparative community theory. As it is, his generalizations concerning the patterns of village organization and the processes of social change are of somewhat tenuous value to professional sociology.

ERNEST A. T. BARTH

University of Washington

Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and North-west Pakistan. Edited by E. R. LEACH. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1960. Pp. 148. $3.50.

A Comparative Analysis of the "Jajmani" System. By THOMAS O. BEIDELMAN. New York: J. J. Augustin, Inc. (for the Association for Asian Studies), 1959. Pp. 86. $2.50.

These two books present a new trend in the analysis of the caste system and its *jajmani* aspects. The authors are interested in examining certain theoretical questions about the nature and functions of these phenomena rather than their origin and cause.

Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and North-west Pakistan is the second of a series of occasional papers published by the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology of Cambridge University. It contains four essays on caste written by field anthropologists trained at Cambridge. Kathleen Gough describes the caste system of Tanjore in South India, and three other authors report on variations from this model representing the ideal-typical situation with regard to the caste system. Two studies in this volume are from Ceylon, one from India, and one from West Pakistan. Two of the four communities are predominantly Hindu, the third Sinhalese of Buddhistic faith, and the fourth Muslim. E. R. Leach in an introductory chapter has provided an incisive analysis of what should be meant by "caste" when one uses this term conceptually.

The caste system has been variously described as a system of status groups (Weber), a type of society peculiar to the Pan-Indian civilization (Cox), or certain cultural traits found in certain types of societies (Hutton). All four of the ethnographers in this book generally accept the position that the caste system is a system of social stratification, but Leach takes strong exception to it. He says that there is an ambiguity in this viewpoint as enunciated by Weber and accepted by most sociologists because Weber constantly shifts from caste as a cultural concept to caste as a structural phenomenon which, Leach believes, has created a confusion which can only be solved by defining caste as "a particular species of structural organization indissolubly linked with . . . Pan-Indian civilization." The Indian world, to him, provides the cultural syndromes in terms of which the structural aspects of the caste system may be investigated: it is in the nature of external relations between caste groupings that one can find the essence of the caste system.

No one can quarrel with Leach for defining the caste system in this way. But does it go far enough? If caste is peculiar to the Pan-Indian civilization, then obviously this concept cannot be applied to other societies. Leach's definition may be useful in the holistic analysis of societies in the Pan-Indian complex, but the sociologist, interested in comparative studies, will feel unduly restrained if he cannot generalize from one social system to another similar in structure, no matter in which part of the world.

It seems doubtful that Leach's emphasis on "cultural rules of caste behavior" will help in understanding adequately the process of change in caste societies delimited by him. The traditional intercaste relations offer a fragile model for understanding behavior of caste groups in the modern world. For instance, recent village studies from India, Pakistan, and Ceylon distinctly show that the process of change has to be visualized along two different scales: one organized about what, for want of a better name, may be called the "axis of ritualization" (examples: Aryanization, Sanskritization, Kulinism, etc.); the second about the axis of secularization. Deviations from the classical ideology of the caste system should not be treated

as though in defiance of caste principles, as Leach would have it, but must be accounted for in terms of the changing pattern of the caste system. Today it is often observed that whole castes utilize both sacred and secular principles for organizing their behavior along new lines, which suggests that the caste system of the Pan-Indian civilization is undergoing a radical transformation. The evidence for this has been duly documented in the competent analyses of the various ethnographers represented in this volume.

A Comparative Analysis of the "Jajmani" System is a revised version of a Master's thesis. The book merits attention for the kind of problems it raises rather than its conceptual analysis. The *jajmani* system has been viewed by most observers as the socioeconomic linkages between various caste groups in the context of the non-monetized, agrarian economy of the Indian subcontinent. The author of this book claims further that it was essentially a power system "rooted in land tenure, numerical superiority, political connection and the ritual-scriptural sanctions" working in favor of the elites. He rejects the hypothesis of mutual need and underplays the evidence on the inability of the *jajman* (patron) to dismiss his *purjan* (server of the patron). But surely a careful analysis of the functions of the *dominant* caste would have strengthened his argument, especially because the *dominant* castes had power but not always the station of a high caste in the *varna* scheme. Such an analysis of the Pan-Indian stratification system could also throw much light on the goodness-of-fit hypothesis being discussed in stratification theory today.

On the whole, the two books under review have succeeded in raising more fruitful problems about the caste system than they have solved, and this augurs well for further research and discussion.

BAIDYA NATH VARMA

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Social and Economic Change among the Northern Ojibwa. By R. W. DUNNING. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959. Pp. xiv +217. $5.50.

Paradoxically, the theoretical sociologists in the United States, though participants in a changing society, have occupied themselves with the elaboration of schemes for the description and classification of static systems. The growing hegemony of the structural-functional school of sociology makes it unlikely that mainstream sociology, American style, will address itself to the task of constructing the concepts and theory necessary for the analysis of changing systems. The most recent theoretical exposition from that school's leader, Parsons leaves every question about change unexamined and unanswered. This is the case despite the claim of total applicability "to the analysis of all types of systems of action."

If the reader were restricted to the recent work of American sociologists, he would get little help in trying to understand why today's world is so different from yesterday's and in trying to predict the outlines of tomorrow Fortunately, he can turn elsewhere. One source of hope and help is the work of the British social anthropologists, among them R. W. Dunning of the University of Manitoba. The book under review is a first-rate example of empirical research on the problem of social change, specifically the changing society of the Pekangekum Ojibwa of Northern Ontario. It does not tell us anything about change in a large-scale society because it is about one of the smallest extant: 55 persons in 1876 and 382 in 1955 What it does suggest is that the social scientist can carry through a causal analysis of the dynamic transformation of a society by making use of a limited number of causal variables Spokesmen for the structual-functional school of American sociology say that this cannot be done (Davis, Washburne, Johnson). Dunning shows us how to do it. The ideological climate of the "Cold War" (1917 to the present) has made it fashionable for the sociologist to prejudge negatively any analysis of social change that loads the economic variables. Dunning shows us that in the case of the Pekangekum Ojibwa there is no way to make sense of the data unless one recognizes the paramount significance of the economic and ecological variables. This book is a provocative example of what can be done in the way of dynamic analysis. Unfortunately, we can do no more than indicate a few of the highlights of the study.

Dunning distinguishes between two types of Ojibwa society: those bands which have been overwhelmed by western cultural and social forces and those more remote bands far to the north, such as Pekangekum, which have had

little beyond economic contact with Western society. The significant new factors introduced into the Pekangekum social system were the fur trade prior to 1876 and the issuing of emergency food rations in 1882 which then evolved into a system of permanent annual sudsidies. The impact of these two economic factors is traced through a sequence of changes and emerging social forms, and the principal consequences of the process of social change, stretching over approximately seventy years, are analyzed in detail. A few of the major findings are: (1) The population of the band has increased from 55 to 382. (2) The number and size of the co-residental units has increased with an increase of virilocality in these units. (3) The total population is increasingly concentrated during the summer at two localities. (4) Intracamp and intercamp conflicts are on the increase as the dual kinship division of the society is crystallized with increased joking and avoidance relations. (5) The definition of kinship and regulation of marriage is changing with a steady accentuation of the patri-kin group. (6) A new concept of identity vis-à-vis non-Pekangekum Ojibwa and the non-Ojibwa has emerged along with a shift to band endogamy. (7) Non-Ojibwa governmental control of trapping and subsidies (especially the latter) have attenuated the authority of the leader of the co-residental group. (8) There has been a gradual decline in magical practices with the change in economy and ecology.

Reference is made to Steward's work and hypotheses dealing with the determinative effects of ecology on residence patterns and social structure. Steward's suggestions are elaborated and refined by Dunning as he isolates the mechanisms actually involved in the evolution of new minimal co-operative residence units. My major criticism of this study is that Dunning did not make the testing of Steward's hypotheses a more central and explicit focus of his research.

It is important to note that at many different points throughout the study the author emphasizes the role of economic variables in the process of social change. "Because of its isolation, Pekangekum Band has little contact with Western cultural norms as a living society. It has been influenced at long range and through the medium of a changing economy" (p. 162). In conclusion he urges that similarly isolated societies, which provide an almost experimental situation, be studied in order to advance our systematic knowledge of social change.

MERVYN L. CADWALLADER

San Jose State College

Famille, industrialisation, logement. By ANDRÉE MICHEL. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1959. Pp. 392. Fr. 2,100.

Famille et habitation, I: Sciences humaines et conceptions de l'habitation. By PAUL CHOMBART DE LAUWE, M. J. CHOMBART DE LAUWE, L. COUVREUR, D. DUBOIS-TAINE, F. FICHET-POITREY, P. LABAT, P. MAUDAULE, L. MARCU, and O. MIRET. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1959. Pp. 219. Fr. 1,800.

Although both these publications have appeared at the same place and at the same time, although both deal with some aspect of the relationship between housing and the family that inhabits it, they are very different. The first is primarily occupied with a thorough demographic account of the population of furnished hotels in the district of the Seine in Paris, based partly upon a particular investigation of 276 households and a variety of official statistics covering the area. In contrast to our family statistics, which demand both relationship between the different family members and also that they live together in the same dwelling unit, "household" is here defined exclusively as a matter of the people living together inside the same dwelling unit. The great number of furnished hotels as a typically urban habitation is bound to startle most American readers. Ordinary apartments and tourist apartments are carefully distinguished.

This publication will be of particular interest to those concerned with similar demographic surveys in this country. They may gain something from a comparison of the method and contents, which are very different in the Parisian environment from that prevailing in our own cities.

The second publication is of a very different nature. The several authors who co-operated in the study take cognizance of the fact that the relationship between housing and family living deserves further investigation. No one scholar would have been able to contribute such

variegated information about a field of study which embraces perhaps the last pioneering field of sociology. The members of the Groupe d'Ethnologie Sociale who have co-operated here have tried to give some unity to the publication by discussing every chapter with each other, while accepting individual responsibility for the individual chapters. Style and content, to be sure, vary greatly, which all indicates very different backgrounds of knowledge.

It is a question whether and in what manner the social scientist is capable of helping the architect in designing and constructing the individual family residence. To be efficient and agreeable to the people who are going to live in these houses, the architect has, of course, to concern himself with "functional" architecture, and the function here at stake is, to be sure, the pattern of family living which is bound to influence the floor plan of the family residence. Hence, to begin with, the investigation branches out into a query about the difference of patterns of family living in different cultures. It may amaze the American reader familiar with anthropological literature that in France the task of generalization can be attacked so easily. While we are inclined to think of an infinite number of different preliterate cultures, we here confront a relatively simple and everywhere similar pattern of family life, that which by way of tradition demands a single family hut standing in a series of huts encompassing the entire population around the village compound. Fascinating, although also dangerously near the possibility of oversimplification through easy generalization, is the indication of the manner in which polygamy tends to express itself symbolically in its housing, different subdivisions of the domicile being available for the various wives of the head of the household.

Later on, differences in housing, furniture styles, and taste are assigned to different historical periods. The history of France, of course, is rich in suggestive examples, not the least because of the architects and architectural writers associated with alternating periods. At the end of the book both living architects and interior designers are asked a number of questions pertinent to the mutual adjustment of people and their housing facilities. The prominence of LeCorbusier as compared to Frank Lloyd Wright is of interest to American readers. In general, the publication comprises a first vague attempt at stock-taking in a fairly new enterprise.

Different methods have been tried, and the knowledge of different experts has been probed with regard to their ability to take the idea of "functional" architecture seriously. Inasmuch as our sociologists have not done very much in showing the architect where they can be of help to him, this book is bound to be a useful stimulation.

SVEND RIEMER

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Los Angeles

Die Struktur der Familie. By WILLIAM J GOODE. Cologne and Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1960. Pp. 107. $2.50 (DM 9.80).

In these 1954 Berlin lectures Goode outlines a truly sociological—that is, structural-functional, as distinct from biological or social-psychological—approach to the study of the family His ideas are often original and stimulating and always clear, reflecting a preference for bold assertion as against fuzziness. The attempt to cover a wide range of topics on a variety of different levels has led to a lengthy outline rather than a thorough exposition of a few main points.

Building on Malinowski and Kingsley Davis, he suggests that the chief function of the family is the social placement of children, including socialization and the social sanctions applied to the child of a given social position. A society's unfavorable attitude toward illegitimacy is seen as a necessary consequence of difficulties created in placing the child in the social structure. (Later, in the analysis of American patterns, the importance of child placement is used to explain why the American illegitimacy rate is not increasing, despite increases in sexual freedom, and why illegitimacy rates are higher in countries where fatherhood is not so crucial to the social placement of the child.) This function is tied to others in a single social unit, because the child must be connected with some group in order to be socialized, the socializers must have the same social status as the child, and it is simpler to provide the necessary physical and emotional gratifications in a single group, the family. Selection of mate is determined in large part by the necessity of forming a union that can place a child in a definite position, thus explaining the difficulties of a heterogomous marriage. While this is a

highly original and stimulating analysis, occasionally it seems to be carried a bit far, as when the confusion in role resulting from a child of a father-daughter union having a sister who is his mother is seen as one of the reasons for the taboo on incest.

In his cogent summary of the Western nuclear family, dating, marriage, and divorce, Goode does not really follow through with his argument about the importance of social placement of children, focusing rather on the marital pair in the social class setting. Despite his concern with the comparative study of the family that he urges at the close of his lectures, occasionally his orientation seems Western rather than universal and reflects inadequate consideration of such social structures as the work organization and the neighborhood. For example, a comparative sociology of divorce must treat all the rearrangements in the social structure that follow with divorce.

These lectures represent an established sociologist's first general formulations after entering the field of the family, and they have a freshness which should keep him and other students of a valid sociology of the family busy for some time to come.

Ezra F. Vogel
Yale University

The Vanishing Adolescent. By Edgar Z. Friedenberg. With an introduction by David Riesman. Boston: Beacon Press, 1959. Pp. xv+144 $2.95.

This essay by a teacher of social science and education at Brooklyn College is a condemnation of our schools and of our society in general for the damage inflicted upon adolescents. It is written with the keen perceptiveness of a passionately concerned critic and abounds in stimulating ideas expressed in a sprightly, epigrammatic style. All this should be accomplishment enough for a slender book, and perhaps it is. But one wishes that this interesting book were more nearly complete. To be sure, an essay is not a research report. What is lacking, however, is not alone evidence for many of the assertions but their fuller development and exemplification and their delimitation.

The author maintains that the developmental task of adolescence is the acquisition of a clear and a stable self-image. The school must contribute to the process of self-definition by clarifying experiences and developing competence ("a youngster who doesn't know what he is good *at* will not be sure what he is good *for*"). But, far from thus serving the adolescents, the school destroys their self-respect. Our cultural emphasis upon pliability and adjustment gives the young no practice in autonomy. By its blandness and its fear of conflict the school confuses rather than clarifies standards. A society that lacks respect for individual autonomy cannot develop it in its young.

Equally disastrous are some latent consequences of techniques of socialization, particularly when these are coupled with certain unconscious psychological attitudes. Friedenberg feels that adults today are frequently afraid of and hostile to adolescents. Envy of youth in a society which glorifies youth, fear of loss of control, homosexual anxieties—all contribute to destructive feelings. Under these circumstances the current norms of non-violence and "palship" result in covert manipulation which is more damaging to the young than was the occasionally brutal authoritarianism of the past. Drawing upon Hollingshead and Cohen, the author interprets the delinquency of the lower-class boy as a response to the unbearable humiliation suffered in the middle-class environment.

That the book almost certainly exaggerates the malevolence of adults matters little. It seeks to arouse our concern and provide an interpretation which might also guide policy. Here some questions arise. The author did not convince this reviewer (as he had not David Riesman) that the coercive dominance of the old schools was less damaging than the current mildness. A comparative set of case histories might have served to illustrate the author's point. The five case histories presented in the book illustrate results rather than process. There is nothing in that chapter to account for the fact that one "autonomous" boy escaped unscathed and others succumbed.

The book deals primarily with problems of male adolescents at the hands of male teachers and counselors. Since so high a proportion of schoolteachers are women, a more explicit delimitation of the scope of the argument would have added to clarity.

Mirra Komarovsky
Barnard College

Understanding Organizational Behavior. By Chris Argyris. Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1960. Pp. xii+179. $5.00.

Even the overcritical reader will be disarmed by the author's modesty. This substantial treatise is introduced as "only a one-man's point of view," an "interim report," and a "theoretical framework still in its infancy." Perhaps the author's self-depreciation is just a little forced. The array of theoretical perspectives, conceptual formulations, scholarly references, and catholic application of all up-to-date research techniques and devices is quite formidable. In the best sociological tradition of our day the author demonstrates his erudition not only in the spectrum of the behavioral sciences, including psychiatry, but also in biology, the physical sciences, and the philosophy of science itself.

These theoretical expostulations are followed by painstaking reports of research or diagnostic procedures and of model-building and its application to empirical case studies in industrial plants. Many of the concepts are, of course, old, but others sound new and original. All seem to be eminently acceptable or fashionable.

Numerous hypotheses are concisely formulated, and the evidence, quantitative and qualitative, is systematically adduced. The results are presented in exhaustive classifications, neat tabulations, and very comprehensive charts. All this is done with a great deal of scientific conscientiousness.

Let the quantitative methodologist worry about the legitimacy of the scoring, scaling, and significant testing applied to rather small samples and subsamples. This reviewer is impressed with the author's accomplishment in bridging theory and research. The over-all result is refreshingly novel, as it avoids the tedious generalities of industrial sociology textbooks and the unrelatedness of individual studies of organization. Indubitably and deservedly, this book will find a wide professional readership, as investigations of complex organizational behavior are the order of the day.

It is to be hoped that, as the author progresses toward a final report, he will free himself somewhat from a seeming preoccupation with theoretical and methodological considerations and perhaps involve himself more imaginatively in organizational complexities. For the most interesting points the author raises appear in his list of "some unanswered issues." Surely his demonstrated theoretical and methodological skill will eventually provide the answers.

This in no way should diminish the value of the book both for the professional student of organizational behavior and for the industrial executive. The latter will profit at least by seeing his hunches translated into the logic of scientific propositions by seeing or, as the author quotes one of the participating top executives "even more clearly how complex and difficult it is to truly understand human behavior in an organization." For the professional student the book depicts concisely and graphically the many interrelationships of significant behavioral variables in an organization, which challenge the often facile attempts of oversimplified quantitative analysis.

And yet, with greatest appreciation for the author's respect for the uniqueness of organizational complexity, this reviewer is sufficiently old-fashioned (or perhaps "Galilean") to feel that the behavioral scientist's role is also to simplify imaginatively or "ideal typically" the pattern of significant and unique variables, at least if he is identified with the traditional meaning of the "understanding" (*verstehende*) method of social research.

GERHARD W. DITZ

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The CIO Challenge to the AFL: A History of the American Labor Movement, 1935–1941 By WALTER GALENSON. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1960. Pp. xix+732 $9.75.

This is the story of the years when the strongholds of industrial capitalism were organized by the American labor unions. The mines, the steel mills, rubber, truck transport, electrical manufacturing, and others fell, one by one, into the column of organized labor. At the end of the period the day of the open shop in mass production was over. Though millions of workers remained unorganized, the key working parts of the American economy were ordered by a double network—corporate control conjoined with the power of the international unions.

Galenson is an informed and sophisticated chronicler. He recounts the decisive organizing campaigns: Lewis' men riding through the hills to tell the miners, "President Roosevelt wants you to organize"; the fall of the United States Steel Corporation and the battle over "Little Steel"; the "battle of the Ford overpass" and the collapse of Ford resistance to the United Auto Workers; the sit-down strikes in Akron

and the burgeoning "Conferences" of the Teamsters Union.

After a brief introductory chapter detailing the struggle between industrial unionism and craft unions in the American Federation of Labor and the emergence of the Committee of Industrial Organizations, the author presents detailed histories of unionism in seventeen areas of the economy. Each is a brief case history of the interaction between AFL and CIO, between both and the company, and among unions, company, and the workers. Unfortunately, his account is weakest where the workers' behavior is involved. Running through all the stories are certain assumptions: that the National Industrial Recovery Act and President Roosevelt's position encouraged the initial flow into the unions. that the National Labor Relations Act maintained and reinforced this massive growth, that the recession of 1937 weakened unions with their members as well as with the employers, and that the increased employment consequent to American involvement in European conflict strengthened the unions once more. Such interpretations are certainly plausible and, currently, are generally accepted. However, until the theory relating the behavior of the mass of workers to union structure is made more explicit and subjected to careful testing, the interpretations are no better han informed guesses.

It is striking that this radical transformation of control in the world of work has elicited so little systematic explanation. Crucial issues are involved. Was organizing contingent upon economic advantage? Or did it simply exploit the resentment of workers in an authoritarian and unpredictable situation? What underlay the tactics and grand strategy of organizing—why did it succeed? Was the union appeal so great that organization would have come about without the backing of Roosevelt, Wagner, Perkins, and the National Labor Relations Board? (In Galenson's account the effect of such support in creating norms for the relationship between union leader and management is certainly emphasized.) In short, how did all of this happen?

Galenson is a historian of labor and does not take responsibility for answers—though he hazards guesses. Sociologists concerned with organizational analysis on the grand scale must do so, whether they call themselves sociologists of industry, stratification, social organization, conflict, or whatnot. And this is not to suggest a series of *ad hoc* guesses to compete with Galenson's interpretation: a more systematic and general theory, and a concern for the observables of union organizing where it hits the member and the company, is required.

These chronicles of organizational conflict, growth, merger, and decline, are a rich and provocative set of cases to be explained, a challenge to sociology. And for the sociologist who is moderately misinformed about the labor movement—that is, the one who gets his information from the professional journals and the newspapers—*The CIO Challenge to the AFL* is a splendid introduction.

SCOTT GREER

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Die Verheimlichte Wahrheit: Theresienstädter Dokumente ("The Concealed Truth: Theresienstadt Documents"). By H. G. ADLER. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1958. Pp. xiv+372. DM. 38.

In 1955 Adler published his story of Theresienstadt, the "model Ghetto" established by the National Socialist regime for Jews of the "protected territories." That volume was reviewed in the *Journal* in January, 1957.

In the present volume Adler presents two hundred and forty-one documents about that unique model city. There is a letter from Himmler ordering transport of the remaining sick Jews from a hospital to Theresienstadt so that the building may be used for a home for children of the SS; there are cartoons done by inmates, reports of the "self-government," notices to individuals to appear for transport (to the gas chambers), whitewashing reports to the press, a last love letter written by a wife to her husband on the day when she expected to die in Auschwitz (and apparently did)—the documents are various. The striking thing about them is their *Sachlichkeit*. An Eichmann, a Himmler, or some other official concerned with the "final solution of the Jewish problem" writes a matter-of-fact order concerning the feeding or housing of Theresienstadt's Jews. A member of the community writes in equally matter-of-fact mood about the disposal of corpses.

Adler has spent a good many years in collecting material on Theresienstadt. Not only historians and social scientists are in his debt: all thoughtful men should be grateful to him

for assembling the evidence of that unbelievable enterprise.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

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From Field to Factory: New Industrial Employees. By JAMES SYDNEY SLOTKIN. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. Pp. 156. $4.00.

Students of the social and cultural aspects of industrialization must have eagerly awaited this book. Previous pioneering attempts made during the last ten years or so by anthropologists and sociologists (not to mention economists) to isolate this seemingly new phenomenon conceptually and to understand its course, either generally or in specific cases, might not have succeeded in grasping this "process of adopting industrialism" in all its dimensions and implications. Yet the study under review adds nothing substantially new to the as yet slender corpus of literature that reflects on and attempts to trace a process that has come in our times to encompass, sometimes vigorously and rapidly, so many underdeveloped areas of the world.

Intended to "develop a theory about the recruitment and commitment of the (industrial) labor force in underdeveloped areas" from a social-anthropological viewpoint, the book strikes one as nothing so much as a primer consisting in "a systematic body of generalizations which would organize, explain, and predict phenomena occurring among all [?] new industrial employees." The phenomena in question, the industrialization problems, advanced exploratorily in the form of a "compendent set of hypothetical propositions," are amply, although perhaps rather selectively, illustrated from the existing literature and from the author's own research. Among the latter figure his studies among the Menomini (and other North American Indian groups) and his special investigation of a factory near Chicago which employs native-born white migrants from the southeastern United States. The invocation of the last-named group of new industrial workers side by side, for example, with migrant South African Bantus working near Johannesburg, both situations engendering the "same phenomena," represents indeed a welcome and suggestive manner of exemplifying not so much the general features of the process of industrialization as those far more incisive processes of change, of acculturation and transformation (or resistance thereto) that attend migration and/or urbanization—processes which, so far generally are concomitants of industrialization (change of occupation) as such.

That these phenomena are so gratifyingly similar to Slotkin is the more remarkable in view of his rigid commitment to the overriding importance of "custom" (those of the specific society or group in question and those of industrialism) in shaping the course and nature of the induction of new labor into industry: the ever asserted role of the "customs" in industrialization appear rather minor when seen in the context of migration and/or urbanization. Granted the very real difficulty of treating industrialization in isolation, Slotkin's discussion confirms the growing suspicion that industrialization per se is a relatively minor force in social and cultural change and that a host of other innovating and reorganizing processes (political, economic, religious, etc.) are primary in initiating and sustaining change, even as to new industrial labor.

The author's analysis of employees under variable social and cultural configurations is commendably orderly and systematic, but its rigor is somewhat spurious, and the resulting insights, while at times happily phrased, novel and suggestive, are not particularly original. On the other hand, it is gratifying to note that certain special problems, posed conjecturally and hypothetically in earlier considerations of the human element in industrialization, have been considered here and, to a limited degree, corroborated.

BEATE R. SALZ

University of Puerto Rico

Daseinsformen der Grossstadt: Typische Formen sozialer Existenz in Stadtmitte, Vorstadt und Gürtel der Grossstadt ("Patterns of Metropolitan Life: Typical Patterns of Social Existence in the Central City, in the Suburbs and in the Residential Fringe of the Metropolis"). By RAINER MACKENSEN, JOHANNES PAPALEKAS, ELISABETH PFEIL, WOLFGANG SCHÜTTE, and LUCIUS BURCKHARDT. ("Soziale Forschung und Praxis von der Sozialforschungsstelle an der Universität Münster in Dortmund," Vol. XX.) Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1959. Pp. xiii+376. DM. 38.00 (paper); DM. 41.50 (cloth).

In a review of an earlier volume in this series, *Standort und Wohnort* (this *Journal*, January, 1959), reference was made to a forth coming volume treating problems of industrial and residential location in a more systematic fashion. The present volume is a first instalment on this promise. Its title could perhaps be more descriptively rendered as "Basic ecological, familial, residential, occupational, and neighborhood-relationship patterns of the metropolis in an industrial society."

This study has the merit of resting on a strictly empirical basis, largely quantitative, with yet a clear-cut theoretical orientation and a thorough grounding in economic history and theory, in human ecology (*Raumforschung*), and in sociological theory. While drawing heavily on research in the entire field of urbanism, it focuses principally on the findings of the research group in Dortmund and the Ruhr Valley area, and only on selective aspects at that. It is frankly exploratory in intent rather than in any way definitive.

The theoretical framework of the volume may be briefly summarized as follows: Modern industry has created its own distinctive form of urbanization, which can be characterized as a metropolitan agglomeration no longer primarily a function of the natural resources—the economic, population, and social conditions in the immediate hinterland—but functioning selectively, as it were, as a relatively independent dominant center of a much larger area—regional, national, and even supranational—drawing on those raw material and population resources, far and near, that it particularly needs, and marketing its products in a similarly selective fashion. Locally, there is at once a sharpening of ecological differentiation between the different zones (*Stadtmitte, Vorstadt,* and *Whongürtel*) and their subdivisions (*Stadtviertel*) and a greater and different kind of functional interdependence between them. By *Vorstadt,* incidentally, is meant not "suburb" but what in older cities would be the extramural part of the walled city. And the *Wohngürtel* is, in industrial Germany at least, seldom purely residential but also in part industrial (e.g., mining) and small-scale agricultural.

From an occupational standpoint, there will be approximately one person employed in secondary production (*Folgeleistung,* Sombart's "city fillers") to every one employed in primary production or *Grundleistung* (city builders). "Primary" here refers not to basic or "heavy" industries but merely to the "functionally" primary in the city's *raison d'etre;* "secondary" to occupations of a service character in relation to the primary, though it may include even building industry. To these, two persons in the labor force will be added, normally, two others as dependents, and a third in the class of *pensionär*—making, roughly five persons for every *Arbeitsstätte* or available job in the primary category.

Into this framework, empirically established but perhaps not as fully documented in this volume as might be desired, the authors seek to fit the results of their own investigations into family-residential, housing, occupational, kinship, and neighborhood associational patterns on a house-to-house, sample-block basis for the various zones and there subdivisions in cities in the Ruhr Valley—chiefly Dortmund, where the research center is located but which is believed to be typical of the region.

An elaborate questionnaire of some 140 items (reproduced in the Appendix) served as a guide to intensive interviews of some hundreds of families by students from various universities and distributed as indicated above. These offered at once a detailed census of the households contacted, a pooling of many details on domestic, occupational, and neighborhood behavior, distance and mode of travel to place of employment, etc., as well as providing some attitudes and opinions pertinent to the study. Official census data and other public records on housing, family mobility, settlement projects, etc., were also utilized. There are separate chapters on the industrial metroplis in general—its economic-historical and its ecological structure, on the city center, on the *Vorstadt,* and on the *Wohngürtel,* with a separate chapter on neighborhood relations and contacts and a summary of the findings of the study as a whole.

The Appendix contains, beside an index, a number of maps of the area, the questionnaire forms and a bibliography of some 758 entries, covering with remarkable thoroughness the entire German, American, English, and French literature on urbanism, with some titles in other languages.

This volume makes a distinct contribution to urban studies and to our understanding of metropolitan community life. Of special interest to the American student with knowledge of the German will be such matters as the following:

There is provided here welcome evidence of a marked turn among German students today toward empirical studies in sociology and related fields, with yet careful attention to theoretical orientation.

German cities, at least those in the Ruhr Valley, present an ecological pattern differing in a number of respects from that typical of American cities, for example, location of retail and other service outlets in residential areas rather than in nearby "shopping centers"; presence not merely of horticultural activities but of various small-scale agricultural activities, such as swine, sheep, and goat culture as supplementary occupation in residential suburbs.

There is little evidence of interstitial areas on fringes of city centers developing into slums as in American cities.

While suburban family life presents some evidence of upward mobility and social climbing or rivalry for prestige, nothing like our suburban rivalry of the $10,000–$15,000 junior executive's families is in evidence here.

Though this is less in evidence in this than in the earlier volume, *Standort und Wohnort*, official census data and other public records make possible studies of the relation between residence and place of employment that would be quite impossible in the United States except by means of special surveys or, to a limited extent, by use of city directories giving address, occupation, and place of employment.

Basic to all other considerations, private motor transportation, especially by automobile, has not yet, at least, come to dominate the ecological pattern of the metropolis to anything like the extent it has on the American metropolitan community scene.

WILLIAM C. LEHMAN

Chatham College

Indagine sull'integrazione sociale in due quartieri di Roma ("A Study of Social Integration in Two Quarters of Rome"). By ARNOLD M. ROSE. Rome: Instituto di Statistica, 1959. Pp. 105

As a Fulbright Teaching Fellow at the University of Rome, Professor Rose engaged the thirty-five students of his introductory sociology course in a special two-month seminar which undertook the preparation and execution of this study of social integration in two quarters of Rome. Designed to augment related classroom instruction, the research project was planned to provide instruction in American methodology and to demonstrate the sometimes disputed adaptability of certain American techniques of interrogation to the demands of an Italian milieu. The contribution of this, the resultant publication, lies less in its findings than as a stimulus and guide to future research

The investigation, modest in aims and accomplishments, compares two working-class quarters which differ primarily in that the one is very old while the other was founded only two years before the time of study. Data derive from the casual interview in the home following a preformulated questionnaire and succeed mainly in a simple indication that the older community is more integrated than is the new in the nature and frequency of social contact and communication. An attempt to deal with a measure of anomie and the authoritarian personality failed, as might be anticipated in a project of such limited scope.

The hope is expressed that these findings "will have a certain degree of comparability for other Western societies." The author, however, is clearly aware of the interpretive problems that vitiate simple comparison, for it is noted in the text that a positive response to the statement, "the most important thing to teach children is absolute obedience of parents," is not as similarly indicative of authoritarian personality in Rome as in Springfield, Massachusetts.

Those concerned with voluntary associations will be especially interested in Appendix I, in which Italy is compared to France and contrasted with Great Britain and the United States in the correlation of restrictive legislation and an inhibited development of sodalities

ROBERT T. ANDERSON

Mills College

Metropolis and Region. By OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN, W. RICHARD SCOTT, STANLEY LIEBERSON, BEVERLY D. DUNCAN, and HAL H. WINSBOROUGH. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press, 1960. Pp. xviii+587. $8.50.

Briefly, this book discusses the function and location of modern metropolises in America. The issues the authors raise are highly signifi-

cant for urban study and date back, especially, to the writings of German scholars of the nineteenth century. The present work should assume a highly respected place among these endeavors.

The very abundant data and the variety of topics considered in this book force the reviewer to be selective in comment. Among the various contributions are the authors' summation and evaluation, albeit from their viewpoint, of a substantial portion of the literature on urban function and location. The chapter on urban hierarchy is most informative. The writers have amassed an impressive body of economic data on some fifty Standard Metropolitan Areas in the United States with populations in 1950 of between 300,000 and 3 million. For each area they delineate an "industrial profile": the particular industrial pattern that lends it distinctiveness. (But why not pose the question: What are some of their fundamental similarities?) Much of the book (especially pp. 279–550) is specifically devoted to a presentation of hard data on the areas. The authors have worked out a classification of cities according to metropolitan functions and regional relationships (a summary table appears on p. 271). In developing their scheme, the authors have built upon the works of Gras and, more recent, of Vance and Smith. They rightly examine the economic role of metropolitan areas not merely in the narrow regional sense but in their relationships to the broader society. Interest in viewing the city in national and international perspective has come slowly to sociology, but this book should speed the maturation process.

The book's methodological orientation merits attention. The authors avowedly employ an inductive research strategy, in contrast with the deductive orientation of the earlier German writers, yet they are aware of certain limitations of it, including the dangers of employing inadequate data and utilizing classification schemes (like those of the U.S. Census) that do not permit the rigorous testing of their particular hypotheses. Admirably, the authors meet these issues head on; they do not mesmerize the reader with fairy tales about the "inherent objectivity" of statistical data, no matter how employed. Instead, they bring to the forefront a methodological issue that has not received due attention: how best to employ data originally amassed and classified for one purpose to achieve another goal, that is, the testing of quite different hypotheses.

The authors have, with singleness of purposes, examined the functions and location of American metropolitan centers from an economic viewpoint—and justifiably, for few sociologists have ventured such. But, treating metropolitan location and function, as they do, within the context of a single social system, why do they choose to ignore the operation of forces other than the economic—say, the broader institutional matrix of the society, particularly the power structure? Admittedly, the volume is oriented about the concept of "the ecological complex" discussed in earlier writings of Duncan and Leo Schnore. Yet a salient fact emerges: this framework has much in common, at least in certain of its assumptions, with neoclassical economics, a link the authors do not explore. Like the last-named tradition, the present work sees the economic structure as functioning in what is more or less a vacuum. Nevertheless, the broader society's power structure can hardly be disregarded if one is properly to assess and explain the hierarchical arrangement or location of metropolitan areas. No doubt in the future in America and elsewhere we will find even more purposive intervention by the government in the direction of the economic system, and the implications of this for the structure and function of cities will be profound.

Notwithstanding, this book is important reading for all social scientists who are actively engaged in examining the problems discussed within its hard covers.

GIDEON SJOBERG
University of Texas

Residential Renewal in the Urban Core. By CHESTER RAPKIN and WILLIAM G. GRIGSBY. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960. Pp. 131. $3.75.

Combining information from several sources, Rapkin and Grigsby estimate the future demand for housing in downtown Philadelphia. Present residents of the area are found to be drawn quite disproportionately from older, one- and two-person households with relatively high incomes and with a non-working head or one working in the central area itself.

Although no major shift in this pattern of selectivity is anticipated, population growth, ris-

ing income, and some increase in preference for living in the center of the city are expected to increase the number of potential residents, while allowances for present backlog of demand, obsolescence of the housing supply, and maintenance of a vacancy rate high enough to permit consumer choice contribute further to the projected expansion of demand over the period 1957–70. Such estimates appear to justify rather ambitious redevelopment projects in the city's core. The authors foresee a revivification of the area with consequent benefit for the whole community, although they point out that the numbers involved hardly amount to a "great surge of population returning from suburban residences."

The ingenuity of the analysis and the clarity of presentation attain high standards in comparison with the usual planning report and appear to afford a sounder basis for program design than is usually available.

OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN

University of Chicago

The Image of the City. By KEVIN LYNCH. Cambridge, Mass.: Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University Press, 1960. Pp. vii+194. $5.50.

This small volume deserves careful study by anyone who is genuinely interested in how city people perceive their cities, its streets, districts, and monuments. Since the twenties, when sociologists were assiduously exploring the various social worlds of Chicago, urban sociology has moved steadily away from focus upon the psychological meaning of living in cities possibly because we all live now in or near cities and take them much more for granted than did our predecessors. It is in this context that Lynch's book, especially his first two chapters, deserves to be read.

Lynch is an architect and city planner with the new and useful idea that, if cities are to be built to give more pleasure to the eye, then extant ones should be genuinely studied to discover their impact upon their citizens. Therefore, he has set up and reported a small pilot study of how some of the citizens of Boston, Jersey City, and Los Angeles perceive the central areas of their cities. The number of his interviews was very small, and the samples, as he notes, were biased toward middle-class persons; but the data have suggested to Lynch a host of concepts useful for more aesthetic city planning. For sociological research his data are less useful, but they are still suggestive enough for someone, surely, to be stimulated to pick up the trail.

Here are some examples that should interest us. (I paraphrase.) In Jersey City there is a paucity of recognizable districts and land marks: none of the respondents had anything like a comprehensive view of the city. People remarked typically that it is not a whole but a collection of hamlets. The consensus of elements thought distinctive by them is bare as compared with what Bostonians think of Boston. Much of the characteristic feeling for Jersey City was that "it was a place on the edge of something else." And the question, "What first comes to mind with the words 'Jersey City'? so easy for Bostonians to answer, proved to be a difficult one. Again and again, subjects repeated that "nothing special" came to mind that the city was "hard to symbolize." But, for most Bostonians interviewed, Boston is a city of "very distinctive districts and of crooked, confusing paths." Boston is widely symbolized as dirty, old, historical, congested.

The data on Los Angeles are particularly interesting because of its spread-out character. Subjects describe the city, as a whole, as extended, spacious, formless, without centers. "Los Angeles seemed to be hard to envision or conceptualize as a whole. An endless spread which may carry pleasant connotations of space around the dwellings, or overtones of weariness and disorientation, was the common image." Visualization of the region itself seemed not too difficult, but of city districts it was weak. However, near one's home area "there was evidence of daily interest and pleasure in the scene. Nearing the center, this image gradually became grayer, more abstract and conceptual." As might be expected, traffic and highways were dominant images. Traffic is referred to as a daily battle with weariness but also with kinesthetic sensations of dropping, turning, climbing; but even fast drivers seemed to enjoy urban detail. Another frequent theme was relative age: "Perhaps because so much of the environment is new or changing, there was evidence of widespread, almost pathological, attachment to anything that had survived the upheaval."

Lynch remarks that his analysis is limited to the effects of physical, perceptible objects. But there "are other influences on imageability such as the social meaning of an area, its func-

tions its history, or even its name." These latter he has deliberately glossed over; but precisely those matters are of greatest interest to urban sociology. Nevertheless, his mode of analysis—he offers us techniques and diagrams for analyzing the interviews—should prove useful when related to particular populations (ethnic, social class). This kind of research is in a direction in which a future urban sociology could move with profit.

ANSELM STRAUSS

University of California Medical Center

An Introduction to Electronic Data Processing. By ROGER NETT and STANLEY A. HETZLER. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959. Pp. 287. $6.75.

The authors apply a broad but light brush to the complex subject of the use of electronic computers. In an easy style the reader is gently led a modest distance along the usual path to the understanding of computer structure, programming, logical design and electronics, applications, personnel organization, and training. There are no references in the text, but a selected list through 1957 is appended; other appendixes describe several computer models.

The volume apparently developed from the experience of the authors—sociologists by training—in the Electronic Data Processing Training Program of the United States Air Force. There is no parochialism in the intended audience, however, which includes "the industrialist . . . , the scientist . . . , the student . . . , the educator . . . , the administrator . . . , and finally, the general reader . . . ," It seems, however, most appropriate to the administrator who is concerned with the decision for and the planning of a computer installation.

As users, sociologists are interested in the potentialities of computers primarily for analysis of data and, secondarily, for the simulation of social processes, as in Coleman's iterative models. This volume will not help much on these points. Moreover, for broader administrative use, this book does not add greatly to previous works, nor is it much more up to date.

One aspect of computers which should interest sociologists is tangentially suggested by the first chapter—which views the development of computers as an extension of the industrial revolution—and by various comments throughout the book emphasizing the importance of social factors. It is that study might well be made of the whole field itself, which in twenty years has come from insignificance to major status, with considerable implications for social change and social organization.

JACK SAWYER

University of Chicago

Finite Markov Chains. By JOHN G. KEMENY and J. LAURIE SNELL. Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1960. Pp. viii+210. $5.00.

Finite Mathematical Structures. By JOHN G. KEMENY, HAZLETON MIRKILL, J. LAURIE SNELL, and GERALD L. THOMPSON. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959. Pp. ix+487. $7.95.

Changes in attitude, mobility of labor, voting behavior, and a wide range of other social phenomena have been scrutinized with the aid of Markov chain analysis. The fundamental assumption made is that the immediate past furnishes all the information necessary to predict the probability distribution of future behavior. Even the refutation of this assumption furnishes valuable insight into the nature of the process studied, and in many cases the Markov-chain model has been found a useful means for constructing an ideal type for the real process with attendant gains in insight much like those accruing from the use of Lotka's model of stable population in demography.

Kemeny and Snell's book is the first self-contained account in English of this valuable tool written clearly, with sufficient detail and rigor to enable the reader to carry out valid applications to his own problems. The reader must have developed enough mathematical sophistication to follow difficult ideas in fairly intricate notation, but the writers go out of their way to aid him by numerous detailed numerical examples describing among others such enticing topics as the evolution of weather in the Land of Oz.

In the first chapter is given a succinct account of the prerequisite topics in matrix algebra and probability measures for stochastic processes. Only Markov chains describing the probabilities of transition among a finite number of states (e.g., general types of weather in the Land of Oz) are considered, but this is a negligible limitation in foreseeable applications in sociology as a result of which the authors are

able to give closed-form matrix expressions for many quantities and to show that only two types of chains, ergodic and absorbing, need be considered. Systematic procedures for deriving any quantities of interest from the "fundamental matrix" for each type of chain are described in detail, and they are readily programmed for high-speed computers.

Perhaps the most outstanding contribution of this book to social science is the three sections in chapter vi on the conditions under which it is legitimate to lump or to refine the categories or states to which a Markov chain refers. The applicability and usefulness of a Markov chain stand or fall with the exact choice of categories which it is to describe, a fact too little heeded. In reading the main chapters, and especially in reading these three sections, the sociologist will find it helpful to refer continually to the excellent detailed treatment of Markov chains for several different sets of data on occupational and labor mobility. This treatment, prepared jointly with J. Berger, is one of the seven detailed applications of Markov chains which constitute the final chapter, throughout which the value of viewing real processes both as ergodic and as absorbing chains is demonstrated.

The problem of estimating the transition probabilities for a real process is only touched upon (p. 145), but a thorough study is made of the covariance matrices and other characteristics of the probability distributions predicted from a given transition probability matrix. Both the equilibrium distribution among the states or categories and the time for passage from one category to another are treated in detail.

Where can one turn for fundamental instruction in mathematics relevant to social science? *Finite Mathematical Structures*. As fresh and lucid as is the prior text from the Dartmouth College Mathematics Department, *Introduction to Finite Mathematics,* this sophomore textbook carries many of the same topics much further in technical apparatus and in conceptual richness. The chapter on linear algebra should be of great value to social scientists who use techniques of multivariate analysis with an uneasy consciousness of inadequate fundamental understanding. A clear and systematic procedure for solving simultaneous equations leads to a lucid explanation of matrix inversion as a special case of the solution of matrix equations. Vector spaces, linear independence, bases, and the relation of matrix representations of transformations to bases are treated with rigor in elegantly simple notation. The Euclidean space assumptions so dear to the factor analyst are placed in proper perspective (esp. on pp. 248, 310).

A chapter on probability measures and stochastic processes prepares the reader both for a chapter on finite Markov chains and for a chapter on continuous probability theory. Fortified by a wealth of appealing examples the analysis of regular and absorbing Markov chains using systematic matrix operations is sufficiently detailed to encourage the reader to try his own hand at it. Particularly vivid is the account of random walks. The sociologist intrigued by his neighbors' talk of linear programming should turn to the chapter on extremums on convex sets, which also provides valuable background for delving into game theory.

For an undergraduate or graduate course in the application of mathematics in sociology this text would offer a more adequate mathematical basis than does its predecessor, although the latter contains more examples of social science models. Some mathematical maturity or else some experience in sustained abstract thought is probably necessary in the student, but calculus is needed only for the last chapter, which is more relevant to statistics than to mathematical models.

As a teaching tool the book suffers from the excessive prominence given to the analysis of logical relations in terms of truth tables. The simple account of the use of Venn diagrams in set theory is adequate preparation for probability measures. To describe the fundamental problems in probability theory and linear algebra in terms of symbolic logic is to interpose an extra level of formalism between the student and what he really wants to understand and use for the dubious advantages of greater apparent rigor and greater conciseness. The account of formal logic is even better written than in the predecessor volume, but, fascinating as it is, it is no more essential to the student of applied mathematics than is the equally stimulating account given of the hierarchy of cardinals.

HARRISON WHITE

University of Chicago

Popular Religion: Inspirational Books in America. By LOUIS SCHNEIDER and SANFORD M. DORNBUSCH. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958. Pp. xi+174. $4.50.

This book is an extremely interesting, but not entirely successful, attempt to employ the technique of content analysis in a thematic study of forty-six best sellers among inspirational religious literature. Its strength lies in the authors' insight and imagination in their discussions of the religiousness of the religion espoused in these books (chap. iii), of the orientation of the literature to the secular world (chap. iv), and of the psychotherapeutic effectiveness of the inspiration in the inspirational literature (chap. v). The book's shortcomings appear primarily in the ponderousness of the technical apparatus and in its faulty integration with the ideas and hypotheses which are their major concern.

Nowhere is this contrast between these desirable and undesirable features more apparent than in chapters ii and iii. In chapter ii the reader is exposed to a pedestrian and labored description of discrete research findings which are reported under the general rubrics which the authors use in their coding scheme. No apparent effort is made to order this "clutter" of findings in any meaningful context. Instead, the authors constantly shift from one frame of reference to another. At times the findings are reported in a temporal framework: certain themes were more important in the past; others are more important today. At other times the findings focus on differences between Catholic and Protestant writers. And at still other times the findings bear on the incidence of particular themes in the literature as a whole: for example, religion "eases the pain of decision-making," "gives power to live by," and "promotes success or successful living."

What makes chapter ii even more confusing is the absence of any scheme whereby themes can be clearly identified. As a result, the reader has to refer constantly to Appendix B in order to determine what specific theme is being discussed. And nowhere do the authors provide an adequate statement of their methodology or of their findings, not even in an appendix. Even had these technical improvements been made, however, chapter ii would still belong in an appendix, for whatever is suggestive and significant there is much more meaningfully treated elsewhere in the book.

The reader who survives chapter ii is amply rewarded for his stamina by the remaining three chapters, most notably chapter iii, for in those chapters he is treated to a stimulating examination of a number of problems. In chapter iii the authors address themselves to the central question: What is the nature of the religion expressed in the literature? Their answer is that it is very "distorted." They draw this conclusion from a comparative analysis (which, at times, is done explicitly and, at other times, implicitly) between the religion reported in the literature and the "classical religious procedures" which they accept as the model of "true" religious behavior.

As might be expected, on each major count the religion in the literature is found wanting. It contains very little that can be identified as dogma. The only dogma that was apparent to the authors was that God is beneficent, immanent, and accessible. Even the growing receptivity to ritual and institutionalized religion contains little that is "truly religious in nature." Instead, it has a strong Durkheimian flavor, a self-conscious acceptance of institutionalized religion as useful for fulfilling man's purposes. The only really religious component that it contains is its concern with subjective religious experience as expressed by William James, but even this is used to convey "the feeling of some trans-empirical reality with which one can cooperate and from which aid will be obtained" (p. 49).

Thus, the literature instrumentalizes religion and offers it to readers as more efficient than are other gadgets for achieving personal goals. In so doing, man's relationship to God is perverted. Instead of being exhorted to "glorify God" as a sacred duty, he is enticed by the promise of rewards from learning and practicing a "spiritual technology" which will thereby enable him to "use God." In this way the utility of religion, not its truth, attains ascendancy in the literature, and the latent functions of religion are made its manifest functions.

The authors built a compelling case for their thesis. However, it is interesting to note that they are not at all convinced that the religion expressed in the literature is a distortion of *all* religious practices. They suggest at several points that it may, in fact, reflect and be in accord with current trends in many denominations and that much of their criticism of the books accordingly applies there as well.

The rest of the book carries on in this provocative manner and merits much praise for its incisiveness.

Benjamin B. Ringer

American Jewish Committee

Recognition of Excellence: Working Papers of a Project of the Edgar Stern Family Fund. By ADAM YARMOLINSKY. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. Pp. xii+334. $3.75.

It is surely not a coincidence that American society combines a commitment to egalitarianism and a preoccupation with individual differences. In effect, the doctrine of equality consists of two interrelated parts: on the one hand, a belief in uniform treatment and, on the other, the invoking of specific criteria for determining who shall be eligible for such treatment.

Formal education is one of the most rewarding of human activities for the study of the working-out of this complex doctrine. The manner in which educational opportunities are meted out exhibits an uneasy, imperfect, and shifting combination of the two components. And that not only in our own society: within a few years of the introduction of mass compulsory education into France, Parisian school officials, harassed by the problem of teaching those we now gently call slow learners, asked a psychologist to devise an instrument for detecting individual differences in the general capacity to absorb school work. Binet's efforts were applied with all due alacrity to the American scene by Terman. Soon the two parts of the doctrine—uniformity of educational opportunity and recognition of individual differences—were in more or less general application in schools throughout the Western world.

With the story's unfolding, American educational practices have tended to show a greater concern for extending opportunities ever more broadly than with allocating them according to individual variations in talent or demonstrated ability. To cite apposite facts, the proportion of fourteen-to-seventeen-year-old Americans enrolled in schools *increased* from about half to over three-quarters between 1932 and 1953; but surveys of public high schools carried out by the Office of Education show a *decrease* of some twenty per cent from the earlier to the later date in the proportion of high schools that classify and instruct students according to their ability. In both years, the surveys show, high schools devoted more effort to remedial instruction of the slow than to enriched or accelerated instruction of the gifted. That such practices dampen the potentialities of the talented is certainly the better-known side of the story of current trends in American education.

But it may well be that the pendulum has now begun to swing in the direction of fulfilling rather than checking the capacity for outstanding performance. As one instance, the Edgar Stern Fund, in order to know best how to further this aim, commissioned a broad review of all current practices in America—in and out of its schools—for detecting, recognizing, and rewarding excellent performance in matters of "intellect and perception."

The book includes not only Yarmolinsky's survey of what is now being done but his critique of present-day efforts as well as a set of commentaries by sociologists, psychologists, and other persons consulted. All offer suggestions for research or practical programs to further the stated aims. But the heart of the book does concern American young people and their treatment in school. This review of what is now known and done by way of identifying and rewarding excellence catches in full measure the most recent scientific and practical developments in the field. To list just a few:

Until a few years ago school grades were considered an adequate criterion of talent, excellence, or potential performance. But this is no longer so; a great deal of work is now given over to enriching our conceptions of creativity and of qualitative variation in styles of thinking, learning, and problem-solving.

Interest is growing rapidly in the comparative study of environments in order to identify those that foster academic excellence. In particular, this book is concerned with the effect on the environment of the school as a whole of singling out the most gifted and recognizing their excellence. But, at a time when the very question of just what "excellence" means has been thrown open, it is difficult to know how it can be encouraged and developed in the one, let alone in the many.

Excellence of performance occurs in a social structure; certain positions in the structure may be more crucial than are others in detecting and nurturing it. We are prone to make the blanket remark that parents, teachers, and peers affect the performance of students—but we have reaped but scant advantage from this formula. A new note is struck by many of the contributors to this book when they speak of the position of the intellectual "truffle hound": the person with a sensitive nose for talent and with the motivation to help it to grow and to outdistance its discoverer. Thus far we know that

such persons exist, but little else. Specially lacking is some notion of how the social structure might reward them, for Mr. Chips still stands as the symbol of the light under the bushel.

NATALIE ROGOFF

Columbia University

Inner Conflict and Defense. By DANIEL R. MILLER and GUY E. SWANSON. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1960. Pp. x+452. $6.95.

This book represents "an attempt to extend psychoanalytic principles, not by means of the clinical methods originally used to develop them, but by the controlled empirical techniques of the social scientist." In seeking to interpret the evidence (collected by previous investigators) that types of mental disorder differ in their distribution among the various social classes, the authors assumed that each type of mental disorder involves an extreme manifestation of a particular way of resolving an inner conflict. From this starting point they developed the central hypothesis of the book: that normal people in our society also vary in the ways in which they resolve inner conflicts and that the variations largely reflect social class backgrounds and patterns of socialization.

As a basis for investigating this hypothesis the authors have produced a coherent theoretical framework for the study of reactions to inner conflict. They concentrate primarily on cases in which the conflict arises because the direct path to a goal state is proscribed by moral or other standards. They assume that in such a case the conflict will be resolved by the use of a substitute path to the goal state. Three circumstances are recognized as influencing the choice of the particular substitution to be made in any given instance: the nature of the relevant standards, the specific defense mechanisms available to the respondent, and the respondent's "expressive style." Systematic classifications of types of substitutions, defense mechanisms, and expressive styles are presented. These largely original formulations suggest a wide range of possible inquiries beyond those actually reported.

In the investigations which are reported, the respondents were native-born white male high-school and college students. Reactions to conflict were studied by story-completion tests and other techniques. Some of the findings merely confirm what one would expect, for example, that middle-class boys tend to be more "conceptual" and less "motoric" in their expressive styles than are working-class boys. Most interesting to the sociologist is the evidence indicating various complexities in the relationship between social class and reactions to conflict. It was found, for example, that the relations between toilet-training and repression, and between arbitrariness of parental demands and the use of "turning against the self" as a defense mechanism, were different within each of the two social classes. It was also found that, while variations in defense mechanisms and in expressive style are both related to social class, they must each be accounted for by different components of social class.

The value of the book, however, lies not merely in such suggestive findings but also more generally in its significant contribution to the clarification of problems and concepts in a poorly explored area of research.

MAURICE N. RICHTER, JR.

University of New Hampshire

Die Entscheidung: Eine Untersuchung über Ernst Jünger, Carl Schmitt, Martin Heidegger ("Decision: A Study of Ernst Jünger, Carl Schmitt, and Martin Heidegger"). By CHRISTIAN GRAF VON KROCKOW. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1958. Pp. iv+164. DM. 16.

Political romanticism had its major and minor periods in German literature. After its first appearance at the turn of the eighteenth century and its climax during the Restoration, most romantics retreated into the realm of philosophy and fiction. The end of World War I marks the beginning of another major period of political romanticism. Its literary expression shares a number of characteristics with its predecessor a century before: the conviction that history is a process of decay rather than of growth, a negative and sarcastic view of things present and real, an esoteric vocabulary, an ecstatic imagery of time or space remote from reality, and an aversion to clear-cut commitments.

In the present study Graf von Krockow reviews the work of three contemporary writers who have been associated with this literary trend for nearly thirty years: Ernst Jünger, the

novelist and social philospher; Carl Schmitt, the constitutional jurist; and Martin Heidegger, the existentialist.

Jünger has been the proponent of a masculine, heroic society such as he experienced in World War I. He idealizes combat as an exalted form of existence and rejects middle-class comfort, the normal state, humanitarianism, and intellectual sophistication:

> The spirit of technological welfare . . . , fought more brutally and savagely than any before, created men unequalled so far. It was a new race, crystallized energy, charged with supreme momentum . . . , conquerors, characters of steel, bent on combat of the most ghastly type. . . . As I behold them it dawns on me that this is the New Man. . . .
>
> For this war is not the end of violence, as it is often said, but a prelude. It is the forge which will cut new frontiers and carve new communities. It is the glowing sunset of a passing epoch as well as the dawn of readiness for new and greater encounters.

Carl Schmitt, too, turns to conflict and the consequent state of emergency as the test of sovereignty: law is primarily not a norm but a decision of the sovereign who is in actual control at the critical moment. The normal state is as irrelevant to Carl Schmitt as it is revolting to Jünger. The normal state of affairs seems to confirm the liberal illusion that constitutional law is a norm of political conduct, first and last. It takes a rebellion or a war to reveal the true nature of law as the implied will of the person or party in actual control:

> The exceptional case is more interesting than the normal. The normal proves nothing, the exception proves everything; it not only confirms the rule, but the rule depends on the exception. In a state of emergency the real life forces break through the crust of rigid mechanical repetitiveness.

Since sovereign power is the substance of law, it cannot be subject to law. The true sovereign who is above the law constitutes the most democratic form of government because he creates and enforces a uniform consensus of the population.

The exaltation of the exceptional and uncommon modes of existence over the commonality of daily living also plays a role in Heidegger's philosophy. To "exist is to relate oneself to his potentialities." The potential ranks above the real. True and "genuine existence (*Dasein*) is not something realized . . but primarily potentiality." The priority of the possible over the real rests on the wider scope of the former and the closure which is an attribute of reality. The potential outranks the real, not only in the life of the individual but also in the realm of history. A given state of affairs becomes historical when it is viewed in the light of its potential future. Yet, historical potentiality is not new in substance but a repetition and return of something past. Thus, history is the process of elaborating and dissipating an early form of life.

The author attempts both to question and to explain these intellectual manifestations. He sees in them a series of maladies common to the romantic frame of mind: the flight from reality the intellectual self-contempt of the German middle classes, their failure to hold and rally around values of their own, and their consequent historical relativism as a substitute for an affirmative social creed. The author rejects the romantic use of the concept of possibility. A valid estimate of the possible must be derived from an inventory of social reality, including work and planning as its basic facets.

Although this publication is essentially a philosophical essay, it more than casually relates itself to the sociological point of view.

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MEMBERSHIP IN CLIQUES AND ACHIEVEMENT

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ABSTRACT

Five cliques were found among a group of thirty-nine male students attending a two-month program on business management. Cliques differed in final academic evaluation, initial intelligence, and initial need for achievement. With intelligence partialed out, cliques still differed significantly; some overachieving, some underachieving. With need for achievement partialed out, the cliques still differed significantly in net performance. Net performance of cliques was correlated significantly with that of respective leaders and also with a measure of relative work-versus-affiliation cathexis upon respective leaders. The measure of relative cathexis correlated as well with final evaluation as did initial intelligence.

The study of factors affecting individual achievement has proceeded along typical psychometric lines. Gowan's survey of research documents nineteen presumably distinct determinants of achievement in high school and college.[1] All determinants are within the individual in some sense: residuals of parental influence, vicissitudes of instincts, study habits, tendencies to conform, and the like.

Presumably, academic achievement is fundamentally no different from any other kind of achievement. Achieving behavior is behavior which produces results meeting or exceeding some norm prescribed, most frequently, by some group or institution. In this analysis, achieving behavior may be exemplified equally by a parolee, a rate-busting factory worker, or a Phi Beta Kappa student.

But individuals are subject to norm prescriptions of various kinds from various sources. Achievement on the broad social scene, with respect to the dominant norms of the larger society, is reflected in occupational and other forms of status. Ethnic groups differ in their tenure of such statuses partly as a result of differential structures of opportunity and partly, as Strodtbeck has shown, as a result of the variety of norms in family and value systems.[2] In industrial settings achievement is reflected in production relevant to the norms set by management. Alternative norms set by the informal social organization of groups of workers may lead to either restriction or increase of production.[3]

The individual worker in a restriction group is an underachiever with respect to the norms set by management. The principle determinant is known to be informal group pressure. In the ordinary academic setting, work groups are certainly not very visible. Nevertheless, it seems highly likely that some grouping may exist among a body

[1] J. C. Gowan, "Factors of Achievement in High School and College," *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, VII (Summer, 1960), 91–95.

[2] F. L. Strodtbeck, "Family Interaction, Values and Achievement," pp. 135–94 in D. C. McClelland *et al.*, *Talent and Society* (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1958).

[3] Cf. G. C. Homans, *The Human Group* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1950).

of students and that different groups may set different norms. In particular, the norm of one informal group may be consonant with that of the institution; the norm of another may be at variance with it.

The guiding hypothesis of the present study was that clique membership in a training group would variously affect the performance of individuals: members of one clique would tend to overachieve, those of another would tend to underachieve.

Thirty-nine young students of business management were the subjects. The average age was 26.5 years; all but one had received a Bachelor's degree; thirty-four were married. The men came from various parts of the country and, for the most part, had not previously been acquainted with each other. They were engaged in a two-month training program, housed in a dormitory, and given instruction in a single large room. In the fourth week of the program, and again in the seventh week, they were asked to respond to an "Associations Survey," a single sheet containing the following:

We are going to ask some questions about the associations which you have had with other members of the program up to this point. You may find some of the same persons coming to mind on more than one question, or you may not.

a) Name those persons with whom you have formed friendships.

[Space left in original.]

b) Name those persons with whom you would most prefer to work.

Two other questions were asked, but are not relevant to the present study.

To find cliques, the first choices for friendships were employed. Subjects could and did write down any number of names, but the one used was the first name written down. The sociogram of first choices was prepared for each occasion. A clique was defined as a collection of individuals, each individual on both occasions being chosen by or choosing (or both) at least one other of the individuals in the collection. This manner of isolating cliques was thought trustworthy because of the replicated evidence.[4]

The criterion of performance was based upon evaluations made by the four faculty members teaching the program. Each teacher made an independent evaluation at the close of the program, evaluating the men's performance in his own phase of the work. Phases were: business policy, business history, financial analysis, and self-development. A final over-all evaluation was made by the four in committee. All evaluations were made in ranks, the final one being only in terms of upper, middle, and lower thirds of the class. To make a continuous scale, the evaluations of individual faculty members were each correlated with the final evaluation, using *tau*.[5] These correlation coefficients were then used as weights by which individual ranks and midranks were then multiplied. The weighted ranks were then summed to give a continuous score which was approximately normally distributed. The corrected split-half reliability coefficient was $r = .64$, $p < .01$.

The sociometric data yielded five cliques with three, four, three, seven, and five members, respectively. There were four mutual pairs, persons who chose each other on both occasions but were unrelated to members of cliques. The remaining nine individuals were either isolates (unchosen but claiming everybody as their friend) or persons who changed their clique membership from the

[4] Estimates of intelligence and motivation to achieve had been obtained before the start of the program. Intelligence was measured by the School and College Abilities Test (SCAT) (Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1958). Achievement motivation was measured by the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS) (see A. L. Edwards, *The Edwards Personal Preference Schedule* [New York: Psychological Corporation, 1959]). The schedule consists of 210 pairs of items in a forced-choice format. In each pair an item reflecting a certain need, say, of achievement, is placed against an item reflecting another need, say, of aggression. Altogether, fifteen such needs are represented.

[5] M. G. Kendall, *Rank Correlation Methods* (London: Charles Griffin & Co., 1948).

first to the second occasion. Pairs, isolates, and changelings will not be considered.

Table 1 presents the data employed. Values of H and of P were obtained for the Kruskal-Wallis test for differences between means.[6] The H-test requires a minimum of three subjects per group, and it was used in preference to an F-test because of differences in variance between cliques. The value of H for the faculty's evaluation (E) is significant, showing that the cliques differed in their performance.

The significant value of H for intelligence (I) as measured by the SCAT test shows that the cliques differed in intelligence. The correlation between E and I was $r = .45$, $p < .01$, based on all thirty-nine subjects. Using the regression of E on I, expected scores on E were obtained. The actual evaluation scores minus the expected evaluation scores were computed, and means are given in row E', which is the net performance as measured by the faculty's evaluation when subjects are equated for intelligence. The value of H is significant, showing that the cliques differed in such net performance.

The cliques differed on the need Achievement (A) as measured by the EPPS, as shown by the significant value of H. The correlation between E' and A was $r = .37$, $p < .05$, based on all thirty-nine subjects. Using the regression of E' on A, expected scores on E' were obtained. The actual E' scores minus the expected E' scores were computed, and means are given in row E'', which is the net performance when subjects are equated for both intelligence and motivation to achieve. Whereas the score E' is a measure of over- or underachievement, the score E'' is a measure of over- or underachievement when subjects are equated for motivation to achieve. As shown by the significant value of H, the cliques differed also in this measure of net performance. The result of E'' is in accord with the hypothesis that clique membership would variously affect the performance of individuals independently of intelligence and motivation.

TABLE 1

MEANS OF CLIQUES ON FIVE SCORES AND H-TESTS OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CLIQUES

Score	Cliques A ($N=3$)	B ($N=4$)	C ($N=3$)	D ($N=7$)	E ($N=5$)	H-Test H	Results p
Faculty evaluation of performance (E)	47.85	51.62	37.74	28.95	56.02	9.87	.001
SCAT intelligence (I)	91.00	63.00	69.00	52.85	63.20	5.30	.001
Net performance, subjects equated for intelligence (E')*	−2.81	8.48	−7.02	−11.47	12.82	11.58	.001
EPPS need Achievement (A)	13.67	19.50	18.67	17.71	21.40	8.36	.001
Net performance, subjects equated for intelligence and need Achievement (E'')†	4.80	6.92	−7.26	−10.22	8.28	9.62	.001

* Means of the differences between actual evaluation scores and those expected on the basis of regression of E on I.

† Means of the differences between actual evaluation scores and those expected on the basis of regression of E' on A.

Though in accord with the hypothesis, the results so far could still be interpreted as due to some other ability or factor of personality which jointly influences both clique membership and individual performance. In fact, the possible search can be endless. In order to tie down the source of influence as clique membership as such, an independent method of demonstration was attempted. This entailed use of the second question in the Associations Survey, which asked about persons with whom the respondent preferred to work. Scores of 5, 3, and 1

[6] W. Allen Wallis and Harry V. Roberts, *Statistics: A New Approach* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956).

were assigned, respectively, to the persons named first, second, and third; this is the Northway method of scoring.[7] Within each clique the scores given to each person by others in the clique were computed for both occasions. The result was a work-preference score within cliques. The person with the highest score was called a "leader" with respect to work orientation. Now, if the members of a clique are behaving in accordance with influence from other members of the clique, it is reasonable to suppose that one or some members of the clique are more influential than are others in molding the clique's attitudes toward work, especially in the matter of trying to work hard, or slacking, or "goofing-off," as it is called.

It was hypothesized that the leader with respect to work orientation would set the tone for the clique and sway the clique's performance in his own direction. If we rank the leaders on the basis of their net performance, E'', then remove them from their groups, the scores of the other members of E'' should correlate positively with the ranks of the leaders. In other words, if we rank the cliques minus their leaders on E'', that rank order should be positively correlated with the rank order of their leaders only. This correlation should hold if leaders are, in fact, influencing the other members.

For clique B there were two equally chosen leaders, so that both were removed, and their average score was used to denote the relative position of the group. For five cliques with six leaders removed (two from clique B), there was a total of sixteen persons to be ranked. The ranking of cliques by leaders' scores on E'' necessarily entailed multiple ties; the ranking of non-leaders, no ties. The *tau* correlation procedure was employed, with correction for continuity, yielding $S_c = 52$, $K = 2.44$, and $p < .015$ for a one-tailed test of the prediction.[8]

While this test is strong, it still has a weakness. The leaders might be typical representatives of groups of individuals each going their own way and simply preferring to work with someone also going that way. A stronger test would be provided by seeing whether the leader is chosen with respect more to work than to friendship in a clique where net performance is above expectation, while in a clique where net performance is below expectation the leader should be chosen with respect more to friendship than to work. This test would examine the relative cathexes of each group toward its leader—cathexes toward work versus cathexes toward affiliation. For this purpose, leaders were determined by Northway scoring on both questions in the Associations Survey, as follows: The scores for friendship and work were separately tabulated and were added to find the leader in each clique; the ratio of work score to friendship score was computed for each leader. These ratios were then ranked. This ranking constituted an ordering of the cliques on relative work-versus-affiliation investment in their leaders. Since the ranking was based on measures independent of net performance, leaders were not removed before correlating the ranks on E'' with those on investment. With $N = 22$, the resulting value of S_c was 82, $K = 2.39$, and $p < .017$ for a one-tailed test.

In no sense can the leaders be called typical members of their cliques in respect to score on being chosen as friend and workmate. In the least case, for clique B, the leader had 33 points, the next highest being 24. In the most extreme case, clique D, the leader had 80 points, the next highest being 34. The influence of a leader must be measured, at least in part, by the "investment" that members have in him and by the nature of that investment. When we add together the results, that groups followed their leaders' actual net performance and that their expressed investment in their leaders in

[7] Mary L. Northway, *A Primer of Sociometry* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952).

[8] See A. R. Jonckheere, "A Distribution-free *k*-Sample Test against Ordered Alternatives," *Biometrika*, XLI (June, 1954), 133–45; and D. S. Cartwright, "A Note concerning Kendall's Tau," *Psychological Bulletin*, LIV (September, 1957), 422–25.

terms of the ratio of work to affiliation also bore a significant relationship to their net performance, the evidence that social factors influence performance appears strong.

It remains to be seen just how much influence such social factors had by comparison with measures of individual difference. An appropriate comparison could be made between the correlation of work-versus-affiliation with the faculty's original evaluations and the correlation of intelligence with those evaluations. To make things quite comparable, a *tau* correlation was computed for each, using only the cliques. The result was $tau = .41$, $p < .015$, for work-versus-affiliation investment in leaders; and $tau = .36$, $p < .018$, for intelligence.

The interpretation of our results may be conducted quite straightforwardly upon the model implicit in studies of achieving and non-achieving behavior among industrial work groups. Since the cliques were stable over the period between the fourth and seventh weeks of the program and had probably formed well before the fourth week, they had plenty of time for interaction. Crucially, such interaction would have concerned attitudes toward the institutional norms expressed by the faculty verbally and in their grading practices, etc. It may be assumed that exchanges of attitude led to the formation of agreements among clique members concerning both attitude and behavior in the academic situation.

As Katz *et al.* have shown, stable voluntary groups have leaders who strongly embody the group norms.[9] The present results would suggest that one important function of a leader in a voluntary group is to provide a central point of articulation for norms, thereby aiding the development of a "united front" in the members' behavior.

It is concluded that social factors may be as important as factors of individual difference in influencing academic performance.

University of Colorado

University of Chicago

[9] E. Katz, P. M. Blau, M. Brown, and F. L. Strodtbeck, "Leadership Stability and Social Change," *Sociometry*, XX (March, 1957), 36–50.

STENDHAL AND THE SELF: A STUDY IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF LITERATURE

FRANCIS E. MERRILL

ABSTRACT

Some relationships between literature and society in a single novel and a single facet of personality are explored; the novel is *Le Rouge et le noir* by Stendhal. Stendhal anticipated many of the insights concerning the interactionist conception of the self that were developed more than a century later by Mead, Cooley, and Dewey. The social self is pictured in the novel as emerging from a complex process of role-taking, here designated as: the direct other, the intermediate other, and the ideological (generalized) other. Julien Sorel, the hero of the book, is one of the characters in fiction that illustrates most clearly the concept of the self as the object of the real or imputed judgments of others.

LITERATURE AND SOCIAL INTERACTION

"A novel," said Stendhal, "is like a bow; the violin which makes the sounds is the reader's soul." The novelist tries to communicate an emotional and imaginative experience to the reader, to which the latter reacts. From this interaction comes the "meaning" of the novel. The characters have no objective existence outside the pattern of words that comprises the novel. The important consideration is the impact of this pattern upon the "soul" of the reader. In a basic sense, therefore, reading is a form of symbolic interaction between writer and reader, in which the latter reacts like the violin to the bow.[1] Reading and writing are reciprocal forms of social interaction and hence constitute a subject for the sociologist.[2]

The most intensely "human" of all qualities, the ability to take the role of other persons and regard one's self as an object, has been intuitively grasped by a long line of psychologists and social psychologists from William James (not forgetting his brother Henry), through Cooley and Dewey, to Mead. In more recent decades the insights of these and other seminal thinkers have been subjected to experimental verification by persons using more refined research techniques.[3] This is not the place to review these investigations; the point is that literature, essentially "great" literature, is a major source of knowledge of the social self. "Artists," in short, "have . . . provided us with the richest mine of material in existence for the study of self-perception."[4]

Allport makes this relationship clear in his study of personality. "Through the ages," he remarks, ". . . this phenomenon of personal individuality has been depicted and explored by the humanities. The more aesthetic philosophers and the more philosophical artists have always made it their special province of interest."[5] A novel is a picture of personality in depth, with the continuity that marks this dynamic entity and distinguishes one from another. In all too many cases the psychologist, in his study of personality, fails to realize or, more often, to measure this continuity.

[1] Martin Turnell, *The Novel in France* (New York: Vintage Books, 1958), pp. 6–7.

[2] Milton C. Albrecht, "The Relationship of Literature and Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIX (November, 1954), 425–36.

[3] Martin H. Kuhn and Thomas S. McPartland, "An Empirical Investigation of Self-attitudes," *American Sociological Review*, XIX (February, 1954), 68–76; Carl J. Couch, "Self-attitudes and Degree of Agreement with Immediate Others," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXIII (March, 1958), 491–96; Ralph H. Turner, "Self and Other in Moral Judgment," *American Sociological Review*, XIX (June, 1954), 249 59.

[4] Robert N. Wilson, *Man Made Plain* (Cleveland, Ohio: Howard Allen, Inc., 1958), p. 5.

[5] Gordon W. Allport, *Personality* (New York. Henry Holt & Co., 1937), quoted in Wilson, *op cit.*, p. 7.

Hence he depicts personality as a series of virtually unrelated actions like—to use Allport's expressive phrase—those of a water-skate darting about on a pond. "Good literature," continues Allport, "never makes the mistake of confusing the personality of man with that of a water-skate." Hence personality is a theme for both the novelist and the scientist. Only by this collaboration can its full richness and depth be grasped.

Science is based upon the gathering of facts, their classification, and the recognition of their sequences and relationships. Literature involves the insights into human behavior of a man of genius. The two activities are of different orders, but they involve the same phenomena. Merely because literary insights do not ordinarily lend themselves to empirical verification is no reason to reject or ignore them. Literature is an important aspect of culture, which is clearly a legitimate object of scientific exploration. Literature uses language, which is the most social of all activities, employing the symbols of human communication. Man is uniquely a symbol-using and rational animal. "Man," said Pascal, "is only a reed. But he is a *thinking* reed."

There are, as Redfield has well said, several ways of making order of experience: among them are religion, philosophy, science, and art.[6] They are not mutually exclusive, even though their methods differ. The humanities add to our knowledge of behavior, especially that of a past society where men lived and died without benefit of attitude scales and research teams. "Literature," therefore, "is a paramount source of insight for the scientist who attempts to formulate the core values of a culture, to characterize its guiding tenets in brief compass."[7] The situation does not call for polemics—either pro-literature or pro-science. Each has its contribution to human (and humane) learning.[8] This essay is a modest plea for tolerance of the humanistic position, together with some notes on the insights of one author on the social self.

STENDHAL AND THE SELF

Stendhal, whose real name was Henri Beyle, is sometimes called the first of the "modern" novelists. He is unquestionably one of the greatest. In France his life and works have become the object of a cult whose fervor is surpassed only by the admirers of Balzac.[9] Stendhal was born in 1783 and took an active part in Napoleon's Italian and Russian campaigns in his youth. His military and political career came to an end with the fall of Napoleon, and he spent most of his adult years in "retirement" in Milan or Paris, writing continually. In his last years he held a minor consular post in Italy, from which he returned to Paris to die in 1842. He thus lived in a period of transition, social change, and intellectual ferment that has many of the characteristics of our own time. Perhaps this is why this writer, who predicted that he would hardly be read at all for fifty years and not widely for a hundred, is so enthusiastically accepted in France today. In an era of passion, humiliation, and self-doubt, he has a great deal to say to modern Frenchmen and, perhaps, to Americans.

Some years ago, the late André Gide was asked to name his favorite French novel.[10] The moralist and critic found himself in a difficult position. There was no question of his favorite novelist; Stendhal held that place beyond any question. A more difficult choice was that of his favorite novel: either *Le Rouge et le noir* or *La Chartreuse de Parme* deserved that honor. After considerable soul-searching, Gide chose *La Chartreuse*. For reasons that will soon appear, I

[6] Robert Redfield, "Social Science in Our Society," *Phylon*, XI (1950), 32.

[7] Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[8] Robert Bierstedt, "Sociology and Humane Learning," *American Sociological Review*, XXV (February, 1960), 3–9.

[9] The leading Stendhal scholar is the late Henri Martineau; see his *L'Œuvre de Stendhal* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1951); also his *Le Cœur de Stendhal* (2 vols.; Paris: Albin Michel, 1952–53).

[10] This incident is recounted by Martin Turnell (*op. cit.*, p. vii).

choose *Le Rouge*. This novel is a study of the social self, perhaps the most subtle ever written. It is, as we have said, a "modern" novel, by which we mean, I suppose, a novel in which the self is constantly changing as the protagonist interacts with different persons and ideologies. The central character continually takes the role of the other toward himself and reacts accordingly.

Stendhal's intense preoccupation with his own self-image is apparent throughout his writings, both those which were frankly autobiographical and those in which the hero is a fictional projection of the person Stendhal would like to be. The most revealing of his autobiographical works is *La Vie de Henry Brulard,* in which he tells the story of his early years in Grenoble. In this amazing document he anticipated, among other things, the Oedipus complex. As a child, little Henry was passionately in love with his mother and, in later years, indicates that this affection was far from being merely platonic. He reports candidly that he wanted to cover his mother with kisses and wished her to have no clothes on. Madame Beyle loved her precocious son "passionately" and gave him kisses which the little fellow returned with such ardor that his mother was often obliged to leave him. He wished, he said, especially to kiss his mother on the bosom. It need hardly be added that, to complete the classic pattern, Beyle hated his father.[11]

But it was his clinical interest in himself that marks Stendhal as an unusual novelist, even in a nation that has produced such masters of self-analysis as Montaigne and Pascal. As he broods over his life at the age of fifty, he returns again and again to the crucial question of his own identity: "What have I been?" he asks himself; "What am I?" He sees himself as the product of his family milieu, his ancestors, and his times. He also sees himself as the object of his own self-attitudes, which he intuitively realizes are the result of a continuous process of role-taking. The heroes of his novels are likewise concerned with their own self-images, which might or might not be exact renditions of the judgments of others toward them. It is no accident that Stendhal, the most self-conscious of men, should produce the most self-conscious of heroes.

THE RED AND THE BLACK

The central interest in this essay is *Le Rouge et le noir*. The time is 1830, the place France. Julien Sorel is the son of a peasant in the Franche-Comté, a province in the mountains of east-central France. At the tender age of nineteen Julien secures a position as tutor to the children of M. de Rênal, mayor of the little town of Verrières. Julien is planning to enter the Church ("the Black") because he believes that this is the only way a poor boy can rise to the top of his society. The days of revolutionary and military glory ("the Red") have passed with the fall of Napoleon, and the Church remains the chief vehicle of vertical mobility for him, even though he has no true vocation for it. During his stay with M. Rênal, Julien falls in love with the beautiful, tender, and motherly wife of the mayor, and she with him. When their relationship becomes widely suspected, he leaves Verrières to study for the priesthood in nearby Besançon.

By a fortunate combination of circumstances, Julien is soon rescued from this distasteful existence and is received as private secretary to the liberal and witty Marquis de la Mole, a great Parisian nobleman and thus enters, at one bound, into the highest society of his day, although his position there is equivocal because of his peasant origin and his poverty. He is still an outsider, even though physically received into the upper nobility. At the same time, he falls in love with the brilliant, beautiful, and high-spirited Mathilde, the daughter of the Marquis. Julien regards this relationship as another challenge to him, and he seduces Mathilde (and she him) in a series

[11] Stendhal, *La Vie de Henry Brulard*, ed. Henri Martineau (Paris: Editions Emile-Paul Frères, n.d.).

of confrontations that are among the most subtle in all fiction.

Mathilde becomes pregnant, and her father is naturally furious. Despite his chagrin, the Marquis decides to make the best of it, buys Julien a commission in a smart regiment, and settles some property on him and his daughter. At this point, a letter arrives from Madame de Rênal, written at the command of her holy confessor. The letter denounces Julien to the Marquis as a cold-blooded seducer and libertine. Beside himself with rage and frustrated ambition, Julien hurries back to Verrières. He finds Madame de Rênal in church and shoots, but does not kill, her. In his subsequent trial Julien refuses to defend himself, despite the entreaties of both Madame de Rênal and Mathilde. By so refusing he virtually commits suicide, and he is guillotined for premeditated attempted murder. Mathilde carries off his severed head and erects a chapel to his memory. Madame de Rênal dies of chagrin.

The story, baldly summarized above, has many facets. It is, first of all, a striking account of vertical mobility. The tragic saga of Julien Sorel is an account of the rise of a young man in Restoration France through a combination of good looks, exceptional intelligence, and the patronage of the rich and well born. The novels of Balzac, written at approximately the same period, also tell of poor boys from the provinces who storm the heights of the high society of the Faubourg Saint-Germain. *Le Rouge* is also a study of social institutions and their relationships, especially those of church and state in a reactionary society. For a while Julien cynically attaches himself to this venerable religious institution which, in conjunction with the nobility and the rising bourgeoisie, dominated the society of his day. The decade of the 1820's and 1830's saw the consolidation of the power of these institutions after the heady decades of the Napoleonic adventures.

Le Rouge is, above all, a love story, albeit one of the least "romantic" of all such stories. Love was a subject in which Stendhal maintained both a theoretical and a practical interest. His book on the subject (*De l'Amour*) is one of the most original and penetrating analyses of this tender sentiment that has ever been written. Love between the sexes is a direct and dramatic form of self-other relationship. The dialectic of love is the interaction of two persons, who are continually taking the other into account and responding in imagination to the resulting judgments. During this process the self-attitudes of the lover reflect his opinion of the attitudes of the other toward himself.[12] In a succession of subtle dialogues between Julien and Mathilde this self-other pattern is made abundantly clear.

"True" love is a matter of treating the other as an end in himself rather than as a means to an end. In this sense love is "that relationship between one person and another which is most conducive to the optimal development of both."[13] In the initial phases of his love affair with Madame de Rênal she was merely a means to Julien's ambition (self-feeling) and his fantastic pride. This ambivalence of affection and ambition was even more apparent in his relationship with Mathilde. His conception of himself was enhanced by his ability to bring this high-born beauty, literally, to his feet. He was never able to escape his ambivalent attitude throughout his affair with Mathilde, which is equivalent to saying that he never "really" loved her. After his attempted assassination of Madame de Rênal in the little church at Verrières, Julien realized that his love for her was truly unselfish. She ceased to be a means to his ambition and became an end in herself. He did not discover this fact until he lay in the grim shadow of the guillotine and it was too late.

THE DIALECTIC OF THE SELF

The dialectic of the self in *Le Rouge* has many aspects of the conception advanced a

[12] Francis E. Merrill, "The Self and the Other: An Emerging Field of Social Problems," *Social Problems*, IV (January, 1957), 200–207.

[13] Nelson N. Foote, "Love," *Psychiatry*, XVI (August, 1953), 247.

century later by George Herbert Mead. The latter saw the development of the self as a progression in which the person first takes the role of other individuals (mother, father, siblings, friends) toward himself. Later on he begins to take the role of the "generalized other" (i.e., that of society as a whole) toward himself and view himself in the light of these general precepts and behavior patterns. The generalized other is, in essence, sometimes the culture of the society and sometimes a segment thereof. In Mead's words, "the self reaches its full development by organizing these individual attitudes of others into the organized social or group attitudes, and by thus becoming an individual reflection of the general systematic pattern of social or group behavior in which it and the others are all involved."[14]

In *Le Rouge* Stendhal intuitively anticipated many of these ideas of the dialectical quality of the self. He was not, as he would have been the first to admit, a systematic thinker in the sense of evolving an organized system, much less of setting down a conceptual scheme such as the social self. Nevertheless, his insights were so acute that they foreshadowed many of the systematic ideas later developed by James, Cooley, Dewey, and Mead and subsequently verified empirically by others. I shall expand somewhat on Mead's dialectic by adding here a third interactive process, namely, that between the self and the "intermediate" other. The self of Julien Sorel will, therefore, be examined in terms of the direct other, the intermediate other, and the ideological (generalized) other.

THE SELF AND THE DIRECT OTHER

The most important contribution of the pragmatic school to our knowledge of the self is its insistence upon its objective quality. The self is seen as the object, rather than the subject, of self-attitudes. In this sense, Julien Sorel is continually regarding himself through the eyes of a variety of others—from Madame de Rênal and Mathilde de la Mole, who are very near and "direct"; through such intermediate individuals and groups as the people of Verrières, the young men in the seminary, and the aristocracy of the Faubourg Saint-Germain; to the abstract ideological elements of pride, ambition, and honor. His extreme self-consciousness is at once his glory and his undoing. His personality is marked by an extraordinary sensibility to the real or supposed judgments of others. "He was," comments Stendhal, "sick to death of all his own good qualities, of all the things he had once enthusiastically loved, and in this state of *inverted imagination* he attempted, in the light of his imagination, to interpret life. "This," concludes Stendhal gloomily, "is the error of a man of superior quality."[15]

Julien was, first of all, always taking the role of the other toward himself. Depending upon the circumstances, this other might be Madame de Rênal, Mathilde, the Marquis de la Mole, or his old friend and confessor, the good Abbé Pirard. In this dialectical interchange the author indicates how often Julien was mistaken in his self-judgments—thus emphasizing an important element in the analysis of the self that is not always sufficiently stressed. Many of his judgments of the attitudes of others are wholly or partially incorrect. Because of his inexperience, Julien was unaware of his good looks—although he was very much aware of his superior intelligence and, he hoped, his character. He therefore failed to realize how much his handsome appearance appealed to women; on the contrary, he usually regarded himself as a bungler. "It was," remarks Stendhal in this connection, "a fatal trait in his char-

[14] Anselm Strauss (ed.), *The Social Psychology of George Herbert Mead* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), p. 235. The words are Mead's.

[15] Stendhal, *Scarlet and Black*, trans. Margaret R. B. Shaw (London: Penguin Books, 1959), pp. 368–69. The English translate the *rouge* in the title as "scarlet," rather than as "red." Subsequent page references refer to this edition. The italics above are Stendhal's.

acter to be acutely conscious of his mistakes" (p. 341).

In his confrontations with others Julien was, therefore, tremendously self-conscious. Even in his amorous transports he is aware that he is playing a role. "I'm playing an undignified part here" (p. 375), he thought unhappily. This feeling is first apparent in his liaison with Madame de Rênal, and it becomes even more evident in his affair with Mathilde, who is just as self-conscious as he. In this reflexive fashion Julien loves himself (not very often), is pleased with himself (sometimes), and more often despises himself. "He was frightfully contemptuous of himself" (p. 61). Whether trying to play the role of Don Juan in the boudoir of Madame de Rênal or Mathilde, to shine as a worldly courtier in the salons of the Faubourg Saint-Germain, or to act the dandy in the Bois de Boulogne, Julien constantly views himself through the eyes of others. In most cases he finds himself wanting, a quality that is often, to use Stendhal's phrase, the basic error of a person of "superior quality."

THE SELF AND THE INTERMEDIATE OTHER

By the "intermediate other" I mean persons or groups with whom one is not actually communicating (interacting) at the moment but whose real or supposed judgments nevertheless influence one's self-judgments. This concept is somewhat similar to the reference group, defined as "that group whose outlook is used by the actor as the frame of reference in the organization of his perceptual field."[16] The two concepts differ, however, in that the intermediate other or others are not necessarily united in groups, either cohesive or otherwise. The immediate others, indeed, may be disparate, and they may consist of isolated individuals with no sense of group unity. The person, furthermore, may or may not be conscious of his identification with the intermediate others. He may, indeed, be ambivalent toward this aspect of his environment and profess acute loathing for persons whose imputed judgments, nevertheless, play an important part in his self-feeling.

In the development of Julien's self there were a number of intermediate others whose attitudes he took into account. He was aware, for example, of the people of Verrières when he was considering his entry into the Mayor's home. When Julien's father raised this possibility, the boy's immediate concern was the figure he would cut in the community. He was not primarily concerned with his wages, living conditions, or work. His first question was about his *status*. "But whom," he demanded impatiently, "should I have my meals with?" (p. 39). In other words, what will be my role in the household of this leading figure? Will I be a servant and eat with the other servants in the kitchen? Or will I be treated as a member of the family and eat my meals with them? For, "rather than let myself be reduced to eating with the servants, I'd rather die" (p. 40).

When Julien goes to Paris and enters the town house of the Marquis de la Mole, he stands gaping in the courtyard of the great mansion. His sponsor, the good Abbé Pirard, admonishes him to look "sensible" if he does not want the Marquis' lackeys to make fun of him. "I defy them to do it," replied Julien, his self-possession rudely shattered (p. 253). When he begins to meet the men and women of the smart world, he becomes aware of his own shortcomings—his poverty, gaucherie, and peasant background. He constantly measures himself in the eyes of these intermediate others, and his self-attitudes waver between pride of his superior intellect and (later) his mastery over Mathilde, on the one hand, and a miserable self-deprecation, on the other. He was afraid of being shamed by these intermediate others, and his behavior was marked

[16] Tamotsu Shibutani, "Reference Groups as Perspectives," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX (May, 1955), 565; see also Robert K. Merton and Alice S. Kitt, "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior," in Robert K. Merton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld (eds.), *Continuities in Social Research* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950), pp. 53–59.

by an exaggerated arrogance to compensate for his galling self-judgments.

THE SELF AND THE IDEOLOGICAL OTHER

The ideological other in this context is similar to, but not identical with, the generalized other of Mead. The ideological other is the spirit of the times, the general patterns of belief that characterize a particular society at a given time. In Julien's case the ideological other was the *Zeitgeist* of France in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. This ideological imperative contained elements of the grandeur of Napoleon, the heroism of his revolutionary armies, the political adroitness of Talleyrand, and the seductiveness of Don Juan.

Julien was buffeted by these intellectual currents and saw himself first as one of these characters and then as another. Napoleon was dead, but his glory haunted the young man, even as it continued to haunt the aging Stendhal. As a young dragoon, the latter had served the Corsican in his Italian and Russian campaigns. Talleyrand was another cultural force whose talents for dissimulation, intrigue, and diplomacy comprised a different aspect of Julien's ideological other. The latter also aspired to be a great seducer of women, like Don Juan, a role in which he succeeded beyond his wildest dreams—in quality, if not in quantity. Two beautiful, well-born, and amorous women were his mistresses. As the book ends, they were both at his feet, as he languished in prison awaiting the guillotine.

In his affairs with women, Julien saw his love as a battle and himself as the hero. He tried to be a cynical man of the world, but his true goodness and sensibility did not allow him to play this role for very long. He feels that he "ought" to respond to Madame de Rênal's affection with some positive action. "This woman cannot despise me any longer," he mused, "in that case, I ought to respond to her beauty. I owe it to myself to become her lover" (p. 96). During his first rapturous night, his pride kept him from enjoying his experience, for he still regarded himself as a Don Juan, accustomed to subduing any woman at his whim. As a result, Julien "made incredibly determined efforts to spoil what was lovable in himself" (p. 103). As he left Madame de Rênal's room in the dawn, he reflected: "Is being happy, is being loved no more than that?" (p. 104). Like one of Napoleon's troopers returning from the field of Marengo, Julien could think of nothing but his role. "Have I," he thought, "been wanting in anything I owe to myself? Have I played my part well?" (p. 104).

After his abortive attempt to assassinate Madame de Rênal, Julien spent several weeks in prison. During this time he thought of the different roles he had played during his life. He had never been able to lose the acute self-consciousness that so corroded his character. On the other hand, his self-pride was his chief sustaining force in his hour of adversity. "And what shall I have left," he reflected, "if I despise myself? I have been ambitious; I am not going to blame myself for that; *I acted then in accordance with the demands of the time*" (p. 509: italics mine). This self-conception led him to the prison cell; under other conditions, it might have led to a marshal's baton. In his own way Julien was a genius, or at least an exceptional man. In a corrupt society he was thwarted and struck down.

The ideological other was instrumental in forming Julien's ego-ideal—that is, his conception of himself as he would like to be. This self-conception is a composite portrait, derived from taking the roles of a variety of others toward ourselves. Julien identified himself, first of all, with Napoleon, whose *Memoires* constituted virtually his sole reading matter during his most impressionable years. His ego-ideal also embodied certain elements of probity which he saw in his early friend, the old parish priest, Father Chélan. As he grew older and came in contact with the smart world of Paris society, he hoped to be a dandy, a duelist, and a drawing-room diplomat. Added to these elements was the driving force of ambition, whereby he hoped to be

a "success" in his own eyes and those of the world. It was another measure of his innocence that the various elements in this ego-ideal were incompatible and could never be reconciled. Indeed, the cream of the tragic jest was that his basic goodness and integrity made it impossible for him to realize the mundane ambitions of his ego-ideal.

This essay has explored some of the relationships between literature and society in a single novel and a single facet of personality. The social self has been depicted as the object of different self-attitudes, derived from taking the role of the direct other, the intermediate other, and the ideological other; Julien Sorel is one of the characters in fiction that illustrates most clearly this interactionist conception of the self. The genius of Stendhal is distilled into this portrait of a young man who is both ambitious and sensitive. Julien was unable to realize the baser aspects of his ego-ideal, and he died because he could not reconcile the conflicting elements in his self-conception. The social self as seen by modern social psychologists is the product of the real or assumed judgments of others, and in several ways Stendhal anticipated this formulation. *The Red and the Black* is an account of the interaction between one man and the incompatible elements of his psychological world.

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THE SELF IN THE EMOTIONALLY DISTURBED[1]

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ABSTRACT

Some key principles of Mead's psychology of the self are demonstrated with a group of institutionalized child psychiatric patients as subjects. On two separate responses one year apart, changes were shown in how the subjects defined themselves, how they defined others, and how they thought others defined them. The patterns on these three dimensions were, on the second testing, more nearly what might be anticipated on the basis of Mead's theory, as compared with the responses on the first test. Those whose changes in self functions were most marked were also those whose overt behavior changed most significantly from symptomatic to non-symptomatic during the one-year period. Conversely, those whose changes in self functions were least marked were also those whose overt behavior changed the least. It is tentatively concluded that (1) changes in one function of the self tend to be associated with changes in other functions, and (2) changes in the functions of the self tend to be associated with changes in the content of the self processes and (3) with changes in overt behavior.

As George H. Mead has pointed out, human beings tend to act on the basis of their inferences about the probable behavior of others toward them.[2] Moreover, our feelings about ourselves are mediated by how we think others feel about us. This is to say that much of our behavior is guided by what we think others are thinking and by our confidence in what we judge to be the readiness of others to act upon what we think they impute to us. In brief, it is axiomatic in Mead's psychology that there are functional relationships between how we see ourselves, how we see others, and how we think others see us. Similarly, basic to Mead's theory is the idea that such relationships have important consequences in overt behavior and are also phenomena of interpersonal perception.

While it may be logically reasonable to set forth such principles, the occasion to validate them by means of operational procedures is less frequently at hand. For it seems implicit in Mead's theory that it is necessary to take temporal changes into account in order to demonstrate empirically functional relationships among the self processes. Ideally, changes in the self would occur over a relatively long period of time during which the individual moves sequentially through the stages of the play, the game, and the generalized other. Moreover, once having developed to that stage of socialization, most persons maintain a rather stable and continuing set of relationships among the functions of the self. In terms of the consequences in overt behavior, Sullivan has referred to such stability as "the repeated situations which characterize a human life."[3] Whatever the terminology, however, the behavior of persons becomes relatively stable and predictable insofar as there is some convergence between how they see themselves, how they see others, and how they think others see them.

In the case of persons undergoing intensive psychiatric treatment, however, basic changes in interpersonal behavior frequently occur very rapidly. Therefore, the study of emotionally disturbed persons may offer opportunities to put to the test some aspects of Mead's theory which, under normal circumstances, would require either many years to do or could be done only by clinical or retrospective analysis.

With the exception of clinical descriptions of distorted self-concepts of individual psy-

[1] Part of a four-year project in social psychiatry under Grant OM-21 from the National Institute of Mental Health, United States Public Health Service.

[2] George Herbert Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934).

[3] Harry Stack Sullivan, *Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry* (Washington, D.C.: William Alanson White Psychiatric Foundation, 1947), p. vi.

chiatric patients, little empirical evidence is available about the processes of self-definition, inference, and imputation among persons who have been institutionalized for emotional disturbance.[4] The purpose of this paper is to report the findings of a study of interpersonal inference and imputation among a group of institutionalized emotionally disturbed children whose chief reason for hospitalization was inadequate reciprocity with others. A major aim is to demonstrate empirically changes in the functional relationships of the processes of the self, before and after long-term residential treatment, and to report their relationships to other indexes of changed behavior.

The subjects were ten boys, ranging in age from ten to twelve years, who were receiving long-term residential treatment in a private psychiatric hospital for children. The total patient population numbered fifty-six, of which the subjects constituted one of six units. They had all received clinical diagnoses of "Passive-Aggressive Personality—Aggressive Type" and were the only patients in the institution who were homogeneously grouped on the basis of diagnosis and symptomatology. Such patients are more commonly referred to as "acting-out"; their overt behavior is generally typified by spontaneous verbal and physical aggression, short attention span, and inability to delay gratifications, and they tend to have histories of interpersonal difficulties with both adults and peers. At the time of the first testing, all of the boys had lived together twenty-four hours a day for at least one year, and some for as long as two years.

PROCEDURES

Interpersonal perceptions.—In September, 1958, an "inference-imputation" test was administered to the subjects along with tests of several other criteria. This "Self-definition Test" involved nineteen interpersonal qualities which were dichotomized into those which are "friendly-accepting" and those which are "hostile-rejecting" in nature; these are shown in Table 1.

Two days prior to the individual testing sessions, each boy was asked the following "near-sociometric" questions: (1) "Which of the boys (in the unit) do you like best of all?" (2) "Which do you dislike the most?" (3) "Which do you think likes you the most?" and (4) "Which do you think dislikes you the most?"

For ease in administration, each quality

TABLE 1

INTERPERSONAL QUALITIES

Friendly-accepting	Hostile-rejecting
Generous	Selfish
Good	Bad
Nice	Mean
Smart	Dumb
Kind	Cruel
Brave	Afraid
Clean	Dirty
Well-liked	Ugly
Honest	
Strong	
Neat	

was printed in India ink on a 5 × 7-inch card. Each boy then sorted the cards at least five times: (1) a description of himself (*self-definition*), (2) a description of the boy he had chosen as the one he liked best (*imputation*), (3) a description of the boy he had chosen as the most disliked (*imputation*), (4) a description of himself from the point of view of the boy whom he thought liked him (*inference*), and (5) a description of himself from the point of view of the boy whom he thought disliked him (*inference*). Those boys who had been chosen by others as either "I think he likes me" or "I think he dislikes me" were then asked to describe the individuals who had chosen them in those ways.

One year later, in September, 1959, the boys underwent the identical sociometric and inference-imputation procedures.

[4] The most recent published attempt to put to test operational aspects of the social psychology of Mead is, perhaps, Carl J. Couch's "Self-attitudes and Degree of Agreement with Immediate Others," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXIII (1958), 491–96.

Observation.—Over a six-month period—from October, 1958, to March, 1959—the subjects were observed by a non-participant observer in a variety of situations for a total of sixty hours of direct observation. The overt behavior of the ten boys was rated on a "moreness-lessness" basis using the qualities of interaction listed in Table 2. Those on the left of the rating scale are symptomatic forms of behavior, while those on the right are non-symptomatic for this diagnostic category of patients. The methods, procedures, and findings of this part of the study are reported elsewhere.[5]

Institutional expectations.—In both 1958 and 1959 the subjects responded to a test of "institutional expectations." This consisted of ten story completions in which a boy was depicted as engaging in some moderately acting-out form of behavior in an institutional setting. The boys responded to each story by describing events which they expected would follow the incident which was presented. One, for example, read as follows: "Bob is supposed to take pills in the morning and in the afternoon. But he doesn't swallow them—he throws them out the window. One day the nurse found out about it and then. . . ." The subjects' responses were classified as involving either hostile or benign institutional responses. An example of a hostile expectation is, "she (the nurse) drags him to the room and gives him needles and he gets sicker." An example of a benign expectation is, "She tells him that the pills help him so he takes them." Typically, the more severely disturbed the patient, the more hostile are his expectations and, presumably, his anticipatory responses to them.

TABLE 2

SCALE FOR BEHAVIOR OF RATING "ACTING-OUT" PATIENTS

Symptomatic Behaviors	Non-symptomatic Behaviors
Irrelevant: Diffuse and random activity	*Relevant:* Goal-directed activity
Active: Mobile, labile, expressive behavior	*Passive:* Restrained, inexpressive, inactive behavior
Rejecting: Disassociates from others; rejects interactions	*Affiliative:* Associates with others; responds to and initiates interactions
Narcissistic: "Exclusive" interest in self	*Other-oriented:* Shows interest in others, positively or negatively
Dominant: Attempts to dominate, control, and direct	*Submissive:* Submits to domination, control, and direction by others
Succorant: Seeks help, assistance, support, and affection	*Nurturant:* Gives help, assistance, support, and affection
Aggressive: Attempts to destroy, humiliate, and degrade	*Blamavoidance:* Withdraws from or otherwise avoids aggression-eliciting situations
Immediacy: Seeks for immediate gratification	*Endurance:* Foregoes immediate satisfactions for future gratifications
Impulsive: Spontaneous and unreflectful behavior	*Deliberation:* Hesitant, cautious, and reflectful behavior
Non-verbal: Little talking of affiliative or rejecting type	*Verbal:* Much talking either of affiliative or rejecting type

Control-eliciting behavior.—The behavior of patients of this type occasionally becomes so dangerous either to themselves or to others that, if some means of restraint were not used, severe physical harm would result. In such instances the acting-out patient is placed alone in a locked room until his behavior becomes physically tolerable. Accurate records are maintained of the use of this means of restraint in the institution. These data were accumulated for each of the ten subjects at the end of one year.

[5] See William R. Rosengren, "The Social Field in Relation to the Behavior of Emotionally Disturbed Children," *Sociometry* (in press).

[6] This was an adaption of a similar set of story completions reported in W. and J. McCord, *Psychopathy and Delinquency* (New York: Grune & Stratton, Inc., 1957).

TREATMENT OF DATA

Interpersonal perceptions.—Sums of "friendly-accepting" and "hostile-rejecting" choices were computed on the first (1958) and second (1959) series of self-definition tests on each of the dimensions—inference-imputation, definition-inference, and definition imputation. The study was chiefly concerned with changes in the similarity and dissimilarity in choices of qualities in the one year. Because the total number of choices was not the same for all the subjects on either the first or the second series, changes were measured in terms of proportions rather than raw choice scores. Comparing, for example, the similarity of self-definitions and inferences, a "similar" choice was regarded as one in which the subject defined himself as generous and expected (inferred) that others (either the liked or disliked person) would also define him as generous. There were two possibilities for "dissimilar" choices: (1) the subject defined himself as generous but felt that the referent person would not so define him; or (2) the subject did not ascribe the quality of generosity to himself but felt that the referent person would define him as generous. Proportions of each similar inference-imputation, definition-inference, and definition-imputation dimension were computed in that fashion for each subject on the first and then on the second testing.

The significance of proportional change was computed through the use of the Wilcoxon Matched-Pairs Signed-Ranks Test, with probability levels derived directly from the value of *T*.[7] In all cases the one-tailed test was used because the direction of change was predicted.

The following classification was used for comparing the boys' patterns of interpersonal definition with the other indexes of change: Frequency distributions were made for the total quantity of proportional change under each perceptual relationship for each subject. Those whose total proportion of change in self functions was one standard deviation or more above the mean for the ten subjects were classified as "high self-changers." Those whose extent of change was one standard deviation or more below the mean are referred to as "low self-changers." In these terms there were three high and three low self-changers.

Other indexes of change.—At the end of the six-month period of observation, frequency distributions were made of the extent of change in overt behavior as indicated by the rating scale (Table 2). The extent of change was determined by the difference between the sums of scores on the left side of the scale during the first three months and the sum of scores on the left side during the second three months. Three of the boys had undergone significant changes from symptomatic to non-symptomatic behavior (one standard deviation or more above the mean), and three had experienced comparatively little change in behavior (one standard deviation or more below the mean).

Similar frequency distributions were made of the number of "isolations which each boy had elicited by his physically intolerable behavior during the first six months as compared with the second. Finally, computations were made on both the first and second testings of the number of "benign" the "hostile" expectations of the institution which each boy had expressed.

SOME EXPECTATIONS FROM MEAD'S THEORY

Clinical knowledge concerning the disturbance syndrome of the patients as well as participant observation for a year and a half formed the chief basis of the general hypotheses; Mead's principle of the interrelatedness of self-definition, inferences of others, and imputations by others underlay each expectation.

It was expected that on the first test the boys would define themselves quite differently from the ways in which they thought others would define them, as compared with the second test. Moreover, it was anticipated that the inferences they made of others on

[7] This statistic is described and probability tables presented in S. Siegel, *Non-parametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1956).

the first test would be different from others' actual imputations, as compared with the second test. More specifically in Mead's terms, it was expected that after one year the subjects would tend to "call out in themselves the responses which they think they call out in others" and that they would "call out in others responses similar to those which they think they call out in others."

Furthermore, it was anticipated that inferences of others would be less contingent upon the "liked-disliked" distinction on the second test as compared with the first. More specifically, it was expected that the boys would infer *more* friendly-accepting qualities of disliked persons and *less* friendly-accepting qualities of liked persons on the second test as compared with the first. Both of these related hypotheses were intended to serve as a means of empirically demonstrating whether the boys would make inferences concerning the ways in which they thought others viewed them with regard to a generalized conception of others' points of view—what might be referred to as the "generalized others"—or would persist in making inferences with reference to specific others in the environment.

TABLE 3

SIMILAR SELF-DEFINITIONS AND INFERENCES OF OTHERS' IMPUTATIONS: SIGNED-RANKS PROPORTIONS FOR FIRST AND SECOND TESTS

Inference	N*	T	Less Frequent Sign	p (One-tailed Test)
Liked and disliked persons.	10	3	−	> .005
Disliked persons only.	10	9	−	> .025
Liked persons only.	10	8	−	> .025

* Refers to the elimination of tied proportions between pairs. Levels of significance for N's less than 25 are determined directly from the magnitude of T.

Third, it was expected that the boys would tend to make different inferences concerning liked and disliked persons on the first test and more similar inferences on the second. Specifically, it was anticipated that inferences concerning disliked persons' imputations would be less accurate on the first test as compared with the second. Moreover, it was expected that inferences concerning liked persons' imputations would also be less accurate on the first test than on the second, that is, that the boys would tend to "take the role of specific others" in regard to themselves in an inaccurate fashion on the first test and the "role of the generalized other" in a more accurate fashion on the second test.

Last, it was expected that the boys would tend to define themselves more similarly to the ways in which they thought others defined them on the second test as compared with the first. Specifically, the subjects would define themselves significantly more as they thought the disliked persons defined them. It was also anticipated that a similar change would take place with regard to the liked persons. These two propositions were designed to test the expectation that the subjects would tend to define themselves more in terms of a conception of a generalized other than in terms of a consideration of specific individuals about whom they had contrasting attitudes themselves.

In general, therefore, the data were analyzed with a view to determining the extent of convergence with some basic principles of Mead's social psychology.

First, it was expected that on the first test the subjects would tend to define themselves differently from the ways in which they thought others defined them, while on the second test self-definitions and inferences of others' imputations would be more similar. This expectation was borne out with respect to disliked as well as liked persons (Table 3). There was significantly more similarity between how the boys defined themselves and how they thought both liked and disliked persons would define them on the second test as compared with the first.

Second, it was expected that a comparison of the responses on the first and second tests would reveal an increased tendency for the boys to define themselves more as

others actually defined them. This expectation was also borne out with regard both to liked and disliked persons, although with somewhat greater confidence in relation to the liked persons (Table 4). In general, the data suggested that on the second test the subjects defined themselves more like the ways in which they thought others would define them. Moreover, there was a tendency for the "others" actually to impute those qualities which the boys thought would be imputed to them.

Furthermore, it was predicted that the subjects would be less likely to infer hostile-rejecting qualities of the disliked persons and friendly-accepting qualities of the liked persons on the second test than they did a year earlier (Table 5). There was, in fact, a tendency for the boys to infer, proportionately, more friendly-accepting qualities of the persons whom they disliked and less

TABLE 4

SIMILAR INFERENCES OF OTHERS AND IMPUTATIONS BY OTHERS: SIGNED-RANKS PROPORTIONS FOR FIRST AND SECOND TESTS

Person Making Imputation by	N*	T	Less Frequent Sign	p (One-tailed Test)
Liked and disliked.........	10	2	–	>.01
Disliked only....	10	8	–	>.025
Liked only......	10	0	–	>.005

* See n. to Table 3.

hostile-rejecting qualities on the second test. Moreover, they also tended to expect proportionately less friendly-accepting imputations by liked persons on the second test. These findings may indicate that on the second test the subjects made inferences on the basis of a somewhat more generalized view of themselves rather than of a conception of specific persons' probable views of them.

The fourth general expectation was related to the issue of the subjects' accuracy in making inferences about other persons' imputations to them. Was there, in other words, a tendency for the boys increasingly to "call out from others the responses which they thought they called out in others"? The findings with regard to person referent —liked and disliked—and type of qualities inferred—friendly or hostile—are reported in Table 6.

As Table 6 indicates, the most discriminating differentiation was that in which the referent person involved as well as the distinction between friendly and hostile qualities were controlled. The most significant change between the first and the second test was with respect to the disliked rather than the liked persons. Specifically, the subjects tended to infer qualities of disliked persons more similar to those which were actually imputed to them by disliked persons on the second test, as compared with the first. Furthermore, while there was increased similarity concerning inferences of friendly

TABLE 5

"FRIENDLY-ACCEPTING" QUALITIES INFERRED OF SPECIFIC OTHERS: SIGNED-RANKS PROPORTIONS FOR FIRST AND SECOND TESTS

Referent	N*	T	Less Frequent Sign	p (One-tailed Test)
Disliked person..	10	1	–	>.005
Liked person....	10	0	+	>.005

* See n. to Table 3.

imputations by liked persons which was not statistically significant, the changes which did appear were in the predicted direction. With this qualification, the data do suggest two tentative conclusions. First, the boys were more accurate in inferring those qualities which others actually imputed to them. Second, this might indicate that on the first test the boys attempted to define themselves from the point of view of specific others, and to do this in a comparatively inaccurate way. On the second test, however, they seemed to define themselves from the point of view of a more generalized frame of reference which resulted, in fact, in considerably greater accuracy in inferring imputations by specific others.

Finally, it was anticipated that on the second test the boys would be more likely to define themselves in the same terms as

they thought both the liked and disliked persons would define them. That is, greater similarity between self-definitions and inferences was expected. As can be seen in Table 7, significant changes could best be identified when the referent person and the type of interpersonal quality were controlled. Specifically, the boys did tend to define themselves somewhat more as they thought the disliked persons would define them, but only with regard to the hostile-rejecting qualities. Moreover, while the increased similarity in this regard relative to the liked persons was not beyond what could have been expected by chance alone, it was in the predicted direction. It might be concluded, therefore, that on the first test the boys defined themselves as they thought both liked and disliked persons would do, but only with regard to friendly-accepting qualities. On the second test, however, they showed an increased inclination to include hostile-rejecting qualities in the similarities between how they defined themselves and how they thought significant others would define them.

When one contrasts the responses of the subjects on the first test with those on the second, several distinct patterns appear. On the *first* test they tended to define themselves dissimilar to the ways in which they thought others defined them. Second, both liked and disliked persons tended to impute to the subjects qualities dissimilar to those which the subjects expected would be imputed to them. Furthermore, the subjects tended to expect that liked persons would impute significantly more friendly-accepting qualities and that disliked persons would impute significantly more hostile-rejecting qualities. This is to say that their inferences about themselves appeared to be made with

TABLE 6

SIMILAR INFERENCES AND IMPLICATIONS: SIGNED-RANKS PROPORTIONS FOR FIRST AND SECOND TESTS

Referent and Inference-Imputation	N*	T	Less Frequent Sign	p (One-tailed Test)
All persons, all qualities	10	2	–	$>.01$
All persons, "friendly"	10	1	–	$>.005$
All persons, "hostile"	10	1	–	$>.005$
Liked persons, all qualities	10	0	–	$>.005$
Liked persons, "friendly"	10	6	–	$>.025$
Disliked persons, all qualities	10	8	–	$>.025$
Disliked persons, "friendly"	9	1	–	$>.005$
Disliked persons, "hostile"	9	0	–	$>.005$
Liked persons, "hostile"	6	3	–	$<.025$

* See n. to Table 3.

TABLE 7

SIMILAR SELF-DEFINITIONS AND INFERENCES: SIGNED-RANKS PROPORTIONS FOR FIRST AND SECOND TESTS

Referent and Self-definition-Inference	N*	T	Less Frequent Sign	p (One-tailed Test)
All persons, "hostile"	9	0	–	$>.005$
Disliked persons, all qualities	10	5	–	$>.01$
Disliked persons, "hostile"	10	0	–	$>.005$
All persons, all qualities	9	10	–	$<.025$
All persons, "friendly"	10	22	$+=-$	$<.025$
Liked persons, all qualities	10	14	–	$<.025$
Liked persons, "friendly"	10	10	–	$<.025$
Liked persons, "hostile"	9	8	–	$<.025$
Disliked persons, "friendly"	9	11	–	$<.025$

* See n. to Table 3.

reference to particular persons in their immediate experience. Fourth, they were comparatively inaccurate in inferring what qualities others—both liked and disliked persons—would actually impute to them. Last, they tended to define themselves differently from the ways in which they thought both liked and disliked persons would define them, with an accompanying tendency for them to be somewhat more sensitized to friendly-accepting than to hostile-rejecting attributes.

On the *second* test, on the other hand, they tended to define themselves more as they thought others defined them. Second, both the liked and the disliked persons tended to impute those qualities which the inferring subjects thought the others would. Third, the boys tended to expect that liked persons would impute significantly more hostile-rejecting qualities and that the disliked persons would impute more friendly-accepting qualities. Fourth, they were somewhat more accurate in inferring those qualities others actually imputed to them. Last, they tended to define themselves somewhat more as they thought both the liked and disliked persons would define them and were increasingly accurate in regard to hostile-rejecting qualities.

In terms of Mead's theory of the self, it would appear that on the first test the boys tended to (1) call out in themselves responses unlike those which they thought they called out in others, (2) call out in others responses unlike those which they thought they called out in others, (3) make inferences from the point of view of specific others rather than of a generalized other, and (4) define themselves in terms of specific other persons.

On the second test, on the other hand, they tended to (1) call out in themselves responses more like those which they thought they called out in others, (2) call out in others responses more like those which they thought they called out in others (3) make inferences from the point of view of a generalized other rather than of specific others, and (4) define themselves in terms of a generalized other rather than of specific others.

RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER INDEXES OF CHANGE

Although these findings may well suggest that both the functions and the content of the self changed significantly in the one year, it is of further interest to know to what extent and in what ways such patterns might be associated with other indexes of change.

First, the three "high self-changers" were also the three boys whose overt behavior changed most significantly from symptomatic to non-symptomatic during the six months in which observational ratings of behavior were made: the boys whose self functions more nearly approximated Mead's ideal were those who experienced increasingly fewer difficulties with both their peers and the adults working with them. Conversely, those whose self processes changed the least along lines of Mead's expectations were those who continued both to initiate symptomatic interactions and reacted to others in a significantly symptomatic fashion.

Second, with regard to highly disruptive behavior which necessitated isolation of the patient, the three high self-changers were also those who were significantly less often isolated in the one year than formerly. On the other hand, those boys whose self processes changed the least were also the ones who were isolated either significantly *more* often, or as often, in the one year.

Last, with regard to expectations of the institution, the three high self-changers were also the boys whose expectations of the institution's actions toward them changed most significantly from "hostile" at the beginning of the year to "benign" at the end. Conversely, the "low self-changers" continued comparatively often to expect hostile action and seldom to expect benign action in the one year.

On the basis of these findings it is concluded that, in the boys studied, changes in the functions and content of the self were

associated with overt changes in behavior as well as with changes in a somewhat more basic orientation toward their immediate social environment.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper has reported an attempt to relate data from a test of interpersonal inferences, imputations, and self-definitions to some of the chief assertions of Mead's social psychology. The findings are tentative, and the conclusions and interpretations which have been made are best regarded as only suggestive. Because of the small number of subjects involved and the difficulties characteristic of studies of interpersonal perception,[8] both the findings and the conclusions are best regarded as a preliminary effort.

The concept of the self as used in the social psychology of Mead is one that continues to be an intriguing basis for much speculation and interpretation. It also continues, however, to present many difficulties for empirical investigation and validation. The limited field study reported in this paper is an attempt to put the concept of the self to empirical test with a view to further elaborating its importance in human behavior.

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[8] See, e.g., L. J. Cronbach, "Proposals Leading to Analytic Treatment of Social Perception Scores," in R. Tagiuri and L. Petrullo (eds.), *Person, Perception and Interpersonal Behavior* (Stanford Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1958), pp. 353-78.

ETHNIC AND CLASS DIFFERENCES AMONG HOSPITALS AS CONTINGENCIES IN MEDICAL CAREERS[1]

DAVID N. SOLOMON

ABSTRACT

The ethnic and class structures of medicine in Chicago are described by classifying hospitals into four types which differ in size, characteristics of sponsors, approval of facilities by accrediting bodies, ethnic composition of medical staffs, proportions of physicians who are specialists, and proportions with offices in the central business district. Each category thus represents a different ethnic and class type of hospital and a relatively separate social world of medical practice. These aspects of the medical social system constitute the crucial contingencies of medical careers. How they are met determines the type of career and degree of success of the individual practitioner.

Every occupation is in one of its aspects a role in some system of interaction.

An occupation, in essence, is not some particular set of activities; it is the part of an individual in any ongoing system of activities. The system be large or small, simple or complex. The ties between the persons in different positions may be close or so distant as not to be social; they may be formal or informal, frequent or rare. The essential is that the occupation is the place ordinarily filled by one person in an organization or complex of efforts and activities.[2]

Hughes and several of his students have directed attention to important aspects of such systems by their use of the term "career contingencies."[3] While not satisfactorily defined in the literature, various contexts indicate that the concept refers to conditions of the social system surrounding an occupation which are decisive for the success of the practitioners.[4] Success in an occupation is contingent on solving the problems, resolving the dilemmas, and passing the hurdles or obstacles which arise from the system of social interaction in

[1] Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, New York, 1960. I am indebted to Professors Howard Roseborough and Eliot Freidson for careful reading and comments.

[2] Everett Cherrington Hughes, "The Study of Occupations," in Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. (eds.), *Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959), p. 445.

[3] So far as I know, Professor Everett C. Hughes of the University of Chicago originated the concept. His students have applied it to various occupations: see, e.g., Howard S. Becker, "Some Contingencies of the Professional Dance Musician's Career," *Human Organization*, XII (Spring, 1953), 22–26; and Harvey L. Smith, "Contingencies of Professional Differentiation," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXIII (January, 1958), 410–14.

Edward Gross attempts a formal definition: Career contingencies are "the major kinds of events or phenomena which can produce these patterns [orderly sequences of events connoted by the term career] and determine their probability of occurrence" (*Work and Society* [New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1958], p. 196). See also David N. Solomon, "Career Contingencies of Chicago Physicians" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1952), p. 1: "Correlative with every occupation is a social system which constitutes the 'decisive' or 'external conditions' within which the fates of practitioners unfold. The development of a career appears as a series of steps as the individual finds his way through the system. At any one of these points, the outcome, or ultimate position of the individual is in doubt, since it is contingent upon the presence or absence of various circumstances, on the occurrence or failure to occur of certain events, both within and outside the occupation itself. These circumstances or events are the career contingencies of the particular occupational groups."

[4] Max Weber discusses the "external conditions" which are "decisive" for two occupations. His context makes it plain that "external conditions" refers to the social system (see "Science as a Vocation" and "Politics as a Vocation," in *From Max Weber*, trans. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills [New York: Oxford University Press, 1946], pp. 111 ff.).

which the occupational role is set.[5] Career contingencies are the features of this social system which decisively determine the life chances of those who have chosen the occupation as a career.

In many occupations the ethnic and class distinctions of the community are reflected in the system of interaction of which the occupation is a part. There is some evidence of this in the case of medical practice.[6] Moreover, the different types of medical career appear to be differently distributed through the ethnic and class structures of the medical social system.[7] In examining the career contingencies of physicians, it is therefore important to describe the social worlds of medicine in terms of ethnic or vertical lines of segregation and class or horizontal lines of stratification.

This was done in the study reported here by classifying Chicago hospitals into a set of categories which were initially *ad hoc* types based on a good deal of impressionistic knowledge of the various hospitals. The substantial differences exhibited by the resulting types of Chicago hospitals are interpreted as indicating that the system of interaction which surrounds medical practice in Chicago is not homogeneous but, rather, one which, like the community at large, exhibits ethnic and class lines of cleavage and consists of a set of social worlds, to a degree separate and discrete. Medical school and in-hospital training function as devices which sort or allocate incumbents into the various segments of the system, each of which provides a somewhat different social context for practice and is, therefore, characterized by a different variety of practice. The main purpose of this paper is the description of these ethnic and class structures, which may constitute the most important contingencies of medical careers.

On the basis of impressions gained through interviews and other less formal observation of medical practice, Chicago hospitals were classified into types which differ in the characteristics of their sponsors, affiliation with medical schools, the extent to which facilities are formally approved, and certain characteristics of doctors—ethnic origins, degree of specialization, and office location. The relevant data were obtained from three sources: the *American Hospital Directory*;[8] a sample of 854 doctors;[9] and fifty interviews, mostly with

[5] E.g., Howard S. Becker states: "In general the major problem of the service occupations tends to be the maintenance of freedom from control by laymen for whom one works. . . . The repercussions of this problem may be expected to exert a decisive [sic] effect on the nature of careers within such occupations" (*op. cit.*, p. 22).

[6] E.g., Oswald Hall concluded: "The various hospitals of the community studied form a status hierarchy. The Yankee Protestant hospitals have the most adequate facilities, those organized by the Catholics follow, while those organized by the Jewish group or by medical sects are the least adequate. The prestige of the hospitals is ranked accordingly" ("The Stages of a Medical Career," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIII [March, 1948], 329–30).

[7] Oswald Hall, "Types of Medical Careers," *American Journal of Sociology*, LV (November, 1940), 243–53. See also Stanley Lieberson, "Ethnic Groups and the Practice of Medicine," *American Sociological Review*, XXIII (October, 1958), 542–49. For a complete account of Hall's work, to which I am greatly indebted, see his "The Informal Organization of Medical Practice in an American City" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1944).

[8] *American Hospital Directory* (Chicago: American Hospital Association, 1948).

[9] About sixty-two hundred names of physicians are listed, along with information about each, in the *Chicago Medical Blue Book, 1948–49* (Chicago: McDonough & Co., 1949). About five hundred and fifty additional names were found in the *Chicago Classified Telephone Directory*, March, 1948. All these were numbered serially and over fourteen hundred selected, using Tippett's random numbers. To restrict the scope of the study, all except white males in private practice (that is, having offices) within the administrative limits of the city of Chicago were eliminated, leaving 854 for detailed consideration. Each name was also checked for additional information in the *American Medical Directory* (Chicago: American Medical Association, 1942), the *Directory of Medical Specialists* (Chicago: A. N. Marquis Co., 1942, 1946, 1949), and in the directories of the various specialty associations.

doctors, but some with laymen having knowledge of the profession.[10]

TYPES OF HOSPITALS

Fifty-four hospitals, each represented in the sample by only a few doctors, were classified into four types. "Elite Protestant hospitals" are the four believed to have most prestige in the city. "Catholic hospitals" are those operated by Catholic religious orders. "Jewish hospitals" are those operated by the Jewish Charities of Chicago.[11] Finally, "other hospitals," a residual category, consists of all the remaining hospitals.[12]

Sponsors.—Three types of sponsor are found in Chicago hospitals. First, there are philanthropic patrons who give and solicit voluntary contributions, devote time and energy to the work of the hospital, and play a significant role in the determination and implementation of policy. Second, as is the case with Catholic hospitals, some hospitals are owned by religious orders and operated by their representatives. Finally, the sponsor may be an individual, a partnership, or a corporation which owns, operates, and controls the hospital. These owners are almost always doctors.

Every institution to some extent shares the character of its sponsors. The philanthropic patron is a person with prestige, and hospitals with this type of sponsorship enjoy more prestige than do others.[13] There are, of course, different classes of philanthropist, and thus hospitals might be further differentiated in terms of the relative status of their patrons. The ethnic identification or religion of the patrons is also an indication of the character of the institution. Finally, since "doctors' hospitals" are likely to be regarded, at least by other doctors, as commercial enterprises, they are generally of low prestige.

Elite Protestant hospitals are, with one exception, sponsored by Protestant denominations usually accorded high prestige and associated with Anglo-Saxon elements of the community. The exception, although not so listed in the *American Hospital Directory*, is in effect associated with one of the others as a facility for private patients.[14] All are supervised by lay boards and partly supported by voluntary contributions.

Other hospitals, belonging to the residual category, have several kinds of sponsor. With the possible exception of six sponsored by Protestant denominational or sectarian groups, apparently of German or North European ethnic origin,[15] and per-

[10] Forty names were selected at random from the sample, and, in addition, ten interviews were arranged with doctors or laymen indicated by other physicians or by my colleagues as likely to be willing informants. The interviews are not representative of the sample. The intention in the interviews was to stimulate informal conversation by stating generally the interest of the study in "the problems of modern medical practice," and from time to time the conversation was directed to topics of special interest or those on which the informant appeared to have special knowledge. The interviews were not standardized on the basis of a schedule, and no notes were taken, the content being recorded from memory within a few hours.

[11] This does not imply that these are the only hospitals which are Jewish in character, which is in fact not the case, but only that these are the ones that are formally Jewish.

[12] Public hospitals, whether municipal, county, state, or federal, are not centers of private practice and consequently were not considered, except as training institutions for interns and residents.

[13] "One of the criteria of upper class membership is evidence of 'good works' as seen in terms of philanthropy" (Oswald Hall, "Sociological Research in the Field of Medicine: Progress and Prospects," *American Sociological Review*, XVI [October, 1951], 641). See also Norman Miller, "The Jewish Leadership at Lakeport," in Alvin W. Gouldner (ed.), *Studies in Leadership* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950); Aileen D. Ross, "Organized Philanthropy in an Urban Community," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XVIII (November, 1952), 474–86; and also her "Philanthropic Activity and the Business Career," *Social Forces*, XXXII (March, 1954), 274–80.

[14] The sponsors are: Presbytery of Chicago, Protestant Episcopal Church, and Methodist Episcopal Church.

[15] Information from the *American Hospital Directory*. The three sponsoring groups listed are: Illinois Conference of the Evangelical Lutheran

haps a few others, they do not have philanthropic patrons, nor are they supported by voluntary contributions. Twenty-two are listed as non-profit corporations, four simply as corporations. Four were listed in an earlier directory as proprietary.[16] Interviews indicate that, at least in some cases, the non-profit designation is a euphemism covering more or less profit-oriented ownership:

Who runs these hospitals that you're working at?

Private individuals. They're all owned by private individuals. Oh, they have a dummy board so they don't have to pay income tax. That's how they get to be non-profit organizations.

Is B a community hospital, or non-profit organization, or what?

It's a community hospital. I don't know about the non-profit. They've made a lot out of it in the past few years. Of course, it wasn't so good before, but in the last few years they've made plenty. Dr. Y. owns about 90 per cent of it. He runs the hospital. We don't have any public donations or anything like that.

I understand you have a hospital of your own?

Yes, we bought that hospital three years ago. We couldn't get enough beds at *XY* and *P*, although we still carry on there. We have fifteen or twenty admissions a day for major surgery. It's a seventy-bed hospital and it's always full, but we have no waiting list. If a patient comes in we have a bed today or tomorrow, or whenever we want. It's a charitable organization—nobody makes any profit out of it, but we lay down the policy, and we keep twenty beds for other doctors. We've made it a community hospital.

You mean the other doctors have courtesy privileges?

Yes, but we have a regular staff there. We have a board but we [the owners] lay down the policy.[17]

Catholic hospitals are, by definition, those sponsored and operated by religious orders, but some also include lay philanthropic patrons. This feature, along with others, probably differentiates them among themselves as to prestige. Perhaps the religious orders as well as the patrons might be ranked on a prestige scale. Certainly, both vary in ethnic character, as do their doctors and patients, and there are Catholic hospitals which are regarded as mainly Irish, Polish, Italian, Lithuanian, and German.

The two Jewish hospitals, operated by the Jewish Charities of Chicago, have philanthropic lay boards and thus differ from five hospitals which are Jewish in character but privately owned and therefore classified as "other hospitals." There is probably also a difference in rank between the two hospitals, but data on the status of patrons, doctors, and patients which would have established this were not obtained.[18]

Affiliation with medical schools.—Appointments to teaching posts in medical schools are honorific;[19] similarly, to be a "teaching hospital" affiliated with a medical school is a mark of distinction for a hospital. Table 1 shows that all elite Protestant hospitals and both Jewish hospitals,[20] but only two of the thirty-two other hospitals and only nine of sixteen Catholic hospitals. are affiliated with one or another of the medical schools in the Chicago area. (All

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Church, Norwegian Lutheran Church of America, and Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant of America. Three church-operated hospitals whose sponsors are not named are: Bethany Home and Hospital of the Methodist Church, Evangelical Hospital of Chicago, and Walther Memorial Hospital, the last said by informants to be supported by a German Lutheran group.

[16] *Ibid.*, 1945 edition.

[17] From interviews 39, 26, and 10, respectively.

[18] Interview 35: "*XY* is the highest, but *P*'s very close. They're almost the same now. *XY* is really going along on the basis of its seniority and prestige." Interview 40: "*P*'s a very fine hospital. Just as good as *XY*. I guess we [*XY*] have—well, higher class isn't a very good word—our patients have more money. They're mostly from Highland Park and places like that."

[19] Talcott Parsons, "The Professions and Social Structure," *Essays in Sociological Theory Pure and Applied* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949), p. 195.

[20] One of the Jewish hospitals is affiliated with a school which was recently accredited.

nine Catholic hospitals are affiliated with a Catholic medical school.)

Formal approval.—The *American Hospital Directory* indicates which hospitals are approved on the criteria shown in Table 1. Approval may mean only that a hospital has attained the minimum standards, but lack of approval is of greater significance.

Jewish and elite Protestant hospitals are approved in every respect. Other hospitals, a heterogeneous lot, fall along a continuum from complete approval (six hospitals) to none at all (five hospitals). They are best described in four subcategories, differentiated most clearly by approval or lack of approval of internships and residencies. The "A" subgroup have approval on all criteria, the "C" and Jewish subgroups have few approvals, while the "B" subgroup is intermediate, almost all being approved for internships, but few for residencies. Similarly, Catholic "A" hospitals are approved in all respects, while Catholic "B" hospitals have no approved residencies and fewer approvals on the other criteria.

Number of beds.—Although size may not be a valid indicator of prestige,[21] it does reflect capital investment, which is relevant. (The average number of beds per hospital for each of the groups and subgroups is shown in the bottom row of Table 1.) All elite Protestant hospitals, except the one for private patients only, have more than four hundred beds. The larger Jewish hospital has about six hundred and fifty beds, the smaller over two hundred. Jewish and elite Protestant hospitals are thus the largest in the city. Among other and Catholic hospitals, the subgroups with the largest number of approvals have the largest number of beds per hospital, while those with fewest approvals are the smallest.

TABLE 1

CHICAGO HOSPITALS: CRITERIA FOR APPROVAL, NUMBER OF HOSPITALS, AND AVERAGE NUMBER OF BEDS

Criterion for Approval	Elite Protestant Hospitals	Other Hospitals: A	B	C	Other Jewish†	Total	Catholic Hospitals: A	B	Total	Jewish* Hospitals
Affiliation with a medical school	4	2	...	...	...	2	6	3	9	2‡
Approved nurses training school	4	6	7	2	2	17	9	2	11	2
AMA approval of internships..	4	9§	8	1	2	20	9	6	15	2
AMA approval of residencies..	4	10	2	0	1	13	9	0	9	2
Approval by ACS...........	4	10	9	1	4	24	9	6	15	2
CMA approval of internships‖.	4	...		...	...		...		...	2
Not approved.............	...	...	...	4	1	5	...	1	1	...
No. of hospitals...........	4	10	9	8	5	32	9	7	16	2
Average No. of beds........	446	206	153	84	111	146	255	169	216	440

* Hospitals operated by the Jewish Charities of Chicago.

† Hospitals represented in the sample only by Jewish doctors.

‡ One is affiliated with a school only recently accredited.

§ The one not approved is a children's hospital and thus lacks facilities for general internship.

‖ Canadian Medical Association approval indicates Jewish and elite Protestant hospitals are of international interest

DOCTORS

Ethnic origin.—Reliable lists were available which identified doctors of Jewish, Polish, Italian, and Czechoslovakian origins. The remainder are presumably of British or North European origin. Despite the inability to differentiate the large unidentified group, the distributions are suggestive (Table 2).

Elite Protestant hospitals have relatively few Jewish doctors and none of the other identified groups. Jewish hospital doctors are, with two exceptions, Jewish. While other hospitals have a high proportion of Jewish doctors, more than half of these are in the five hospitals represented in the sample only by Jews. Catholic hospitals have the highest proportion of Polish, Ital-

[21] Public institutions, for example, have the largest bed-capacity in the city but are of low prestige, except for certain types of training.

ian, and Czechoslovakian doctors and relatively few Jews.

Specialization.—Although the medical specialities differ in prestige and members of any specialty differ among themselves, specialty practice is in general both more remunerative and more rewarding in prestige than is general practice.[22] Moreover, certified specialists have greater prestige. Table 3 shows that a very high proportion of doctors in elite Protestant hospitals are full-time or certified specialists, most of them certified. Other and Catholic hospitals do not differ greatly in the proportions of their doctors who are specialists, but they have smaller proportions of certified specialists than do Jewish hospitals.

Office location.—The location of a service near the center of a city suggests a clientele that is at least city-wide.[23] Decentralized

[22] E.g., "The good practices of the city are the specialty practices. The statistics on income differentials between specialists and non-specialists and the data on trends toward specialization are equally convincing on this point. The specialists are highly conscious of their superior status and refer to the general practitioners by unflattering terms such as 'signposts' and 'information booths' " (Hall, "The Stages of a Medical Career," p. 332). See also M. Leven, *The Incomes of Physicians* ("Publications of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care," No. 24 [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932]); and Milton Friedman and Simon Kuznets, *Income from Independent Professions* (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1945).

[23] "In the same period [1914–29] the area [Chicago Loop] lost 33.8 per cent of its general practitioners and gained 68.5 per cent in part-time specialists. But for physicians who devoted their full time to the practice of a single specialty, the gain was 118.4 per cent. In other words, the Loop has become less a local and more a regional medical market place, for such an increase in *specialized* medical services could be explained only by reason of the extension of the size of the area from which patients would come with their demand for medical services" (Earl S. Johnson, "The Function of the Central Business District in the Metropolitan Community," in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr. [eds.], *Reader in Urban Sociology* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951], p. 488).

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF DOCTORS BY TYPE OF HOSPITAL AND ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION

Ethnic Identification	Hospital Affiliation: Elite Protestant	Other	Catholic	Jewish	None	Total
Unidentified	93.8	60.4	60.2	0.9	60.6	55.2
Jewish	6.2	37.1	14.8	98.2	21.1	33.3
Polish, Italian, Czechoslovakian	. .	2.5	25.0	0.9	18.3	11.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. in sample	64	202	88	112	388	854

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF DOCTORS BY TYPE OF HOSPITAL AND DEGREE OF SPECIALIZATION

Degree of Specialization	Hospital Affiliation: Elite Protestant	Other	Catholic	Jewish	None	Total
No specialty	6.3	32.7	42.0	46.4	74.2	52.3
Partial*	6.3	28.2	21.6	3.6	16.0	17.1
Full-time*	23.4	16.8	13.6	13.4	8.8	12.9
Certified†	64.0	22.3	22.8	36.6	1.0	17.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. in sample	64	202	88	112	388	854

$\chi^2 = 290$ d.f. $= 12$ $p < .001$

* *American Medical Directory, 1942*, p. 7: "This information . . . is based on personal data furnished by the physician."

† "Certified" by one of the specialty associations or boards.

establishments, on the other hand, serve a local clientele. Moreover, medical specialists concentrate near the center of a city in what is, for this and perhaps other reasons, an area of practices enjoying great prestige.

In the present sample almost two-thirds of the city's specialists have offices in the central business district ("the Loop") while, conversely, two-thirds of the doctors with offices in the Loop are specialists. While the types of hospital with the most specialists also have the highest proportions of doctors with Loop offices (Table 4), when specialization is controlled there remain marked differences in the proportions with Loop offices.

Almost all specialists in elite Protestant hospitals and a very high proportion of specialists in Jewish hospitals are located in the Loop. In contrast, only about half the specialists in other and Catholic hospitals have Loop offices. In the case of general practitioners, other and Catholic hospitals have relatively low proportions in the Loop and Jewish hospitals a relatively high proportion—in fact, almost as high as that of specialists in other and Catholic hospitals.

THE SOCIAL SYSTEM OF MEDICINE IN CHICAGO

The social system of medicine in Chicago—and, no doubt, in other large urban areas—is not a unified homogeneous whole but, rather, one which reflects the ethnic and class segmentation and stratification of the city. The medical community, like the community as a whole, consists of a set of social worlds which are to a degree separate and discrete.

Additional data which can be only briefly mentioned here lend support and significance to this interpretation of the differences between types of hospitals and the doctors associated with them. For example, the graduates of the various medical schools are by no means distributed randomly through the different types of hospitals; rather, each type appears to have, to some degree, its own peculiar preferences for graduates of particular schools, although

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF DOCTORS BY TYPE OF HOSPITAL, DEGREE OF SPECIALIZATION, AND LOCATION

Location Office	Elite Protestant	Other	Catholic	Jewish	None	Total
	Hospital Affiliation					
	Specialists					
Loop	94.6	53.2	46.9	87.5	23.7	64.4
Other	5.4	46.8	53.1	12.5	76 3	35.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. in sample	56	79	32	56	38	261
$x^2=70$		d.f.=4		$p<.001$		
	General Practitioners					
Loop	...*	8.9	14 3	41.1	14.6	16.9
Other	.....*	91.1	85 7	58 9	85.4	83.1
Total	...*	100.0	100 0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. in sample	8	123	56	56	350	593
$x^2=31$		d.f.=3		$p<.001$		
	Total					
Loop	93.8	26.2	26.1	64.3	15.5	31 4
Other	6 2	73.8	73.9	35.7	84.5	68.6
Total	100 0	100.0	100.0	100 0	100.0	100.0
No. in sample	64	202	88	112	388	854
$x^2=223$		d.f.=4		$p<.001$		

* Too few to compute percentages.

doctors in the "other hospitals" are heterogeneous in this respect as well. Similarly, each type of hospital has a marked preference for doctors who have trained as interns or residents in the same type. There are thus "typical chains in which each institution aids the newcomer along to the next level"[24] and which function as devices which sort or allocate incumbents to various sectors of the system.

The interviews also indicate differences between elite Protestant and other hospitals, which together include the various strata of the Protestant system. There appear to be marked differences in what is involved in gaining access to hospital facilities, in obtaining patients, and in the nature of colleague relationships and the resulting standards of medical practice.

Elite Protestant hospitals are closed to all but members of their regular staffs. Graduating from the "right" medical school, training in the "right" type of hospital, and obtaining the sponsorship of senior colleagues in the hospital staff—all are involved in becoming a staff member, which with exceptions must occur when practice is initiated. The young specialist then seeks to build reputation among his colleagues, and if he is successful they supply him with patients through referrals. He is therefore dependent on his colleagues for patients and in other ways as well, and consequently the standards of practice are those of the colleague group with its formal and informal social organization. Since these hospitals are also the teaching hospitals, medical practice in them is associated with both education and research, and the level of competence and professional skill is maintained at a high level as a result of the colleague group's ability to control its members. Although we have no evidence of it, it is probable that their fees and income are highest.

Other hospitals, on the other hand, vary from those which are almost as closed as are elite Protestant hospitals to some which are open on a very casual basis indeed. Access to these hospitals depends on the newcomer's ability to refer (supply) patients to specialists who own the hospitals or, what amounts to the same thing, to control admissions. The young doctor must therefore build his reputation directly among patients or other non-medical people—telephone-answering services, insurance companies, and the like—who may help him build practice, and patients become a *quid pro quo* in exchange for necessary access to hospital facilities. The nature of the relationship among colleagues is therefore quite different from what it is among doctors in elite Protestant hospitals, and, for the most part, doctors in other hospitals are not really colleagues at all but, rather, competitors who from time to time share a mutual interest. Under these conditions the relationship of each doctor is with a number of other individual doctors, and there is no formally or informally organized body of colleagues which takes an interest in or has power to set standards of practice. The normative orientation is restricted to matters that are essential to their interaction and does not cover quality of practice or ethics, although, of course, the individual parties to the exchange may, and in some hospitals frequenly do, insist on high standards purely as a matter of individual conscience and scruple. Although, again, we have no evidence of it, fees and incomes in these hospitals are probably a good deal lower than in elite Protestant hospitals.[25]

These two types of practice which are said to characterize the different types of hospitals in the Protestant system of medicine in Chicago are, of course, the two poles of a continuum. These are not ideal types. We have among our respondents cases which exemplify the two polar types as well as others which lie somewhere along the continuum. These are empirical types, and the practices of doctors in elite Protestant hospitals lie, in general, toward the one pole while those of doctors in other hospitals lie toward the other pole; there is a zone some-

[24] Hall, "The Stages of a Medical Career," p 330.

[25] For a more detailed account and complete documentation see Solomon, *op. cit.*

where to the right of center where there is probably a good deal of overlapping. We have evidence that similar statements could be made if Catholic and Jewish hospitals were placed on their own continua.

The different ethnic and class worlds of the medical social system are thus depicted as areas in which different varieties of medical practice flourish and in which the external conditions of practice are markedly different. The day-to-day interaction in a career can be thought of as an orbit in some system or subsystem. Careers differ in the character and boundaries of the subsystems in which they have their orbits.[26] For medical careers, one of the obviously significant contingencies, or perhaps *the* obviously significant contingency, is which of these subsystems is to be the arena in which the career will be pursued. From the point of view of any particular practitioner, the kind of career he is to have and the degree of success he is likely to achieve depend on how he fits into the scheme of segmentation and stratification.

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[26] The orbit analogy is attributed to Everett C. Hughes.

SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORY FOR SELECTING AND GUIDING COLLEGE STUDENTS[1]

JOSHUA A. FISHMAN

ABSTRACT

Since intellective criteria are likely to remain dominant in the selective admission and guidance procedures of American colleges, it will become increasingly important to develop sound theoretical rationales if non-intellective predictors are to prove functionally valuable. A multivariate theoretical framework for non-intellective predictors is suggested, based on an analysis of how the applicant may change during the school-to-college years as well as of how the college as an institution may itself be different from the high school.

During most of the nineteenth century American colleges needed neither a philosophy of admission nor a procedure of selection. Secondary schools and colleges were really two phases of the same educational program, serving essentially identical clienteles. College preparatory schools—and there were very few secondary schools of any other type—did not complain that their curriculums were dominated by the colleges. Colleges did not complain that they could never be quite sure just what it was that applicants had studied in secondary school or just what their grades implied as to proficiency. Parents and teachers responsible for guiding the young toward appropriate colleges did not complain that they were uninformed as to what the various colleges were like or what they wanted in an applicant. In fact, it was often a foregone conclusion as to which candidate would go to which college to study what, and the "drop-out," "flunk-out," and transfer rates were low indeed. Given this set of circumstances, problems of admission and selection were neither numerous nor urgent.

Today, American secondary schools and colleges frequently pursue quite separate, if not contrary, educational programs. They may serve clienteles startlingly different in geographical origin and social composition. Thus, most colleges must select their freshman class from applicants from all over the country and, in some cases, from all over the world, with widely varying family backgrounds and cultural traditions. What is more, the applicants present credentials from secondary schools that vary amazingly as to the content and quality of their curriculums but that are as one in their objection to having anyone dictate to them.

Faced by the problem of rendering commensurable all sorts of grades, courses, and curriculums, American colleges have come to depend upon techniques of selection and guidance which maximize impartiality and minimize proscription. With the development of the Army Alpha examinations, American psychometry has provided the reliable and objective mass measurements that have enabled the country's colleges to sort applicants without being overburdened with matters of philosophy or theory. Thus, the problems and procedures of college admission and selection in our country bear a direct relationship to our peculiarly decentralized, unstandardized, and informally co-ordinated secondary and higher education and to the developmental history of its institutions.

The conditions surrounding college ad-

[1] Sections of this paper were originally presented at the Conference on Selection and Educational Differentiation held at the University of California, Berkeley, May 25-27, 1959. I wish to express my gratitude to Nevitt Sanford, Christian Bay, Jo Gleason, Donald Brown, Natalie Rogoff, John French, Donald Thistlethwaite, and, particularly, Charles MacArthur for their valuable criticisms of the earlier drafts from which I have profited so much in the preparation of this version.

mission and selection today are currently far from normal. There has been a geometric increase in the number of applicants without anything like a similar increase in college facilities. In addition, the growing precariousness of America's international position has focused inquiry and publicity on every aspect of higher education. As a result, those concerned with the philosophical and the empirical study of admission and selection are aware of more than the usual amount of public and professional pressure toward clarity and effectiveness.

Behind "admissions" is a theory of administrative action based upon knowledge of the interaction between a given college environment and various crucial characteristics of the applicant population. Selection and guidance follow techniques and procedures by which the "philosophy" is implemented. Although, logically, these procedures should be derived from preexisting theory, it is not unusual in the world of affairs for a philosophy to be patched together out of the exigencies of procedure. The pressures for improved selection have been so great that in the past quarter-century no less than one thousand studies have been undertaken in order to validate and improve the techniques at hand. Since but little conceptual clarification has been advanced to accompany the growing display of statistics, test booklets, and data-processing machinery, my goal in this paper is to seek for some theoretical considerations—as well as some practical solutions—from the vantage point of social psychology.

A recent review of all of the studies of college guidance and selection completed during the decade 1948–58, both published and unpublished, reveals this area of research as undoubtedly among those most intensively investigated in the entire field of educational research.[2] There are certainly not many other topics that would yield 580 studies within a single decade, many of them formulated fully for use in educational institutions. But what is the upshot of it all? Unfortunately, it can all be summarized briefly. The most usual predictors are high-school grades and scores on a standardized measure of scholastic aptitude. The usual criterion is the freshman grade average in college. The average multiple correlation obtained when aiming the usual predictors at the usual criterion is approximately .55.[3] The gain in the multiple correlation upon adding a personality-test score to one or both of the usual predictors, holding the criterion constant, is usually less than +.05.

NON-INTELLECTIVE FACTORS

If the current state of affairs in research on college selection and guidance is disturbing, it is not only because the magnitude of our predictions leaves so much to be desired; it is also because so many are still doing exactly the same kinds of things that were being done two decades ago[4] and even four decades ago[5]—and getting exactly the same magnitude of results. This is particularly saddening in view of the growing number of studies employing personality tests, biographical inventories, and other so-called non-intellective predictors.[6] Their

[2] In this work we had the benefit not only of the assistance and good offices of the College Entrance Examination Board, which are gratefully acknowledged here, but also of an opportunity to examine preliminary drafts of related reviews currently being conducted for the Board by Professors Irving Lorge and Paul Lazarsfeld, both of Columbia University. See J. A. Fishman and A. K. Pasanella, "At What Kinds of Colleges Are Selection and Guidance Studies Done?" (unpublished manuscript, 1959).

[3] For a simple statement of how multiple correlation is employed in research on college selection, see J. A. Fishman, "The Use of Quantitative Techniques To Predict College Success," *Admissions Information*, I (1957), 49–61.

[4] H. F. Garrett, "A Review and Interpretation of Investigations of Factors Related to Scholastic Success in Colleges of Arts and Sciences and Teachers Colleges," *Journal of Experimental Education*, XVIII (December, 1949), 91–138.

[5] A. M. Jordan, "Some Results and Correlations of Army Alpha Tests," *School and Society*, XI (March 20, 1920), 354–58.

[6] By "non-intellective predictors" I mean personality and motivational tests and inventories,

number has grown to 168 during the decade under review. This is not only a large number in absolute terms; it is also an increase in relative frequency in comparison with the immediately previous decade. The trend will probably be even more accentuated in the decade ahead; in fact, in this age of popular psychology such studies will quickly come to be considered as the "thing to do."

Superficially considered, the addition of a personality test to the usual prediction battery would seem most promising. If applicants are so plentiful that all available seats can be filled even after raising the requirements of high-school grade average and college entrance test score, why not tack on a personality requirement as well? Furthermore, if the multiple correlation based on high-school average plus scholastic aptitude test scores is no more than .55, it would certainly seem that prediction could be much improved, and quite simply by the mere addition of a personality test to the prediction battery.

Unfortunately, this does not turn out to be the case, and for two very good reasons: on the one hand, there is not really as much room for improvement in prediction as, at first glance, there might appear to be and, on the other hand, the personality predictors that have most readily come to mind correlate just as highly with the high-school average (or with scholastic aptitude test scores) as they do with the freshman grade average in college itself. Benjamin Bloom has recently provided us with the best illustration of the first proposition: by utilizing a simple scaling method which counteracts the notorious differences in high-school grading standards, he obtains an average multiple correlation of .75 between the usual predictors and the usual criteria.[7] Thus, when the unreliability of high-school grades is taken into account, the amount of unexplained variance still to be explained by current personality tests (whose reliability also leaves much to be desired) shrinks appreciably. Nevertheless, personality tests and other measures of non-intellective factors could still contribute something important, were it not for the second consideration, namely, that these instruments seem to be measuring something insufficiently dissimilar from whatever it is that our usual predictors measure. To overcome this last difficulty, some fresh theoretical insights seem to be needed. Since the number of studies of non-intellective factors is bound to increase under any circumstances, it would be highly desirable to provide some theoretical structure for this domain before such studies come to be done in as completely routine a fashion as that to which selection and guidance studies utilizing intellective factors have so largely succumbed in the past few decades.

The distinction between "intellective" and "non-intellective" is conceptually useful even though it is not always clear-cut. "Intellective" is being used here primarily to designate a concern with grades-in-course or, more generally, with the measurement and evaluation of intellectual products or levels, as opposed to "intellectuality" as a value component or as a personality attribute. Perhaps this is a worthwhile distinction precisely because it forces us to recognize the non-intellective in intellectual interests and in theoretical dispositions.

PREDICTOR-CRITERION COMBINATIONS

Non-intellective factors may enter into studies of selection and guidance either as

interest inventories, interviews and personal ratings, biographical information, and inventories of study habits; "intellective predictors" are aptitude and intelligence test scores, achievement test scores, high-school rank, or high-school grade average.

By "non-intellective criteria" I mean over- and underachievement, extracurricular participation, "adjustment" and other personality or motivational ratings by self or others, postcollege success, postcollege interests and activities, etc.; "intellective criteria" are first-quarter or first-semester grades in college, first-year grades, grades beyond first year, academic honors, etc.

[7] B. S. Bloom and F. R. Peters, "The Use of Academic Prediction Scales for Counselling and Selecting College Students" (rev. ed.; Office of the Examiner, University of Chicago, 1959). (Mimeographed.)

predictors, or as criteria, or as both predictors and criteria. Although nine possible predictor-criterion combinations exist when an intellective–non-intellective typology is employed, only three occur with any substantial frequency. The most popular combination by far is still the classical one in which intellective predictors only are aimed at intellective criteria (Table 1, combination 1). The two next most popular study designs are those that utilize both intellective *and* non-intellective predictors (row 7) or non-intellective predictors *alone* (combination 4), with only intellective criteria being employed in each case. These three account for over 90 per cent of all studies. is evident that even the few colleges that have departed from the ordinary and have undertaken studies of non-intellective criteria have done far fewer such studies, apiece, than have those colleges that have limited themselves to studies of intellective criteria alone. This is a puzzling state of affairs, particularly if we consider that much of the uniquely American contribution to educational philosophy and methodology has dealt with goals of education and of society that would clearly be designated as other than narrowly or exclusively intellective according to our usage here.

Why have so few colleges done studies of non-intellective *criteria*—few even in comparison with the number of studies of non-intellective *predictors*—and why do they do so few of them? We might say that the virtually exclusive accent upon intellective criteria represents a defensive clinging to the intellectual on the part of academic people who are, after all, born intellectualizers; or we could say that institutional arrangements themselves generate studies of this type. One could quickly run off a study based on available data and then go on to more challenging pursuits. However, these reasons are too superficial to explain the predominance of intellective criteria.

TABLE 1

PREDICTOR-CRITERION COMBINATIONS

Combination	Predictors	Criteria	Studies N	Studies Per Cent	Colleges* N	Colleges* Studies per College
1.........	Intellective only	Intellective only	408	70	148	2.76
2.........	Intellective only	Non-intellective only	2	...†	2	1.00
3.	Intellective only	Both	2	...†	2	1.00
4	Non-intellective only	Intellective only	64	11	38	1.68
5	Non-intellective only	Non-intellective only	17	3	10	1.70
6	Non-intellective only	Both	9	2	9	1.00
7.........	Both	Intellective only	70	12	44	1.59
8.........	Both	Non-intellective only	5	1	5	1.00
9.........	Both	Both	3	...†	2	1.50
Total......			580	100		

* Data are non-additive. † Less than 1 per cent.

The fact that the use of intellective criteria is still the most prevalent in selection and guidance studies, regardless of whether intellective, non-intellective, or both intellective and non-intellective factors are employed as predictors, may well be considered regrettable. It implies that, as with most revolutions, the introduction of non-intellective factors has not changed the old order of college selection and guidance as much as superficial indexes suggest.

DIFFICULTIES WITH NON-INTELLECTIVE CRITERIA

Table 1 clearly reveals that studies utilizing non-intellective criteria are only about a third as numerous as are studies utilizing non-intellective predictors. Furthermore, it

To begin with, it is much more difficult to arrive at consensus concerning non-intellective criteria, for few non-intellective goals of higher education are accepted by

both the academic community and the public at large. Nothing as clearly indicates the difference which exists in America today between the public's view of higher education as a means of assuring material ends (whether through grades, "contacts," or "know-how") and the educator's view of higher education as a means of assuring certain non-material ends (values, interests, *Weltanschauungen*) as does our inability to reconcile the two constellations of non-intellective criteria.

Among academicians, as among the public at large, there is much hostility to the very legitimacy of such criteria in conjunction with any immediate and day-by-day educational decisions and activities. This is due, on the one hand, to the strongly intrenched tradition of uncontested intellective criteria and, on the other, to the fact that non-intellective criteria, when seriously developed, have implications not only for a philosophy of education but for a philosophy of life. Intellective criteria, in this sense, can be intermediate or "compromise" criteria, precisely because they are more philosophically neutral. They do not attempt to answer the question: "A college education for what?" Our national lack of concern for permanent philosophical and theoretical issues may explain the overriding lack of interest in non-intellective criteria in higher education.

Even where such criteria can be agreed upon, and even where the opposition to them in academic and in public circles can be overcome, the difficulties of getting good relevant data are many and complex. The distinctions between predictors and criteria are likely to get fuzzy when we are faced by the obvious temptation to use a test of social maturity in both connections. These difficulties are further compounded by the fact that data on non-intellective criteria typically become available late in the college career or even well after graduation. As a result, such data are both harder to obtain and harder to relate unambiguously to the college experience per se.

For the foreseeable future we seem to be involved in world-wide demands which are likely to lead to the playing-down of non-intellective goals in elementary and secondary education rather than to the stressing of them in higher education. The combination of technical difficulties, philosophical difficulties, and antagonistic *Zeitgeist* is very likely to discourage the utilization of non-intellective criteria as a major avenue for selection and evaluation in American higher education. Most of our colleges are not in a position to refute informed or uninformed accusations of being anti-intellectual. As college-going increasingly becomes a major public concern, colleges may become even less able to resist public and governmental pressures than ever before. Nevertheless, by a concerted attack, by way of research, on the problems of developing, measuring, predicting, and securing acceptance of non-intellective criteria in higher education, we should gain the real advantages of non-intellective predictors.[8]

DIFFICULTIES WITH NON-INTELLECTIVE PREDICTORS

However, if non-intellective criteria of college success seem rather improbable for the near future, what can be said for retaining intellective criteria while aiming, at the same time, at a more frequent introduction of non-intellective predictors?[9] In some ways, this appears to be a more straightforward and empirical strategy and, it may turn out, a promising one. It is the approach to non-intellective factors (Table 1, combinations 4, 7) now most frequently followed. Although it has rarely produced

[8] J. A. Fishman, "Unsolved Criterion Problems in the Selection of College Students," *Harvard Educational Review*, XXVIII (Fall, 1958), 340–49.

[9] Only formal and objective non-intellective predictors—rather than such informal and subjective ones as principals' recommendations, letters of recommendation from friends, clergy, and alumni, etc.—are meant. Although regard for tradition and for public relations leads many colleges still to request such "data," these are rarely seriously employed. Their inadequacy as valid predictors has been demonstrated to all those seriously interested in such demonstrations.

startling multiple correlations or gains in prediction above and beyond those obtainable by intellective predictors alone, at the empirical level the issue is still an open one. Perhaps all we need is the "better personality test" for which so many have been searching for so long.

On theoretical grounds one may question the eventual value of most current approaches which seek to retain both the high-school average (and/or a standard aptitude test) and a non-intellective predictor in the *same* predictive battery, with an intellective criterion to aim toward. The trouble is not simply that they do not usually "pay off"—for, even where they do, we are at a loss to understand, theoretically, *why* they do. In addition, as college-going becomes an increasingly universal American experience, more and more information will become available concerning the high schools and the communities from which college applicants come. This information will permit those colleges that so desire continually to improve the high-school grade average and/or the standard aptitude or achievement test scores as predictors of intellective criteria for colleges. This "improvement" can come about by weighting the high-school average and the test scores either in accord with the college performance records of previous applicants from that high school (after the manner of Paul Burnham at Yale[10] or the National Registration Office and Benjamin Bloom in Chicago[11]) or by weighting them in accord with community and school characteristics (as Ben Schrader is doing at Educational Testing Service) or by weighting them in accord with social and cultural characteristics of the applicant's family and community (after the manner of Cliff Wing at Tulane).[12] To the extent that this is done, the role of many non-intellective predictors will be increasingly eroded (in conjunction with the intellective criteria that the high-school grade average and the aptitude tests already predict so well).

THE UBIQUITOUS HIGH-SCHOOL AVERAGE

The most commonly employed methods of selection like much else in American education, are based theoretically upon vague models of association and contiguity: the past is considered to be the best means available to us for understanding the future, and past performance the best predictor of future performance. And they contain within themselves many seeds of destruction (or at least curtailment) for most non-intellective predictors or intellective criteria. As things stand, the high-school average—based as it is upon performance over an appreciable time period (and standardized aptitude or achievement tests—intended as they are to equalize the marking scale across high schools) are *both* reflections of the consequences of non-intellective factors in the applicant and in his environment. When we refine our measures of high-school performance (whether these measures be grade averages or test scores), we invariably do so by further increasing the degree to which they validly reflect stable non-intellective factors. Thus, test scores or high-school averages differentially weighted (e.g., for the previous college performance records of the high school's graduates, for community size, and for the size of the applicant's graduating class) must correlate more with scores on many a non-intellective predictor than will high-school averages or test scores that are not so weighted. This must be so because the corrected intellective predictors are being corrected for some of the very factors that many non-intellective predictors are seeking independently to predict.

It may be that the great expectations which many have had and still have of non-intellective predictors would be tempered somewhat if there were a somewhat differ-

[10] P. S. Burnham, "The Assessment of Admissions Criteria," *American Conference of Admissions Counsellors Journal*, IV (1959), 1–9.

[11] Bloom and Peters, *op. cit.*

[12] The last two studies mentioned are currently in progress for the College Entrance Examination Board.

ent view of high-school grades as predictors. High-school grades reflect non-intellective factors to a much greater extent than has been commonly appreciated. They are very frequently indexes of how closely the student's personality agrees with the model of the preferred personality of the middle-class academic world. High-school grades (and scholastic aptitude test scores) are also indexes of important social variables, a number of which have been revealed by the Elmtown studies.[13] Since college grades are also indexes of many of the same personality and social preferences, it is scarcely surprising that high-school grades should be the best predictors of college grades. What is more surprising, however, is that educators and even social scientists tend to regard this as intellective prediction, solely or primarily. Perhaps it is indicative of the state of our social sciences that so many have been "talking" social psychology for so long without actually being aware of it.

Perhaps the high-school average and the standard aptitude test are not only the performance samples by which non-intellective factors in academic performance can best be tapped; perhaps they are also the performance samples by which such factors are most justifiably tapped.[14] Their use certainly means that college admissions are still on a *multiple* basis rather than on the basis of intellective factors alone. A *mixed* predictor is still a *multiple* predictor. A mixed criterion is still a multiple criterion. High-school grades are, in fact, a summary of a life story. It is easy to forget this and to dismiss them as a single intellective variable when, in reality, they reveal in capsule form a complex life pattern. The crudity and simplicity of the index must not mask the sublety and complexity of the real-life phenomena. On the other hand, some may be overtaken by an intellectual drive to clarify and break into fragments the components that in combination constitute the index. But we must distinguish between compulsion to clarify the components in such mixtures and hope that such clarification will necessarily yield greater predictive accuracy. For the latter to occur, theoretical models on bases other than association and contiguity must be developed.

ALTERNATIVES TO PERSONNEL SELECTION

The rising tide of college-going in American life must not lead educators and social scientists to an inflexible reliance upon devices of personnel selection to accomplish all our ends. Even industry, from which the model of personnel selection has been borrowed, at times shows signs of awareness that it owes something to society beyond the maximization of profits. Of course, given our great institutional and cultural diversity, it is certainly justifiable and desirable for some colleges to confine themselves to this "safest" approach. An alternative, which also seems to have some merit, is not only based upon personnel selection but also upon deliberately changing individuals and educational environments to attain educational goals.

[13] A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1949); see also G. Stice, W. G. Mollenkopf, and W. S. Torgerson, *Background Factors and College-going Plans among High Aptitude Public High School Seniors*, research report (Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1956); G. Stice, W. G. Mollenkopf, and W. S. Torgerson, *Background Factors Relating to College Plans and College Enrollment among Public High School Students* (Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1957); N. Rogoff, "American High Schools at Mid-century" (New York: Bureau of Applied Social Research, 1959) (mimeographed); and C. MacArthur, "Subculture and Personality during the College Years," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, XXXIII, No. 6 (February, 1960), 260–68.

[14] The justice or desirability of selection on the basis of formal non-intellective predictors remains questionable. The strongest arguments against it are that (1) it entails a surrender of a college's primary intellectual responsibilities either to reject or to accept an applicant on the basis of his non-intellective characteristics and (2) college may be particularly important to bright *maladjusted* students in making them useful to society. Both social and individual well-being might better be served by overlooking the queerness (or the adolescent rebelliousness) of the potential genius than by overlooking the intellectual limitations of even the most self-actualized personalities.

NEW THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

Our understanding of the relationship between non-intellective factors and intellective criteria will progress only as we locate the contextual differences, behavioral and environmental, between high school and college. Of course, there are similarities, but behavior as it is governed by these similarities is already being predicted by our current "mixed" intellective predictors. If the differences between the two settings can be related primarily to factors of individual development, then there should be room for some effective individual non-intellective predictors. If their differences are primarily related to "constant" institutional or environmental contrasts, then there should be room for some effective institutional non-intellective predictors. Finally, if the differences between the two settings are primarily related not to the individual per se and not to the institutional contrasts per se but to various *intra*institutional phenomena and to the individual's interaction with them, then the role of non-intellective factors might best be sought at some level other than that of the "predictor." The non-intellective predictors of intellective criteria will finally become both important and comprehensive variables only if we realize that they require alternative theoretical models and empirical designs depending on the specific nature of the individual and of the institutional differences that are known or assumed to obtain between high school and college in a given study of context.

A PRELIMINARY THEORETICAL MODEL

Eight of nine models (Table 2, cells 2–9) deal with the utilization of one or another kind of non-intellective college factor, although, as we shall presently see, other labels have been assigned to some of them so as to distinguish more readily between them. The two axes of Table 2 deal with the two components of school-to-college transition thus far isolated: one dealing with two instances of the environmental-institutional contrast between the student's high school and his college where environments

TABLE 2

MODELS FOR PREDICTING INTELLECTIVE CRITERIA IN THE CONTEXT OF SCHOOL-TO-COLLEGE TRANSITION

INDIVIDUAL FACTORS		ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS: High school and college environments are the same	High school and college environments are different: Constant environmental differences	High school and college environments are different: Variable environmental differences
The individual remains the *same* in college as he was in high school		(1) Intellective predictors only	(4) Intellective and institutional predictors	(7) Intellective predictors plus *institutional contingency moderators*
The individual is *different* in college from what he was in high school	Developmental change......	(2) Intellective and individual non-intellective predictors	(5) Intellective and individual non-intellective and institutional predictors	(8) Intellective and individual non-intellective predictors plus *institutional contingency moderators*
	Random change	(3) Intellective predictors plus *individual contingency moderators*	(6) Intellective and institutional predictors plus *individual contingency moderators*	(9) Intellective predictors plus *individual and institutional contingency moderators*

are considered to be essentially the same, and two instances in which they are considered to be different. The instances of environmental difference are further divided into the constant and the variable.

The second axis of Table 2 is concerned with a contrast between the individual as he is in high school and as he is in college. This component is dichotomized into instances in which the individual is assumed to remain essentially the same in the two settings and those in which he is assumed to be different. Two general types of individual change are then recognized: one developmental and the other random. My purpose is to point out that, even given this simplified two-factor framework, there are, theoretically, nine alternative approaches to improved studies of selection and guidance and therefore some thought should be given to choosing wisely among them.

ASSUMING NO CHANGE IN STUDENT OR ENVIRONMENT

Cell 1 deals with the prediction of academic criteria under those circumstances where neither the student nor the environment is assumed to change in the process of transition from school to college.[15] Under such grossly simplified circumstances, intellective predictors alone should be entirely adequate to accomplish the desired selection or guidance. The addition of non-intellective predictors should then be manifestly unrewarding as to predictive efficiency (although I have tried to make a case in a previous publication for more philosophical and less correlational guideposts for the selection of predictors).[16] If neither the student nor the environment changes, then such additional predictors should correlate as highly with high-school intellective performance as with college intellective performance and, therefore, add nothing to the magnitude of the resulting multiple correlation coefficient. This, indeed, is what has long been the most frequent outcome of the experimental introduction of non-intellective predictors into predictor batteries in which good intellective (i.e., "mixed" intellective) predictors are already present for the prediction of intellective criteria. Both the older reviews of the college-prediction literature as well as the still unpublished review by Irving Lorge agree in reporting a near-zero gain in the multiple correlations resulting from the addition of non-intellective predictors to the intellective predictor batteries.[17]

The "no change" model is patently an oversimplification of the conditions that usually characterize the school-to-college transition. This, then, raises the interesting question of why studies that deliberately or inadvertently adopt this model seem to yield such predictive success. The reason is not so much that intellect is the primary predictor of college grades as that the intellective predictors employed in such studies are much more than what we have usually claimed them to be. Because our usual intellective predictors tap so much of the variance contributed by self and by social selection, most other measures simply replicate much of the information already contained in these apparently single, apparently simple, and apparently intellectual predictors. Therefore, unless we consciously search for individual and institutional variables that are *not* reflected in the usual intellective predictors, there does not seem to be any theoretically sound reason why we should improve our predictions of college success by a mere act of faith such as the tacking on of non-intellective predictors merely because they are non-intellective.

The near-zero median gain in prediction when non-intellective predictors are added implies that in many of the samples of individuals and many of the institutional networks the experimental non-intellective

[15] "No change" may be interpreted to include linear change at a regular rate, whereas "change" may be taken to imply saltatory, irregular, or non-linear change.

[16] J. A. Fishman, "Unsolved Criterion Problems in the Selection of College Students," *Harvard Educational Review*, XXVIII (Fall, 1958), 340–49.

[17] I. Lorge, "Criteria Employed in College Selection Studies" (unpublished manuscript).

variables selected were unrelated to any crucial aspects of change as a result of the school-to-college transition. On the other hand, the fact that there is also some range on either side of the near-zero median implies that there are valid instances in which non-intellective predictors can appreciably affect selection and guidance in conjunction with intellective criteria.

ASSUMING CHANGE IN THE STUDENT

Cells *2* and *3* concern instances of assumed lack of change in environment in passing from high school to college, although in both cases the individual is assumed to have changed. In cell *2* the change in the individual is assumed to be of a general developmental variety. In a prediction study this implies that individual non-intellective characteristics are present, measurable, and minimally operative in the high-school years (hence their low correlation with high-school intellective measures) but subsequently become more operative in the college years. As a result of this predictable change in the individual's non-intellective make-up, the addition of such measures to the commoner intellective predictors brings about an over-all improvement in the magnitude of the multiple correlations.

DEVELOPMENTAL CHANGE

What might be the nature of this developmental non-intellective change? We do not know enough about personality development to say for sure, but recent studies point to the conclusion that significant development of personality does continue throughout the college years.

Unfortunately for psychology generally as well as for college selection and guidance more specificially, there have long been great gaps in developmental psychology. We have long had elaborate theories and voluminous data on many aspects of development up to about age fourteen, the age, on the average, of leaving elementary school. We have had less of both theory and data on the high-school period itself, but even here there is some material. However, for data beginning with the age of leaving high school we have too long been satisfied with extrapolations, returning again to solid theory and data only near the period of senescence.

Most of our good ideas regarding the age group from eighteen to twenty-eight are comparatively recent. The work of Erikson comes to mind, of course.[18] From the point of view of direct pertinence to studies classifiable in cell *2* of Table *2*, some of the variables defined and measured by Nevitt Sanford and his colleagues,[19] such as "social maturity" and "impulse expression," may be of value; so also may other variables now being defined and refined by T. R. McConnell and his associates,[20] such as "thinking introversion," "complexity of outlook," "originality," "social introversion," "theoretical orientation," and "estheticism," and still others pioneered by Harrison Gough,[21] such as "achievement under conditions of independence and responsibility." Whether this will actually prove to be the case will depend on whether these variables are really undergoing developmental change in late high school and in college and on whether their correlation with college performance is, therefore,

[18] Erik H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1950).

[19] N. Sanford (ed.), "Personality Development during the College Years," *Journal of Social Issues*, XII (1956), No. 4, 3–68.

[20] Although some indication of the scope of McConnell's work is contained in "The Diversification of American Higher Education: A Research Program" (*Educational Record*, XXXVIII [October, 1957], 300–315), most of the studies conducted by McConnell and his associates at the Center for the Study of Higher Education, Berkeley, California, employing these new measures, are as yet unpublished. Brief examples of several of McConnell's personality variables are given in T. R. McConnell and P. Heist, "Do Students Make the College?" *College and University*, XXXIV (Summer, 1959), 442–52.

[21] For a discussion and bibliography pertaining to these and other scales developed by Gough, see H. Gough, *Manual, California Psychological Inventory* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Consulting Psychologists Press, 1958).

greater than is their correlation with high-school performance. *If* both expectations prove to be justified, and if environmental change can be considered negligible (so as not to vitiate or counteract this individual change), then studies of the type envisioned in cell 2 should be fruitful indeed within the limitations of errors of measurement and philosophical legitimacy.

RANDOM CHANGE IN THE STUDENT

Cell 3 applies to an entirely different species of individual change, labeled "random change" because it is basically unpredictable. Such phenomena as protracted illness, death or other major dislocations in the student's immediate family, serious financial reverses (or, indeed, success) on the stock market, and other such "accidents" are, for our purposes, unpredictable; they are, of necessity, contingency factors rather than factors that we can use in any studies of preadmission selection or guidance. When a student confronts these emergencies, counseling and guidance services have the effect of attempting to salvage our predictions, to enable him to function in accord with his potential and achievements.

ASSUMING INSTITUTIONAL OR ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE

Cell 4 introduces the domain of environmental change and its implications for studies of selection and guidance.[22] The new ingredient in cell 4 is a type of non-intellective factor labeled "*constant* environmental differences," that is, differences between high school and college which affect all or whole groups of students attending or applying to a given college.[23] The auspices of a college may be one such difference (e.g., Catholic or other religious auspices for students coming from public high schools), the presence of one or both sexes on campus may be another, the geographic or rural-urban location of the college may be still another. Constant environmental differences may affect all students at any given college, but they will affect many of them in different ways. Thus, the academic work of students coming to a southern college from the Northeast may be affected differently from that of students coming from the Midwest. Similarly, students coming to a small rural college from a large metropolitan high school may well be affected differently than will students coming from a small preparatory school. Since at any one college factors of self-selection and social selection may result in one or another group being only inadequately represented within the student body, the effects of constant environmental differences may not be easily or reliably discernible. As a result, it may prove necessary to study such factors on an *inter*institutional basis before their true relationship to academic performance are recognized. Nevertheless, on a theoretical level at least, it should be possible to discover whatever regularities do exist and, ultimately, to feed them into predictions of intellective criteria.

We are dealing in this cell with differences or opposites in high-school and college environments which are constant among subclasses of students, defined on the basis of preadmission characteristics. Our goal is to predict, on the basis of such characteristics, the college performance of applicants whose college environments differ in particular ways from their high-school environments. Such differences between high school and college might be ordered on a continuum which is monotonically related to the validity of the high-school grade average as a predictor of college achievement. If this

[22] My discussion of cells 4 and 5 is particularly and directly indebted to Paul Lazarsfeld. In cells 5, 6, 8, and 9, I have related his ideas to my earlier thinking on individual change, thus producing a more complete multivariate classification system. Professor Lazarsfeld is, of course, entirely innocent of any conceptual errors on my part in either of these connections.

[23] Lazarsfeld has suggested the term "secondary environment" for this purpose (Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "Progress Reports: On a Project To Map Out the General Area of Non-intellectual Factors in the Prediction of College Success" [New York: prepared for the Committee on Research and Development, College Entrance Examination Board, 1959] [mimeographed]).

proves possible, then we could add an index of the degree of difference between high school and college to function as a moderator in the prediction battery. With little difference between the two environments the weight given to the high-school average might be greater. With substantial difference the weight given to the high-school average might be either zero, negative, or positive —depending on whether the difference was found to be non-functional, disruptive, or facilitative of achievement in college.[24] Since cell 4 applies to those instances where no change in the individual is assumed to take place, we merely add these institutional predictors or moderators to the standard intellective ones.

RANDOM ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE

Cell 7 deals with "*variable* environmental differences."[25] Some of them may impinge on one group of students, while others may impinge on an entirely different group. Unlike the constant environmental differences, they do not apply to whole groups of students that can easily be recognized in advance or readily identified by their preadmission characteristics. To the extent that this is so, the consequences of such factors are not predictable in the individual case and must, therefore, remain as contingencies that moderate our predictions.

Under the rubric of varying environmental differences, Lazarsfeld suggests, among others, such factors as peer-group relationships (i.e., student norms), student-faculty relationships, fraternity activities, other extracurricular activities, classroom atmospheres, including the varying of teaching methods, and the sociometric constellations and other social structures in which different students may become involved. Can we predict which student will become preoccupied with an on-campus jazz group? Can we tell in advance which one will wind up taking physics in a class also attended by two other students from his home town? Will the social and athletic leader of his high school find the college competition too strong to enable him immediately to play a similar role on campus?

To the extent that all these questions, and countless others like them, are not predictable at our current level of discourse, we have once more come upon a very crucial area of contingencies. If we cannot enter such factors into our prediction equations, we must expect that they will tend to upset our predictions in one direction or another and that we can identify and cope with them only by longitudinal or quasi experimental post-admission studies of guidance, teaching, and counseling services. In some instances we may decide that the student should be led to a different course, to a different club, to a different self-concept. In others we may decide that the college environment itself should be changed, for example, by introducing changes in extracurricular activities, in administrative practices, in teaching techniques. Both lines of acton will tend to influence certain predictions to come true while influencing others *not* to come true by helping students to function at their optimal level. Both, moreover, constitute nothing more than attempts to bring about desired changes by educational means, that is, by whatever means the college deliberately undertakes. Attempts to change the student and attempts to change the college are both "obviously" called for once a college recognizes the multiplicity and centrality of contingency factors that may moderate and invalidate its preadmission predictions of academic performance. It is good to keep in mind that the very core of the college experience and the very heart of a college's responsibilities revolve about

[24] It is this individual environment interaction that Pace and Stern may be studying in purely psychological terms via their "Environment Index" (C. R. Pace and G. G. Stern, *Criterion Study of College Environments* [Syracuse, N.Y.: Psychological Research Center, Syracuse University Research Institute, 1958]; and C. R. Pace and G. G. Stern, "Approach to the Measurement of Psychological Characteristics of College Environment," *Journal of Educational Psychology,* XLIV [October, 1958], 269–77).

[25] Lazarsfeld has suggested the term "primary environment" for this purpose.

those non-intellective factors (according to the restricted usage here followed) which must remain contingencies from the point of view of prediction and selection. An appreciation of this fact should both humble us and strengthen us as scientists and as educators. And it is precisely because cell 7 is an impenetrable no-man's land of prediction and selection that we must appeal to counselors, teachers and administrators to engage in basic studies of the educational process and of the ways in which social systems affect it.

MORE COMPLEX INTERACTION

The contents of cells 5, 6, 8, and 9 of Table 2 are dictated by the headings of the rows and columns which intersect at their respective positions. Each of the four cells calls for prediction and/or guidance studies more complex than those discussed above, although the constituents remain those with which we are already familiar. Because of their greater complexity, they probably come closest to recognizing the true interplay between various kinds of non-intellective predictors as well as the actual relationship between all these and intellective predictors. Three of the four cells contain contingency moderators. Finally, before leaving Table 2, it must be admitted that a two-dimensional representation does not permit us to show the interaction that undoubtedly occurs among all of the factors (and their predictor or contingency measures). The complex interaction between intellective predictors, individual non-intellective predictors, institutional predictors, individual contingency moderators, and institutional contingency moderators must, however, all be recognized and investigated in our selection and guidance studies. When this is done, the handling of non-intellective factors will be vastly superior to present practice, and their value will be correspondingly greater. We shall then be studying non-intellective factors in intellective performance in terms of a growing theory of individual-environment relationships. It is precisely in this context of individual and environment, of predictors plus contingencies, that social scientists can make their greatest contribution to the study of non-intellective and intellective factors in American higher education.[26]

A MORATORIUM ON PREDICTION

It may even be that the social psychologists' greatest contribution will be that of persuading those who have been so oriented to forget about prediction for a while. Psychologists learned early—perhaps too early—to do multiple correlation studies. The multiple regression design is, perhaps, too sophisticated for frequent utilization by social psychologists. Being familiar with cruder designs as well as with the crudest level of measurement—namely, measurement at the nominal level—they are likely to stress that level of refinement which involves going back to analyze variables that others have taken as "givens" immediately to be quantified. It may be of some help, for a while at least, to think of kinds of student, of kinds of high-school environment, and of kinds of college environment; to de-emphasize prediction per se and to consider how different kinds of students, seen as personal-social types, make different uses of different college environments. If we set prediction aside awhile in favor of some basic theory and research, we may ultimately return to it with greater understanding and flexibility than we now possess.[27]

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[26] There is no reason to assume that an over-all theoretical framework like the one that I have here suggested could not also be applied to the problems of predicting non-intellective criteria. This task I must leave for another occasion. I also realize that my two-factor, nine-cell table is not in itself sufficiently complex to accommodate the multitude of variables that enter into college performance. Nevertheless, I do hope that it represents some progress from a position of no theory to one of some theory.

[27] See J. A. Fishman, "An Introduction to the Social Psychology of School-to-College Transition," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, XXX (1960), 249–51.

FUNCTIONAL DIFFERENTIATION AND POLITICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SUBURBS

CHARLES S. LIEBMAN

ABSTRACT

A number of studies have shown that functionally specialized cities and/or suburbs (manufacturing cities, retail-trade cities, transportation cities, etc.) vary with respect to socioeconomic characteristics. The present inquiry, as to whether functional types of cities in the Chicago metropolitan area also vary with respect to some political characteristics, concludes that, with respect to most characteristics, they do not. This may perhaps be "explained" by faulty assumptions regarding the translation of quantifiable data into political relationships.

One of the most commonly used devices for classifying cities is by the economic function, which yields such categories as manufacturing, retail trade, wholesale trade, government, and amusement and resort centers, based on the percentage of the city's labor force engaged in such occupations.[1]

Suburbs, as distinguished from all other cities, have been classified by a second typology—their employment-residence ratio. This typology, first suggested by Douglass,[2] seeks to distinguish between suburbs on the basis of the ratio between the number of people who work in the suburb and the number of people who reside there.

Schnore found that, of the 425 suburbs classified by economic function on the basis of 1947, 1948, and 1950 economic and demographic data,[3] 403 fell into two general categories: "industrial" (the labor force was engaged in predominantly manufacturing activity) or "non-industrial" (the labor force was engaged in predominantly retail trade activity).[4] Still using the same data, he labeled all suburbs which contained significantly more employed persons than jobs as "residential," and the remainder "non-residential." He then constructed a table to demonstrate the overlap between residential-non-residential and industrial-non-industrial suburbs (Table 1).[5]

The conclusion that residential suburbs are predominantly non-industrial and that non-residential suburbs are predominantly industrial is obvious. It is mentioned to justify an interchangeable use of concepts.

Other writers have used either or both the economic-function typology, sometimes with some modification, and the residence-employing typology to demonstrate that there is significant relationship between types of cities or suburbs and a large number of socioeconomic characteristics.[6] Typi-

[1] For a selected bibliography see Leo F. Schnore, "The Functions of Metropolitan Suburbs," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXI (1956), 453–58; and Charles S. Liebman, "Some Political Effects of the Functional Differentiation of Suburbs" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1960).

[2] Harlan Paul Douglass, *The Suburban Trend* (New York: Century Co., 1925).

[3] Data assembled by Victor Jones, "Economic Classification of Cities and Metropolitan Area," in *The Municipal Year Book, 1953* (Chicago: International City Managers' Association, 1953).

[4] Schnore, *op. cit.*

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 456.

[6] William F. Ogburn, *Social Characteristics of Cities* (Chicago: International City Managers' Association, 1937); Sanford M. Dornbusch, *A Typology of Suburban Communities: Chicago Metropolitan District, 1940* (Urban Analysis Report No. 10 [Chicago: Chicago Community Inventory, University of Chicago, 1952]); Howard J. Nelson, "Some Characteristics of the Population in Cities in Similar Service Classifications," *Economic Geography*, XXX (1957), 95–108; Otis D. Duncan and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., *Social Characteristics of Urban and Rural Communities, 1950* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1956); and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "Community Specialization in Durable and Nondurable Goods Manufactures," *Land Economics*, XXXIV (1958), 122–34.

:al of the conclusions reached by these writers is the following statement:

In summary, almost every aspect of a community's structure is related to its basic functions. Reliable differences among the functionally specialized types of communities are found with respect to age and sex structure, mobility rates, labor force participation, educational attainment, industrial and occupational participation, income, and home ownership. This does not imply that every functional type of community has a distinctive pattern for each of these characteristics, but that at least one functionally specialized type of place deviates considerably from the average for all places on each characteristic examined. The conclusion, therefore, seems warranted that type of functional specialization is a principal determinant of structural differences among communities.[7]

TABLE 1

OVERLAP BETWEEN SUBURBS CLASSIFIED BY ECONOMIC FUNCTION AND THOSE CLASSIFIED BY EMPLOYMENT-RESIDENCE RATIO*

Suburban Employment-Residence Ratio	Suburban Economic Base: Industrial (Per Cent)	Non-industrial (Per Cent)	Total (Per Cent)
Residential	18.9	81.1	100.0
Non-residential	75.2	24.8	100.0
Total	49.4	50.6	100.0

* Data from Leo F. Schnore, "The Functions of Metropolitan Suburbs," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXI (1956), 456, Table 3.

With regard to suburbs the same author concluded that:

Suburbs, in fact, appear to be but corporate extensions of a community, showing differences in functionally specialized groups much as the community areas of a central city probably would show with a more detailed analysis of the central city's internal structure.[8]

This paper seeks to extend this kind of analysis to political studies of cities and suburbs. The question is: Do cities or suburbs, distinguished on the basis of their economic functions or on the basis of their employment-residence ratios, vary with respect to their political characteristics?

The political variables considered are the city's form of government, in particular whether it has a manager or non-manager form of government, the incidence of partisan or non-partisan elections in selection of city councilmen, the partisan vote in national elections, the number of full-time city employees per capita, the increase in the number of full-time city employees per capita over the last few years, the number of municipally owned off-street parking spaces per capita, general revenue per capita, and general expenditures per capita. These political variables were selected from easily accessible sources, such as *The Municipal Year Book* and census data. Each is commonly thought of as being among those quantifiable measures delineating the political characteristics of a community.

Before an analysis of the political characteristics was made, some non-political characteristics of the cities studied were first delineated.

Data were originally obtained for the thirty-three cities that were in the Chicago Standard Metropolitan Area (1950) outside Chicago and whose population in 1950 exceeded 10,000. Largely for technical reasons the twelve cities outside Cook County, the county containing the central city, were eliminated. It is extremely doubtful if the results would have been materially altered had all cities with populations over 10,000 in the metropolitan area been retained.

The twenty-one suburbs in Cook County were classified by economic function, using the data as organized by Jones and Collver (Table 2).[9] In thirteen of the twenty-one

[7] Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "Functional Specialization of Cities," in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr. (eds.), *Cities and Society* (rev. ed.; Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957), p. 575.

[8] Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "Functional Specialization of Cities," in *The Municipal Year Book, 1958* (Chicago: International City Managers' Association, 1958), p. 68.

[9] Victor Jones and Andrew Collver, "Economic Classification of Cities and Metropolitan Areas," in *The Municipal Year Book, 1959* (Chicago: International City Managers' Association, 1959), pp. 67–77. This is substantially the same method of

(labeled *R* and corresponding to Schnore's non-industrial suburbs) retail trade predominated. Five of these thirteen cities had some manufacturing activity; the remaining eight had practically none. In the other eight cities (labeled *M* and corresponding to Schnore's industrial suburbs) manufacturing predominated. In two of these cities manufacturing activity was combined with a substantial amount of retail trade. In the other six cities retail trade activity was not defined as substantial: less than 30 per cent of all workers employed in manufacturing, wholesale trade, and retail trade were employed in retail trade.

NON-POLITICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Schnore demonstrated that in all suburbs in the United States a city's employment-residence ratio is closely related to its function.[10] This close relationship is true for Cook County suburbs as well, and it justifies using the functional and the employment-residence classifications interchangeably.

The 1950 population of the twenty-one suburbs ranged from 10,531 to 73,641. The interquartile range was only 13,366 to 27,473. There was no variance between types of cities and their 1950 population or for the percentage increase from 1950 to estimated 1959 population.[11] The mean 1950 population for all *R* cities was 25,670 and for all *M* cities 25,133. The median percentage increase from 1950 to 1959 was 35.1 per cent for *R* suburbs and 34.0 per cent for *M* suburbs.

In Cook County, therefore, relative rates of growth of employing and residential suburbs, contrary to Schnore's findings for the suburbs throughout the United States, are constant.[12]

There was a marked difference between *M* and *R* suburbs with respect to income.[13] A Mann-Whitney U test indicated the significance to be at the 0.002 level.

POLITICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Manufacturing and retail suburbs varied with respect to only a few political characteristics studied. Differences in means and medians of the two groups were so small

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF "DORMITORY," "BALANCED," AND "EMPLOYING" CITIES IN COOK COUNTY, BY ECONOMIC FUNCTION*

Functional Type of City	Dormitory	Balanced	Employing	Total
Retail only	8	0	0	8
Retail; some manufacturing	3	2	0	5
Total retail (*R*)†	11	2	0	13
Manufacturing; "substantial" retail activity‡	1	1	0	2
Manufacturing only	1	1	4	6
Total manufacturing (*M*)§	2	2	4	8
Total	13	4	4	21

* Data from "Governmental and Economic Data for All Cities over 10,000: 1959," in *The Municipal Year Book, 1959* (Chicago: International City Managers' Association, 1959).

† Corresponds to Schnore's "non-industrial" suburbs.

‡ At least 30 per cent of all workers employed in manufacturing, wholesale trade, and retail trade were employed in retail trade.

§ Corresponds to Schnore's "industrial" suburbs.

classification used in the 1953 *Municipal Year Book* except that cities were reclassified on the basis of 1954 economic and estimated demographic data.

[10] The employment-residence ratio is the ratio between workers in manufacturing and trades located within a city and the total resident labor force in that city employed in manufacturing and trades. Cities whose ratio is less than 85 are called "dormitory cities"; those whose ratio is between 85 and 115 are "balanced cities"; and cities whose ratio exceeds 115 are "employing cities."

[11] 1959 population estimated by Northeastern Illinois Metropolitan Area Planning Commission, *Population Preview* (Chicago: The Commission, 1960).

[12] Leo Schnore, "Satellites and Suburbs," *Social Forces*, XXXVI (1957), 121–27; and his "Components of Population Change in Large Metropolitan Suburbs," *American Sociological Review*, XXVIII (1958), 570–73.

[13] Income was the estimated per capita household income made in *Sales Management*'s "Survey of Buying Power" (May 10, 1959). Using Bureau of the Census data on median income of families and unrelated individuals in 1949 (a more reliable figure, but one that is ten years too early for most purposes in this study), there is a difference between *R* and *M* cities that is significant at the 0.005 level.

with respect to most characteristics that tests of variance were not made. These characteristics were: incidence of partisan or non-partisan elections in selection of city councilmen, number of city employees per capita in 1957 and increase in it from 1950 to 1957, general revenue per capita, and general expenditure per capita. There appeared to be some variance with respect to three characteristics: form of government (manager or non-manager government), partisan vote in a national election, and per capita number of municipally owned off-street parking lots.

Form of government.—Although the variance between retail and manufacturing suburbs with respect to form of government appeared significant (Table 3) and a Fisher test showed the variance fell just short of the 0.005 level of significance, the variance either disappeared or was inconclusive when estimated 1959 income and the Census Bureau's data on 1949 income were held constant.

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF MANAGER AND NON-MANAGER CITIES IN COOK COUNTY BY ECONOMIC FUNCTION*

Functional Type of City	City Government: Manager	Non-manager	Total
Retail only	6	2	8
Retail; some manufacturing	2	3	5
Total retail (*R*)†	8	5	13
Manufacturing; "substantial" retail activity‡	..	2	2
Manufacturing only	2	4	6
Total manufacturing (*M*)§	2	6	8
Total	10	11	21

* For explanation of types and for source see Table 2.

Partisan vote.—Cities were classified as retail or manufacturing on the basis of 1954 economic data. Comparison with a similar classification based on 1947 and 1948 economic data revealed that only one city had changed its status.[14] Hence, since 1950 election data were most readily available, it was felt they could be used safely. Results were obtained for the United States senatorial race. Although the Republican percentage of the total vote exceeded the normal Republican margin of two to one, there was no reason to believe that the relative proportion of the Republican vote in the different suburbs varied from the normal partisan split. The distribution of cities according to whether the Republican vote is over or under 65 per cent according to cities classified by economic function is shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF CITIES GIVING THE REPUBLICAN PARTY ABOVE OR UNDER 65 PER CENT OF THE TOTAL VOTE, BY ECONOMIC FUNCTION*

Functional Type of City	Republican Vote: Above 65 Per Cent	Below 65 Per Cent	Total
Retail only	6	2	8
Retail; some manufacturing	4	1	5
Total retail (*R*)	10	3	13
Manufacturing; "substantial" retail activity	2		2
Manufacturing only	2	4	6
Total manufacturing (*M*)	4	4	8
Total	14	7	21

* Types of cities same as in Table 2; election returns reported in "Suburban Cook County Vote for U.S. Senator," *Chicago Tribune*, November 9, 1950, p. 8

This variance is not significant at the 0.05 level; nonetheless, it is interesting enough to merit further analysis. This variance is retained for the ten suburbs with lowest average income when 1949 median family income is held constant.

Off-street parking.—The one invariable demand that retail merchants make of their local government is for more municipal off-street parking spaces. One might expect that retail suburbs have more municipally owned off-street parking spaces per capita than do non-retail suburbs if retail merchants are, indeed, stronger politically in the former. Some evidence of this is in Table 5.

A Fisher test shows a variance just short of the 0.05 level of significance. Conclu-

[14] Jones, *op. cit.*

sions are complicated by the fact that five of the *R* suburbs and six of the *M* suburbs had no municipally owned off-street parking spaces at all. The data used for classifying suburbs do not reveal the relative importance in dollar value of retail trade in the community. In some cases this may be the determining factor in predicting political outcomes. Both Chicago Heights and Harvey, the only two *M* suburbs with municipally owned off-street parking spaces in 1957, serve as retail shopping centers for their immediate areas. This is concealed in occupational figures because of the relative preponderance of manufacturing, but, nonetheless, it may be a factor to be analyzed in a closer case study.

This study demonstrates that, with respect to some political characteristics selected on the basis of the accessibility of data, there is no significant variation between functional types of suburbs, at least in Cook County. There were two exceptions—partisan vote and municipal off-street parking spaces, although even here the variance was not statistically significant. It might be noted that, with the exception of the partisan vote, all the characteristics studied were structural or institutional characteristics. Their incidence was dependent upon policy determination at the local level. The partisan vote differs from the other characteristics studied in two respects. In the first place, the percentage of the total vote which each party receives in national elections has little relationship, if any, to local policy formation. Second, it is activity of a different order than the other characteristics: it is a result, at least in the first instance, of discrete acts of individuals rather than political interaction, activity, and interchange of policy-oriented groups.

The expectation that suburbs would vary with respect to political characteristics is based on the assumption that socioeconomic characteristics integrate political behavior. In other words, one expects to find that different socioeconomic characteristics imply different kinds of groups and that the dominant incidence of one characteristic or another implies the dominance of one kind of group or another. Assuming that the groups are politically oriented, the dominance of one or another would lead to different political outcomes, some of which would effect the structure or institutions of government mentioned here.

This chain of reasoning is rather lengthy; it might be restated as follows. We know that functional types of cities vary with respect to socioeconomic characteristics. From our knowledge of political behavior in general we assume (*a*) that different socioeconomic characteristics imply different kinds of politically oriented groups and different relationships of dominance between politically oriented groups; from this we infer (*b*) that the presence of different kinds of groups and the dominance of different groups as measured by their quantitative relationship to one another leads to different outcomes; from this in turn we infer (*c*) that some of these outcomes relate to the structure and institutions of government mentioned here. This study found that at least some structural and institutional characteristics of governments did not vary with respect to the city's function.

TABLE 5

MEAN NUMBER OF MUNICIPALLY OWNED OFF-STREET PARKING SPACES PER CAPITA, BY FUNCTIONALLY DIFFERENTIATED CITIES*

Functional Type of City	Mean No. Parking Spaces (In Thousands)	No. of Cities
Retail only	17.1	8
Retail; some manufacturing	4.6	5
All retail (*R*)	12 3	13
Manufacturing; "substantial" retail activity	....	2
Manufacturing only	5.9	6
All manufacturing (*M*)	4.5	8
All cities	9.3	21

* Types of cities same as in Table 2; data derived from "Municipal Parking Lots in Cities over 10,000: 1957," in *The Municipal Year Book, 1958* (Chicago: International City Managers' Association, 1958); and data obtained by interviews in Chicago Heights.

The reason may lie in assumptions *a*, *b*, or *c*. Further conclusions can only be drawn from intensive case studies. One such study suggests that it is assumption *b* which is mistaken.[15] That is, the dominance of different groups as measured by their quantitative relationship to one another does not necessarily imply anything about political outcomes. However, studies of other areas or tests of variance for other political characteristics in the Chicago metropolitan area may yield different results. In any case, this appears to be a fertile field for further research.

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[15] Liebman, *op. cit.* This is a case study of policy formation in four Chicago suburbs: two retail and residential, and two manufacturing and employing. Groups engaged in the city's dominant economic function (dominance being defined by data on labor force) were found to be not necessarily politically dominant, and it was established that a knowledge of a city's economic function did not enable the observer to predict very much about local political process.

THE DIVISION OF LABOR IN BANKING

STANLEY LIEBERSON

ABSTRACT

Using data from a Federal Reserve survey of member banks, the division of labor in banking is examined. Size of loan, non-local lending, and industry of borrower are found to vary by size of bank. The concentration of large banks in metropolitan areas is associated with the existence of a division of labor in banking. The distribution of institutions and their variations in size provide a framework for understanding functional differences of organizations.

Space offers an obstacle to social interaction. Because all human behavior inevitably takes place in a spatial context, ecologists have emphasized the significance of transportation and communication facilities in determining or at least limiting the nature and range of relationships between a society's communal segments.[1] Indeed, societies with highly developed facilities of this sort are characterized by communities which are specialized in their economic and social activities and are, consequently, dependent on other segments for a wide range of services and products not supplied locally.

One dimension to the territorial division of labor is the concentration in large cities of commercial, financial, and administrative activities. The term "metropolitan dominance" is used to specify the influence over other spatial units which such a concentration gives to an urban center; thus the relationships between a large city and other cities and rural areas whereby the large city, or the "dominant," limits the activities which can be successfully performed in the outlying regions. In banking, for example, such centers as New York, Chicago, and San Francisco undoubtedly affect commercial, manufacturing, and governmental activities in distant localities. Thus, to the extent that its financial institutions provide the capital prerequisites for activities in distant areas, a city may be viewed as exerting influence and control upon an area beyond its immediate boundaries—a view stated by a number of writers,[2] although relatively neglected as a subject for empirical investigation until recently.[3]

This paper is an examination of the implications of metropolitan dominance for the study of institutional organization. That is, if certain institutions are concentrated in large centers and, further, if the functions of these institutions differ from those of lesser cities and rural areas, then we may approach the study of institutional organization by examining the institution's place in the metropolitan hierarchy. If size of loan, industry of borrower, and the spatial range of banking services—to use illustrations pertinent to the problem investigated —vary, on the average, according to the bank's position in the metropolitan hierarchy, one may perhaps conclude that the financial institutions in metropolises may be organized differently from those in lesser

[1] Cf. Amos H. Hawley, *Human Ecology* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1950), p. 237; and Leo F. Schnore, "Social Morphology and Human Ecology," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXIII (May, 1958), 620–34.

[2] N. S. B. Gras, *Introduction to Economic History* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1922); Rupert B. Vance and Sara Smith, "Metropolitan Dominance and Integration," in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr. (eds.), *Cities and Society* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957); R. D. McKenzie, "The Rise of Metropolitan Communities," in Hatt and Reiss (eds.), *op. cit.*; and Otis Dudley Duncan, W. Richard Scott, Stanley Lieberson, Beverly Duncan, and Hal H. Winsborough, *Metropolis and Region* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1960).

[3] Cf., however, Vance and Smith, *op. cit.*; Duncan *et al.*, *op. cit.*; and Kent P. Schwirian, "The Ecology of Iowa Banking" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Sociology, State University of Iowa, 1960).

centers. In relating the extent and nature of financial services offered by communities of diverse size to elements of the organization of the financial institutions, this paper provides further evidence that ecology offers a meaningful framework for the study of social organization.[4]

Although the movement of money and credit is perhaps relatively inexpensive when compared with the time-distance cost of other goods, it is nevertheless subject to spatial factors.[5] For example, it would hardly be feasible for a small borrower on the West Coast to travel to the eastern seaboard for a loan, whereas transportation costs would be a trivial matter to an extremely large West Coast borrower. Since large banks can make single loans of a size that would swamp a small bank, and because the administrative costs of loans are not particularly affected by the size of the transaction (and therefore inversely proportional to the size of the loan), larger lenders and borrowers are less affected by distance. That is, there are advantages in making loans in large amounts, and, further, the barriers of space are less hampering to large borrowers and lenders. Therefore, if there are cities which lend considerable amounts of money to distant borrowers, and if distance is a "friction" or a handicap, this suggests the hypothesis that the size of a bank is related to its lending functions; that is, there is an organizational counterpart to the existence of urban centers active in non-local lending.

All the banking data are derived from published results of a survey conducted in October, 1955, by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System of commercial and industrial lending by member banks.[6] This paper deals largely, although not exclusively, with results reported for the Seventh Federal Reserve District by the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago in an unusually detailed report.[7] This district includes the northern and central portions of both Illinois and Indiana, all of Iowa, southern and central Wisconsin, and the southern peninsula of Michigan—an area of nearly two hundred thousand square miles which had a population of somewhat more than 22 million in 1950.[8]

The methods require little in the way of explanation except for the index of dissimilarity used to compare the similarity of two percentage distributions, which ranges from 100 (complete dissimilarity) to 0 (complete similarity). An index value of 40 between the distribution of industries of borrowers from two cities, for example, means that 40 per cent of the borrowers from either city would have to be redistributed in order for the lending patterns to be identical in the two places.[9] A number of adjustments required in using the data are indicated in the appropriate places.

SIZE OF BANK AND ITS FUNCTION

If, as suggested above, banks are able to make non-local loans because size of loan is inversely related to the barriers created

[4] Otis Dudley Duncan and Leo F. Schnore, "Cultural, Behavioral, and Ecological Perspectives in the Study of Social Organization," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXV (September, 1959), 132–46. See also Donnell M. Pappenfort, "The Ecological Field and the Metropolitan Community: Manufacturing and Management," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXIV (January, 1959), 380–85.

[5] August Lösch, *The Economics of Location* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1954), pp. 461–76.

[6] For a description of the study see Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, "Business Loans of Member Banks," *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, XLII, No. 4, 333.

[7] Research Department, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, *Bank Loans to Business* (Chicago, 1956).

[8] Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, *Annual Report, 1954* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1955).

[9] For a fuller discussion see Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Duncan, "A Methodological Analysis of Segregation Indexes," *American Sociological Review*, XX (April, 1955), 210–17; Otis Dudley Duncan and Beverly Duncan, "Residential Distribution and Occupational Stratification," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX (March, 1955), 493–503.

by distance, and if industries vary in their requirements of size of loan, then one would expect to find the mean size of non-local loans greater than the mean size of local loans. Further, one would expect the borrowers using large banks to differ from borrowers using smaller banks in financial centers.

First, consider the average size of local, compared with non-local, loans in the Fourth Federal Reserve District (composed of Ohio and adjacent portions of Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and West Virginia). In each major banking center in this district the average size of loans made by banks to borrowers in the same standard metropolitan area is seen to be considerably smaller than these banks' loans to borrowers located elsewhere in the United States (Table 1). Thus, for example, the average loan by Akron banks to borrowers in Akron was $25,000, whereas the average Akron bank loan to other borrowers was $190,000. These results are consistent with the proposition that, whereas local lending can be to both small and large borrowers, non-local lending is only to the latter.

TABLE 1

MEAN SIZE OF LOANS BY BANKS IN FOURTH FEDERAL RESERVE DISTRICT BY LOCATION OF BORROWER, OCTOBER 5, 1955*

(Thousands of Dollars)

Location of Banks Making Business Loans	Borrower's Location: Local	Non-local
Akron	25	190
Cincinnati	39	137
Cleveland	24	98
Columbus	27	118
Dayton	20	93
Pittsburgh	33	305
Toledo	19	25
Smaller centers	8†	10

* Source: Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, *Monthly Business Review*, July, 1958, p. 10.

† Borrowers in same county as that of lending bank.

It is fairly clear that the existence of financial centers is largely accounted for by the location of large banks. For example, only thirty out of twenty-five hundred banks in the Seventh Federal Reserve District had deposits of at least $100 million.[10] Yet these thirty banks made 72 per cent of all business loans in the district. Further, all but $100 million of the $3,100 million loaned by these banks are accounted for by the large banks of four cities: Chicago, $2,200 million; Detroit, $500 million; Milwaukee, $200 million; and Indianapolis, $100 million. Non-local lending is associated with size of bank in each of these major centers of the district. For example, in Chicago more than half the money loaned by large banks is to borrowers outside the Chicago Metropolitan Area, whereas only 10 per cent of the money loaned by banks of medium size are to non-local borrowers, and an even smaller percentage of the amount loaned by small banks goes outside the Metropolitan Area. Similar variations by size of bank are found for Detroit and Milwaukee. In Indianapolis, data are not available for medium and small banks separately, but the combined figure shown in Table 2 is consistent with the results for other cities.

TABLE 2

BUSINESS LOANS IN FINANCIAL CENTERS OF SEVENTH FEDERAL RESERVE DISTRICT TO NON-LOCAL BORROWERS, BY SIZE OF BANK, OCTOBER, 1955*

Location of Bank	Size of Bank†: Large	Medium	Small
Chicago	55.7	10.0	3.8
Detroit	30 9	7.7	4.6
Milwaukee	57.0	16.8	7.2
Indianapolis	49 0	7.8‡	

* Percentage of total money loaned. Source: Research Department, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, *Bank Loans to Business* (1960). Large Milwaukee and Indianapolis banks estimated from bar charts in Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, *Business Conditions*, July, 1957, p. 8.

† Based on deposits as follows: large, $100 million or more; medium, $20–$100 million; small, less than $20 million.

‡ Medium and small banks combined.

If loans made in amounts of $38,500 or less are used as a measure of loans made to small businesses,[11] it becomes clear that large banks in each of these cities are engaged primarily in lending their money to large business borrowers, whereas small

[10] Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, *Business Conditions*, July, 1956.

[11] *Bank Loans to Business*, p. 3.

banks in these cities are primarily engaged in lending to small business borrowers (Table 3). Thus, in Chicago and Detroit there are clear-cut variations by size of bank in the disposition to make large loans. Figures for large Milwaukee and Indianapolis banks are not available separately, but the combined percentage of loans to small borrowers is less than that of either medium or small Milwaukee banks or that of Indianapolis' medium and small banks, combined.

The results reported in Table 4 clearly indicate that small and medium-sized banks in cities without large banks make more non-local loans and larger loans than do small and medium-sized banks in each of the major financial centers. Thus, considering only small and medium-sized banks, the average for non-local lending is 21 per cent in the nineteen smaller urban centers of the district, whereas the average amount loaned to non-local borrowers in the four major centers runs from 6.9 per cent in Detroit to 12.5 per cent in Milwaukee. Thus, sixteen out of the nineteen cities without large banks have larger proportions of money going to non-local borrowers than do banks of similar size in Chicago, Detroit, and Indianapolis. Even in contrast to Milwaukee, twelve out of the nineteen cities have reported a larger non-local percentage. Somewhat similar results are found in considering the percentage of money loaned in small amounts, although exceptions are more frequent. Thus, small and medium-sized banks in Indianapolis lend a smaller proportion in small loans than do the nineteen cities, on the average. However, only two of the nineteen cities do as much lending in the form of small loans as do the small and medium banks of Detroit and Milwaukee. Further, roughly half of the cities without large banks lend a greater proportion of their money in the form of large loans than does Chicago.

In summary, these findings indicate a greater division of labor in metropolitan financial centers where small and medium-sized banks are less able to compete directly with large banks than they are in other places. Thus we can go further and state that position in a metropolis influences function even when size of bank is held constant.

TABLE 3

SIZE OF BUSINESS LOANS IN FINANCIAL CENTERS OF SEVENTH FEDERAL RESERVE DISTRICT, BY SIZE OF BANK, OCTOBER, 1955*

Location of Bank	Size of Bank† Large	Medium	Small
Chicago	2.1	22.7	79.2
Detroit	11.9	25.7	79.4
Milwaukee / Indianapolis	15.3‡	24.3	56.0
		24.3§	

* Loans in amounts of $38,500 or less, as a percentage of total money loaned. Source: *Bank Loans to Business*.

† Size of bank based on deposits as follows: large, $100 million or more; medium, $20–$100 million; small, less than $20 million.

‡ Data not available for Milwaukee and Indianapolis banks separately. Figure is for large banks in district other than those in Chicago and Detroit.

§ Medium and small banks combined.

TABLE 4

LOANS MADE BY SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZED BANKS IN CITIES WITH LARGER BANKS AND IN CITIES WITHOUT LARGER BANKS, SEVENTH FEDERAL RESERVE DISTRICT, OCTOBER, 1955*

Location of Banks	Type of Loan Non-local	Small
Chicago	8.9	32.9
Detroit	6.9	39.2
Milwaukee	12.5	38.6
Indianapolis	7.8	24.3
Smaller cities	21.0†	30.4†

* Each type of loan is expressed as a percentage of total dollars loaned in each location. For definitions and sources see Tables 2 and 3.

† Unweighted means for nineteen cities.

SIZE OF BANK AND BORROWER

Since industries vary greatly in their forms of organization, size, and financial needs, their dependence on metropolitan banking would presumably also vary. For example, a butcher in Sacramento may be quite free of any direct dependence on San Francisco's financial organization, whereas a Sacramento cannery may be using credits provided by a San Francisco bank and the state government may be dependent on the

New York, Chicago, and San Francisco money markets. If, as suggested by the data reported above, banks are able to make non-local loans because size of loan is inversely related to the barriers created by distance, and if industries vary in the size of their requirements, then one would expect the borrowers using large banks to differ from those using small or medium banks in the financial centers under study.

Consequently, the industries of borrowers from each size of bank were studied for the centers of Chicago, Detroit, and Milwaukee. Indianapolis was omitted because the data did not distinguish between its small and medium-sized banks. Business borrowers were classified into fourteen industrial categories by the Federal Reserve System,[12] and indexes of dissimilarity were used to compare the distribution of borrowers by size of bank. The results presented above the diagonal in Table 5 (based on loans to both local and non-local borrowers) indicate that banks in a class of a given size are more similar to banks of the same size in other cities than they are to banks of a different size in their own city. In other words, the distributions of borrowers from large Chicago and Detroit banks were closer to each other and to the remaining large banks in the district than they were to smaller banks in their own or other cities. Similarly, small banks are more similar to each other than to medium or large banks in the same city. There are several exceptions among medium-sized banks and "other" large banks, but, on the whole, these are minor. Although the types of industries in a given location undoubtedly influence the lending patterns of banks, these indexes suggest that size of bank, irrespective of location, influences the types of borrowers served.

TABLE 5

INDEXES OF DISSIMILARITY FOR INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF ALL BORROWERS AND NON-LOCAL BORROWERS FROM FINANCIAL CENTERS IN THE SEVENTH FEDERAL RESERVE DISTRICT, BY SIZE OF BANK, OCTOBER, 1955*

	Large Banks			Medium Banks			Small Banks		
	Chicago	Detroit	Other†	Chicago	Detroit	Milwaukee	Chicago	Detroit	Milwaukee
Large banks:									
Chicago	....	26.1	26.1	32.8	50.4	37.0	58.2	51.8	51.8
Detroit	26.9	....	22.2	26.8	38.2	28.8	42.8	38.0	38.4
Other†	32.8	37.8	....	19.8	32.0	21.0	38.8	39.2	32.3
Medium banks:									
Chicago	48.6	29.4	35.4	....	21.2	23.8	34.2	29.2	24.4
Detroit	65.9	63.6	58.8	58.2	....	22.9	24.9	23.4	20.4
Milwaukee	42.6	30.0	29.0	32.0	63.8	....	37.2	33.4	27.8
Small banks:									
Chicago	43.6	44.2	37.6	47.2	55.5	40.4	....	15.6	15.2
Detroit	81.2	89.8	67.8	89.0	71.4	84.5	56.8	....	18.0
Milwaukee	53.2	38.4	45.8	28.2	69.9	32.8	56.7	88.8	....

* All loans above diagonal; non-local loans below diagonal. For definitions and source see nn. to Table 3.

† Data not available for large Milwaukee banks separately. Distribution used is for large banks in Seventh District other than those in Chicago and Detroit.

The results presented below the diagonal, that is, based only on the industrial distributions of non-local borrowers, are far less satisfactory. In most cases the patterns observed for all loans (above the diagonal) do not hold for just non-local lending. Thus, for example, small Milwaukee banks are most dissimilar in the industrial distribution of their non-local lending to the non-local patterns of small Detroit banks (88.8), and the third highest measure of dissimilarity for small Milwaukee banks is that ob-

[12] Food, liquor, and tobacco; textiles, apparel, and leather; metals and metal products; oil, coal, chemicals, and rubber; other mining and manufacturing; wholesale trade; retail trade; commodity dealers; sales finance companies; transportation and utilities; construction; real estate; services; and all other businesses ("Business Loans of Member Banks," p. 333).

tained when they are compared with small Chicago banks (56.7).

In Table 6 are shown indexes of dissimilarity for the industrial distribution of borrowers from very large banks in each of four Federal Reserve Districts and other

TABLE 6

INDEXES OF DISSIMILARITY BETWEEN INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF BORROWERS FROM SELECTED FEDERAL RESERVE DISTRICT BANKS AND THAT OF ALL OTHER UNITED STATES BANKS OF THE SAME SIZE AND BETWEEN LARGE AND SMALL BANKS IN THE SAME DISTRICT, OCTOBER, 1955*

Federal Reserve District	District's Banks, by Size, versus Other U.S. Banks of Same Size		Large† versus Small‡ Banks in the Same District
	Large†	Small‡	
Richmond	25.9	24.5	43.4
Atlanta	32.2	13.5	46.0
Minneapolis	23.0	21.6	58.4
Dallas	42.7	18.8	55.8

* Sources: "Business Loans at Fifth District Member Banks," Federal Reserve Bank of Richmond, *Monthly Review*, April, 1956, p. 4; Research Department, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, *Commercial and Industrial Loans of Sixth District Member Banks, October 5, 1955*, p. 3; Raymond H. McEvoy, *Bank Financing of Business Enterprise in the Ninth District* (Minneapolis: Research Department, Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, n.d.), p. 38; Bertram F. Levin, "Business Loans at Eleventh District Member Banks," Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, *Monthly Business Review*, XLI, No. 7, 100; "Business Loans of Member Banks," Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, XLII, No. 4, 333.

† Banks with deposits of $250 million or more.

‡ Banks with deposits of less than $2 million

other United States banks of the same size; for very small banks in these districts and other very small banks in the United States; and for banks of the two extremes in size within the same district. In each case, banks in a class of a given size in the district have a lending pattern that is more similar to other United States banks of the same size than to other banks in the district that are of considerably different size. For example, the index of dissimilarity between extremely large and extremely small banks in the Richmond Federal Reserve District is 43.4; by contrast, that district's large and small banks are more similar to other United States banks of their size class (indexes of 25.9 and 24.5, respectively). Thus, size of bank, in these extreme comparisons, is again more significant than is location in influencing the lending functions of banks.

The relationships found between size of banks and their functions indicate that the territorial division of labor and the division of labor within the metropolitan centers are interdependent. That is, an activity such as banking can be concentrated in metropolitan centers only if there is an institutional counterpart that allows banks to spread their services to areas with limited financial services.

By considering organizational elements of the concentration of institutions in metropolises, we can gain a greater understanding of mechanisms whereby the latter interact with hinterlands far beyond their immediate area. And, on the other hand, the use of an ecological framework can provide a fruitful way to study institutional organization. In short, given the undoubtedly more basic factors of transportation and communication, this study suggests that intrametropolitan institutional organization, as measured here by size of bank, is also decisive in enabling a metropolis to extend its service over great distances.

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

THE "GRANNY" MIDWIFE: CHANGING ROLES AND FUNCTIONS OF A FOLK PRACTITIONER[1]

BEATRICE MONGEAU, HARVEY L. SMITH, AND ANN C. MANEY

ABSTRACT

Midwifery, considerably reduced in scope, is still practiced among Negroes in a Southeastern rural region. Seen as a social institution in partial disintegration, marginal to modern medical practices, and subject to powerful official opposition, it permits the study of institutional adaptation to stress. The old midwife practiced with the sponsorship and personal support of the white physician. She was "called" to her occupation and trained through a familial apprenticeship. The new midwife is trained and officially appointed by a Health Center. The old midwife has continued to retain by far the largest share of practice by reliance upon her power and prestige in the Negro community, but urban influences are affecting her clientele, and she is faced with competitors rather than successors.

"Most states and cities where the problem exists have the legal responsibility for the regulation and control of midwives. Ordinarily this is accomplished by licensure, supervision, and the provision of some training and examination. The ultimate goal in most instances, however, is the elimination of this type of service in favor of medical attendance."[2] This is an extract from John J. Hanlon's *Principles of Public Health Administration,* a succinct expression of the general attitude of the medical avant-garde in the practice of obstetrics and public health. The practice is thought of as a problem, and a set of activities has been set up for its regulation or control and an ultimate goal formulated: the elimination of the practice.

The number of deliveries performed by non-medical practitioners in this country has fallen from 12.5 per cent of all deliveries in 1935 to 5.4 per cent in 1946. It should be noted, however, that the national average of 5.4 per cent is dependent largely upon the high percentage of deliveries conducted by midwives in certain states which large numbers of non-white births. To illustrate, in 1946, 39 per cent of all deliveries and 69 per cent of all non-white births in Mississippi were attended by non-medical persons. In contrast, New England states recorded less than 0.1 per cent of non-medical deliveries, and some of them recorded none.[3]

In 1936 North Carolina recorded 67.4 per cent of all non-white deliveries and 11.4 per cent of all white deliveries attended by midwives. By 1956 the white rate had dropped from 11.4 to a small fraction of 1 per cent and the non-white rate from 67.4 to 23.6 per cent.[4] But in North Carolina, as on a national basis, area differences prevail. The non-medical delivery rate ebbs and swells and ebbs as one passes across the state from its westernmost part to its eastern boundary, beginning with negligible rates in the predominately white rural sections of the west, perceptably swelling in the western center as urbanization and non-white populations

[1] This investigation was undertaken during the tenure of Beatrice Mongeau as Predoctoral Fellow supported by a grant from the Division of Nursing Resources, U.S. Public Health Service. It is being continued in her status as Research Assistant of the Social Research Section with support from the Commonwealth Fund. This is a revised version of a paper presented to the Southern Sociological Society at Atlanta, Georgia, in April, 1960.

[2] John J. Hanlon. *Principles of Public Health Administration* (St. Louis: C. V. Mosby Co., 1955), p. 496.

[3] Kenneth Maxcy, *Rosenau-Preventive Medicine and Hygiene* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1951), p. 652.

[4] The rates for attendant at birth were computed from the Annual Reports of the Bureau of Vital Statistics, North Carolina State Board of Health.

increase, reaching a high point in the east central part, which is predominantly rural with a high percentage of non-whites, and ebbing again in the east coastal regions, which are also rural and in which the ratio of white to non-white peoples increases.

Thus, when a practice such as midwifery is viewed on a national basis, it appears peculiar to the South. But when the focus is narrowed to the South, the practice then becomes a phenomenon finding expression in its rural regions. If the focus is still further narrowed, the practice becomes characteristically that of rural areas to which is added the presence of non-white peoples. And then, if we examine rural southern areas in which non-whites reside, the practice is still further narrowed and becomes the dominant characteristic of rural southern areas where the number of non-white residents exceeds that of white residents. For example, in the rural North Carolina county where the field work reported in this paper took place, the township which had the highest ratio of non-white people recorded 95.6 per cent of the births over a recent five-year period as having been attended by midwives. This relationship held for all but one of the twelve townships; that is, as the ratio of whites to non-whites decreased, the percentage of non-medical, non-white births increased. In 1952, the non-medical births for the twelve townships ranged from 26.6 to 100 per cent, with the township containing the only urbanized area (population 10,000 or more) recording the low figure of 26.6 per cent.[5]

MIDWIFERY AS AN INSTITUTION

The complex of social phenomena centering around childbirth permits its classification as an institution, that is, as an enduring, complex, integrated pattern of behavior by which social control is exerted and through which basic desires or needs can be met. When the greater institution of childbirth along with its relationships is viewed through a wide-angle lens, the practice of midwifery appears small, dwarfed by disuse and in the last stages of absorption. Great segments of the population are not aware that the practice exists, and where it is known to have existed, it is blanketed by an aura of folklore. In modern medical centers in urban areas, even where the practice flourishes on its proximal rural fringes, young medical students become wide-eyed when the fact is communicated to them, and practiced obstetricians, experienced only on the rare occasion when the patient of the midwife in trouble finds her way to such a center, see the midwife delivery as an isolated event, as an example of deviant behavior quite unrelated to any rational scheme of childbirth care. Midwifery, then, plays a very small, and to a great extent unrecognized, part in the modern institution of childbirth.

But if the turret is swung from the wide-angle lens, and the practice and activities are caught in their social context in the telephoto lens, another institution emerges: simple, but nonetheless exhibiting a reasonably enduring, moderately complex, integrated pattern of behavior through which is met a basic social need for a specific group of people in a limited locale in a distinctive cultural environment, influencing and influenced by the surrounding institutionalized pattern of childbirth, yet maintaining its own distinctive characteristics.

The beauty of this situation is that it sets up a laboratory whereby a simple marginal institution may be studied in its complex of internal and external relationships within a social matrix small enough to be handled by the investigator. Of still further interest to the sociologist is the fact that the institution has been in the recent past, and still is, in a stage of rapid transition. Processes are going on through which traditional functions are being lost, reduced, or shifted, new content is taking the place of old, structure is being rearranged, and traditionally important status positions are in the process of crumbling. Midwifery is, in the context of this study, a marginal insti-

[5] County related rates were computed from the vital records of the County Health Department.

tution in the process of disintegration.

Everett C. Hughes points out that marginal forms are crucial for an understanding of institutional processes, since every form of established behavior was once not so.

> Our interest is in precisely those processes by which collective behavior, which begins outside formal offices and without formal rules, engaged in by unconventional groups of people, in unexpected situations, or in ways contrary to use and wont, develop formal offices, organized groups, defined situations, and a new body of sanctioned use and wont.[6]

The institution of midwifery is a form of collective behavior which began outside formal offices and without formal rules. For the majority of those who do not participate in it, it is engaged in by unconventional groups of people, in an unexpected situation, and in ways contrary to use and wont. And it is in a stage of transition where the situation is being redefined and a new body of sanctioned use and wont is being developed. The study of such an institution should throw light on some of the processes at work as it undergoes rapid social change, even though the focus is upon a disintegrating rather than a growing institution.

The present paper is an analysis of one part of a field study now in progress in a rural county in North Carolina which is under increasing urban influence. The broader study focuses upon the simple institution of midwifery as it survives in a sharply defined, relatively small geographical area. Even so, a paper of this scope cannot hope to capture or reveal at any great depth the intricacies of the social and cultural phenomena in which the institution is rooted or the social forces which strive for maintenance and survival of the system on the one hand and decrease and disintegration on the other.

The frame of reference is the midwife. However, as the role of the midwife unfolds, other aspects of the system emerge, not in clear relief, but in suggested form. These forms are indicative of the complexity of the network of relationships and tell something of their nature and direction within the institution as well as of those of the institution to the totality of the local social and cultural system.

The midwives are found to have operated traditionally within a nucleus of rules and regulations which guided, controlled, and perpetuated the practice. The first official move in a secular direction was made by the County Health Department in 1926. At this time, all the practicing midwives were called upon to meet in small groups in the little churches nearest them for the purpose of registration and training for licensure. From an analysis of the records of the initial meetings, subsequent meetings, and personal files kept on the midwives, supplemented by interviews with members of this original group, Health Department personnel, doctors, and various lay persons, plus participant observation, it has been possible to reconstruct the indigenous type of midwife of the period, her traditional patterns of training and succession, the sanctioning system within which she operated, modes of acquisition of new knowledge, the nature of the variables of transition, and insights into present practice.

THE INDIGENOUS "GRANNY"

All the one hundred and two indigenous midwives who registered were women, and all were Negroes; there were no white midwives. One is struck first by their age—they were, indeed, "Grannies." Only 7 per cent were less than forty years old, while 15 per cent were of age seventy or more. The median age was sixty-six, the mode within the range between sixty and seventy; at one of the little meetings, two of the nine midwives present were over eighty. Advanced age, apparently, had little to do with inhibiting activity, for these octogenarians had enjoyed a larger practice the previous year than had any of the younger ones. A correlation analysis was not done for the total group, but a scattergram did suggest

[6] Everett C. Hughes, "Institutions," in Alfred McClung Lee (ed.), *Principles of Sociology* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1955), p. 227.

a high correlation between age and size of practice. But, with few exceptions, the number of births attended had a tendency to increase steadily with the age of the midwife until the age of seventy. After seventy, the number of deliveries reported varied unpredictably, but none of the oldsters were as inactive as the younger ones of forty or less.

The ideal type of midwife of the era was, in addition to being a "granny," a woman of vast personal experience in childbirth. None of them was childless. Only 23 per cent had borne fewer than seven children of their own. More than one-third had borne eleven children or more. And, even as they had had personal experience with birth, so also had they personal experience with death. Only about 9 per cent of them had managed to rear their families intact. Death in the first year of life took a tremendous toll. Success in child-rearing was skewed in the direction of small families, but three of them did manage to rear intact families of nine, eleven, and fifteen children, respectively.

The records of the first meetings shed light on another characteristic of the indigenous group—their literacy or illiteracy. Literacy was defined by the ability of the midwife to read and write to the point of completing vital records accurately and legibly. More than half, 56 per cent, were literate to this extent. Of all women under fifty, 94 per cent were literate; all over seventy were illiterate. An attempt was made to see if a positive relationship existed between literacy and success in practice; but one group seemed to be about as successful as the other. There was a relatively equal distribution of practice among members of the literate group, whereas in the illiterate group there was an exaggerated tendency toward monopoly. It would appear that literacy created a tendency toward equalization and distribution of power in the one group and that the lack of it in the other served to permit concentration of power according to personal attributes and skills of individuals.

The records of this historical meeting tell us but little more. An intensive training period of twelve weekly sessions followed the initial registration. Of the 102 midwives who started with the classes, 48 per cent were licensed. This brought about a change in age distribution: only one midwife past seventy was licensed. The others, with the exception of one octogenarian, gave up voluntarily as the classes progressed. The median age for the group was now fifty-four as opposed to sixty-six (and the mode now ranged in the forties instead of the sixties). But, while the act of licensing brought about considerable change in the characteristics of the group as a whole, especially in regard to age structure, the procedure had little effect upon the pattern of activity around the practice. While licensure was not related to success in the age group under fifty, success appeared to be prerequisite in the group past that age, only the most successful practitioners of whom were retained. The 52 per cent of the midwives who were retired had carried less than 20 per cent of the case load, so most of the familiar figures were still present and practicing in the communities which they had served.

But the training sessions were not completely devoted to the indigenous class of midwives; thirty-three new, inexperienced members attended classes, twenty-eight of whom were licensed. These were young women, only one was over fifty years old, and half the remainder were less than forty. All members of this group were literate. There were, then, in this first year of licensing, seventy-five midwives admitted to practice, a little more than a third of whom had no previous experience and were young upstarts in the eyes of the Old Guard

An effort was made to evaluate the response of the community to the newly trained midwives, sponsored by the Health Department. The records of an annual meeting five years later are highly suggestive. One third of those present were of the original indigenous group. None of them were of age seventy or more. The experienced old-timers were busier than ever, and the younger experienced group was showing promise. Between them they carried 93 per cent of the case load. Of those

sponsored by the Health Department, all, with one exception, remained relatively idle.

TRADITIONAL PATTERNS OF TRAINING AND SUCCESSION AND ADAPTATION TO CHANGE

The aim of the agency was to draw into the circle of practice a new educable group of younger women uninfluenced by the older indigenous midwives and their traditional modes of practice. At the same time, an effort was made not to disrupt the flow of service too severely and not to change too drastically or quickly the composition of the corps of practitioners involved. To implement the plan, the most successful practitioners were licensed and retained, a few of whom were in their fifties but most of whom were on the far side of sixty-five. A retirement age of seventy was set, which immediately eliminated some and would shortly eliminate the remainder of the active, influential, but less educable group. A large group of young women were licensed, a little less than half of whom had had experience under the older women. It was expected that as the older women retired their clients would become distributed in random fashion among the members of this group.

This, in fact, did not happen. Training, mandate to practice, and succession were institutionalized patterns of the system. It was not only traditional but functional for the system that the midwife choose and train her own successor. This person should be, according to custom, one of her own kin and was usually one of her younger daughters or a granddaughter. On rare occasions it was someone outside the family who had had a vision or who had been "called." The midwife herself had undergone many years of apprenticeship, with the expectation that full success would be reserved for later life. Typically, before she had even seen a delivery, she had taken on much of the responsibility for the more unglamorous aspects of her mother's or grandmother's work. And as she took on its more menial tasks she gradually learned the more important rituals and skills associated with it. She had washed the soiled linens which her grandmother had brought from the patient's bedside and had replenished and put the bag in order again for her grandmother's next call. She learned that the placenta was returned to the soil with proper ceremony but that dried cords were to be thrust in the stove to be consumed by fire. She baked little pieces of linen for cord dressings in the oven until they were brown and ironed to a scorch larger pieces which her grandmother would use at the bedside. She helped, at first, on postpartum visits, doing mostly the household chores which were a part of the service. Then, on certain days, she came to make these visits alone—returned to the patient's bedside with the clean linens, bathed the newborn, tended its cord and dressed it, tidied the house, and returned home with the soiled linens and a report of progress for her grandmother. Long before she went on a delivery with her grandmother or accompanied the doctor, she was a familiar figure among the white and nonwhite people of the community, since it was often she who went to spend the day, and sometimes the night, looking after the mother, new baby, and other siblings as she took over the household chores for the lying-in period.

She saw her first delivery only after she herself had borne her first child. At first she just observed. Often she went ahead of the midwife to stay with the patient until delivery was imminent, at which time she would send some member of the family for her grandmother. In this way she gained experience, since on occasions the baby didn't wait. She gained more experience when more than one stork descended at once, dispatching her in one direction and her grandmother in another. Later, in view of her youth and physical stamina, it was she rather than her grandmother who responded, and was expected to respond, to the night calls and treks through snowbound fields and other rigors of weather. She gradually assumed more and more responsibility, all with her grandmother's consent. Grandmother, however, still held on to some of her favored

clientele and practiced as she desired or felt able until she was physically disabled or died. In the meantime, her granddaughter, as her responsibilities had grown, had taken on a new apprentice. And thus a new cycle began.

Most of the oldsters eliminated following the original registration meeting were in a stage of semi-retirement. They had already chosen and trained their successors. Somewhere in the remaining group was a daughter, granddaughter, or other protégé whose practice she sanctioned. The experienced midwives who were retained continued with the young indigenous group, even though they had been trained and licensed, in the original apprentice-like relationship. They looked askance at the new young recruits: one just didn't go out and deliver babies, trained or not. Such positions were attained through the proper channels, through family succession, or, occasionally, through divine appointment, but only then after long years of experience and hard work.

The original licensing procedure and shakeup in organization was designed to break the master-apprentice relationship. Recruitment, training, sanctions, and lines of authority were to become a direct function of the Health Department, along with tests of competence for admission to candidacy. These functions, however, were never entirely transferred, and the institution has remained resistant to pressure to hand them over, right up to the present day. Evidences of the old patterns of training and succession were still present in 1959. Four of the sixteen licensed midwives exercised a virtual monopoly over practice. All had undergone the formal training provided by the Health Department. Neverthless, all but one had succeeded a relative under whom they had served a long apprenticeship. The fourth, an outsider, had had a vision. She, however, had been sponsored by and worked under the midwife in her community for years, gaining her full measure of success only after her sponsor retired.

SOURCES OF SANCTION, AUTHORITY FIGURES, AND ACQUISITION OF NEW KNOWLEDGE

Other even more potent factors were involved in the institution's early successful resistance to change. Probably one of the most significant aspects of the system was its integration with the white system of childbirth practice. The reputable midwife of indigenous origins considered herself a colleague of a particular doctor. She measured, and in part derived, her prestige in terms of her relationship with him and his white clientele. Midwifery was a shared institution, functional not only for the midwife and the non-white group she served but also for the physician and the white group residing in the community. There was a definite hierarchical relationship between midwife and physician, with a division of labor along class and color lines. The midwife looked directly to the physician for her sanction to practice: he stood almost, but not quite, on the par with the Lord as her authority figure.

It was mainly through him that she added to her knowledge and skills and retained or abandoned her old beliefs and folk practices. She observed him as she assisted him with his white practice, and she became acquainted with the ways of the white people and his advice to them as she stayed on with the family after the baby was born. She kept her patients immobilized in bed in darkened rooms for days on end, with tightly bound abdomens, in a state of semi-starvation, just as he did. She prided herself that she no longer used a great ball of freshly made pig lard for a cording dressing but now used a piece of linen baked brown to which she added a powder made of flour baked even browner. And, when her doctor abandoned this for boric acid and made it possible for her to carry boric acid as a part of her equipment, too, she quickly followed his procedure. The doctor had his own methods for reducing pain, and she had hers. She gave up her ways more readily when he made it possible for her to take on his. If he gave her ergot to prevent hemorrhage,

she abandoned her pepper tea; if she learned from him an effective method for expressing the placenta, she no longer set her patient on a pot of burning feathers. Under certain conditions she observed that he prescribed formulas for the white infants. She played a role in bringing the practice into her own colored community. She could not bring the doctor's chloroform to the bedside of her own clientele, although she would have if she could. And, since she could not, she used her own remedies, the principles of which she understood as little as she did the doctor's chloroform. She continued to slip the ax under the bed to cut the pain, and she tied thin copper wires or cords high on the thighs to keep the pains in the abdomen from slipping down into the legs. Sometimes, to make doubly sure of success, she used the doctor's technique and threw in her own for good measure! She did not adopt the doctor's techniques because they were rational, nor did she abandon her own because they were irrational. She simply substituted his kind of magic for her own or practiced them both side by side. When the magic did not work, it wasn't the magic that was at fault; it was the Lord's will.

Such was the state of midwifery when the local official agency stepped on the scene at the end of the first quarter of this century. It was a mixture of scientific and folk practice, with no differentiation between the two. The exodus from the home to the hospital had already begun in the white community. Young doctors with new ideas on obstetrics were gradually infiltrating the community and supplanting the older physicians. But the midwives had no contact with them, since these doctors had no need for their services. The ideas of the local health agency and its policies were closely akin to those of the younger physicians. The midwife delivery was thought to be archaic, and the home delivery itself was becoming but little less so. Official sanctions were brought to bear upon the midwife and, indirectly, upon her colleague, the older physician. The relationship of dependency between the old practitioners and the midwives became even stronger. Midwives became confused, aggressive, and even defiant when they found their practices under attack. It was not their folk practices, such as the ax under the bed, which were under fire, because these were of a personal nature, practiced more or less covertly. What was challenged was what they practiced overtly and proudly, what they had learned through observation and on the good authority of the doctors with whom they had practiced. One of the first steps was to standardize and strip their bags to bare essentials. No more boric acid for the cord, even though their doctors had thought it was fine and some of them were still using it; no more ergot to prevent bleeding, no more paregoric to soothe the baby, no more quinines, castor oils, ointments, or talcums. The simple practice of midwifery was not under attack. What was under attack was a fund of outmoded medicine which they had acquired and were still largely putting into practice with the sanction of the older doctors. Their work had expanded into an area considered to be only within the range of medicine. There was more resentment and overt resistance than there was change in the early years. The midwives did not abandon their authority figures or their way of practice but instead worked on much as before under their doctors' immunity from Health Department sanctions.

But rapid changes were coming about. Facilities for hospital care in the white community were becoming a reality. The ideals in childbirth care as set forth by the Health Department and the younger doctors were rapidly being internalized by the white community. The older doctors were dying off, with no like successors to take their place. The older midwives were dying off too, but others with the same ideas, knowledge, and traditions were succeeding them. They no longer went into the white homes with doctors to bring back to their own communities new ways of practice. There was no growth, since there was no new experience. After

their authority figures died, taking with them their cloak of immunity, the midwives assumed their responsibilities alone and continued to practice much as they did before. In many instances, deprived of their chief sources of sanction and help in time of trouble, belief in the divine right to practice became of prime importance. But this divine immunity did not protect them as had the immunity rendered by the old physicians. The old practices, consistently adhered to, brought about a dethroning process which was irreversible. At least two of the most eminent midwives toppled in this way, in spite of white and non-white community pressure for reinstatement and, in one instance, of legal action to have the decision of the official agency reversed.

PRESENT PATTERNS OF ACCOMMODATION

The midwives in this rural county still attend two-thirds of the local non-white births. As an institution, midwifery is still a very active one—but it is a restless and uncertain institution. There is no longer, officially or unofficially, an apprentice midwife. All midwives are of equal status. Lines of authority are divided, shifting, and unclear. They flow directly from the Health Department, the individual doctors, the hospitals, and the patients to the midwives, but through none of the midwives. But the younger midwives know informally that not all midwives have equal status, that it is the experienced ones who carry the prestige in the community of patients. They would prefer to have the sanctions and be a part of this group which controls the practice. But they remain rejected, isolated and idle, seeking other occupations to keep them going as they wait for the old midwives to retire or die. They grow rusty from inexperience and hestitant and faltering when patients do come along. These are usually rejects of the more experienced midwives, marginal patients who have not lived up to monetary obligations or other expectations of the experienced group. The young trainees have remained a discouraged, constantly changing little group, as one after another has sought and failed to attain this position of prestige.

But the experienced midwife is having her problems of accommodation, too. She is a product of the "old school" and its traditions. The fact that she doesn't have an apprentice-like relationship with a lesser midwife has reduced the prestige attached to her job and increased the work associated with it, which, in turn, has decreased the amount of service she is able to give. The fact that she may not choose and have any part in training her successor is distressing to her. She looks at the new midwives trained by the Health Department as competitors and protects herself accordingly. In addition, she may no longer retire at leisure and look forward to a gradual retirement with activity commensurate with desire and physical capacity. Her career comes abruptly to an end at the age of sixty-five, at the very height of her success. Her old traditional sources of sanction are gone. Of special importance is the status she enjoyed in the white community, once her unquestioned right, stemming from the role she played in it and the service she gave. She must now seek sanction and approval in other ways, often in behavior and lip service in conformity to ideas and expectations of the white group which she does not understand. She is no longer in close association with any physician. She has no one authority figure. Lines of authority spread out in many directions. She used to call her own doctor when she needed help. Now the choice of a doctor is not hers to make, since ideally and theoretically every patient has a family doctor to whom she is responsible and who, in turn, is responsible for her patient. She calls the family doctor if there is one, or whomever she can get if there is none. In either instance he is likely to be unfamiliar with the case, since the patient has attended a prenatal clinic rather than his office. Being unfamiliar with the case, the midwife, and childbirth outside a hospital situation, he refers the midwife to the hospital with her client. If she is unable to contact a doctor, the responsibility for the

decision is hers. It quite often happens that the trips to the hospital have been hasty ones. What she had really been seeking was support and reassurance that her patient was doing all right. In her anxiety she becomes overcautious. Such behavior brings approval from the Health Department but increases the anxiety of her patient who is afraid of the hospital as well as unable to handle the added expense of such care. The loss of the one authority figure who understood her and offered her an even, sustaining sort of support has tended to undermine her confidence in herself and, consequently, that which her patients have in her.

She may no longer speak with authority to her patients on the many subjects which were once within her domain. It was she who used to interpret and communicate the advice of the physician to the patient. Now all the physician's advice is communicated through the public health nurse to the patient or directly to the patient. She is directed to attend the clinic with her patients. She offers them the support of her presence but is excluded from the triad of doctor-nurse-patient. Communication to her comes forth in the form of a signed card which indicates that she may or may not attend the patient.

She is aware that her status in the white community and the community of physicians has waned. And, since her interaction with these is decreasing more and more, she sees no hope for renewed status. But interaction within her own community continues at a rapid pace. While conditions outside and inside her community are gradually eroding her prestige within her own community, the changes are as yet barely perceptible. She still ministers to a folk community, the members of which retain even more of the folk characteristics than she does. It is still she who ministers directly to its specific needs and acts as a buffer between the strange and familiar as the members gradually encounter and take on white ways of childbirth practice and infant care. As one observes her in interaction with her people, there are many cues leading to the confirmation that she holds a position of considerable authority and rank. These are a simple people, and in her presence their simple trust in her seems to swell up and overflow for all to see.

A conflict of occupational mandate is involved. Her clients supported the granny midwife and continue to support her successors. Health officials support the new clinic-trained midwives. The documented changes in the system of sanctions and relationships indicate that in time the grannies must yield their mandate to the clinic-sponsored midwives.

The result of these shifts of power and sanctions, involving physician, client, clinic, midwife, and of the absence of effective alternatives for this occupation has been some institutional disintegration. The institution has rallied the support of the few positive sources of sanction left to it. But its own aging will inevitably remove these.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

RESEARCH NOTES

TEXAS INSTITUTIONAL INBREEDING RE-EXAMINED

In order to obtain explanations and interpretations of observed associations in non-experimental social research, some form of multivariate analysis is generally necessary. It is now widely recognized that hypotheses about causal relationships and developmental sequences can only be supported in survey research by multivariate analysis.[1] When the task of the researcher and analyst is primarily a descriptive one, the use of multivariate analysis is frequently not viewed as crucial.[2] Assuming that the observed association between two variables is not an artifact of the research procedure, the analyst can legitimately ignore the fact that the association can be explained away in terms of additional variables; and how the association may have been produced is not directly relevant. He may wish to bring additional variables into the analysis in order to describe the variation of the association among given subgroups in a population, but this is not a necessity for descriptive purposes.[3]

There is, however, a type of descriptive study in which multivariate analysis is a necessity: when the investigator is interested in describing a phenomenon of some complexity, not observed directly but inferred from the observation of associations taken to be *consequences* of the phenomenon. The observed associations are of interest only as they provide a basis for inferring the existence and extent of the phenomenon. Therefore, it is necessary to demonstrate, within the given system of variables on which data have been collected, that the observed associations cannot be shown to be consequences of other variables. This mode of analysis calls for the introduction of additional relevant variables and the formation of partial associations. Thus, we are suggesting that a distinction must be made between descriptive studies in which zero-order associations can suffice and those in which associations of a higher order must be used.[4] The study recently reported by Reece McGee is an example of this type of descriptive study.[5]

McGee has descripted institutional discrimination against the "inbred" junior faculty at the University of Texas. Discrimination cannot be observed directly but is inferred from the nature of the directly observed zero-order associations between each of several factors and source of highest degree (academic nativity).[6]

For example, McGee observes directly that a greater proportion of non-inbred than of inbred junior members of the faculty are assistant professors. This association between source of highest degree (major aca-

[1] Strictly speaking, a causal relationship might be tested in a panel study without multivariate analysis, though this is in fact rarely done. For a most detailed discussion of causal relationships and multivariate analysis of survey data, see Herbert Hyman, *Survey Design and Analysis* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955), chaps. vi and vii.

[2] E.g., *ibid.*, pp. 68–80.

[3] E.g., *ibid.*, pp. 121–26.

[4] Our distinction is somewhat analogous to that made by Hyman between direct tests and indirect tests in explanatory survey analysis. However, it should be clearly understood that the objective in the McGee analysis which we shall be discussing is a descriptive one in Hyman's terms (see Hyman, *op. cit.*, pp. 231–34).

[5] "The Function of Institutional Inbreeding," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXV (March, 1960), 483–88.

[6] The formal similarity between the kind of phenomenon we are discussing and the psychologists' notions of "intervening variable" or "construct" should be noted. Cf., e.g., Kenneth MacCorquodale and Paul E. Meehl, "On a Distinction between Hypothetical Constructs and Intervening Variables," *Psychological Review*, LV (1948), 95–107.

demic training) and rank *exists* at the University of Texas; the observed association cannot be questioned as a description. But he is interested in it only as a basis for inferring the existence and extent of discrimination: the inference of discrimination must imply that other variables cannot explain or change the nature of the association. We would suppose that academic rank is, in all educational institutions, to some extent related to amount of academic training and scholarly productivity. Therefore, the notion of discrimination must surely involve differences in rank which are *not* attributable to academic training, scholarly productivity, and other factors ordinarily related to rank. And the only way in which this notion of discrimination can be demonstrated is by multivariate analyses that take account of these and other variables.[7]

We shall re-examine the data—all zero-order associations with one minor exception—that McGee has presented to support his inference of discrimination and attempt to approximate the multivariate analyses necessary to describe adequately the existence of discrimination. Our primary purpose is methodological; the McGee report provides us with a case study with which to illustrate the general need for multivariate analysis in a particular type of descriptive study—a dramatic case because we can demonstrate that McGee's conclusions about the existence of discrimination are highly questionable because of the lack of multivariate analysis.

TABLE 1

SOURCE OF HIGHEST ACADEMIC DEGREE IN THE JUNIOR FACULTY, 1957, BY JOB FACTOR

	Source of Highest Degree			
	University of Texas		Other Institutions	
Job Factor	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N
a) Present rank				
Instructor and other	63	66	51	123
Assistant professor	37	39	49	119
Total	100	105	100	242
b) Rank at first appointment				
Instructor and other	95	97	66	160
Assistant professor	5	5	34	83
Total	100	102	100	243
c) Professional productivity				
Productive	53	54	70	171
Unproductive	47	48	30	74
Total	100	102	100	245

Let us begin with the reported association between rank and academic nativity (Table 1, *a*) and bring into the analysis the additional variable, possession of a doctorate. There are 122 junior faculty members with a Ph.D.; 20 of these received their doctorate at Texas.[8] Therefore, only 20 of

[7] With samples matched according to relevant factors, multivariate analyses might, of course, become unnecessary. This is precisely the case in a descriptive study of discrimination against Negro patrons in New York City restaurants reported in Claire Selltiz *et al.*, *Research Methods in Social Relations* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1959), pp. 67–77.

[8] In his Table 3, McGee cross-tabulates sources of *doctoral* degree and productivity. From this table we can see that there are 122 Ph.D.'s among the junior faculty, the total *N* for this table. The marginals indicate that 20 are Texas Ph.D.'s and 102 are non-Texas Ph.D.'s. This table also indicates that 18 of the 20 Texas Ph.D.'s are "productive" and 82 of the 102 non-Texas Ph.D.'s are "productive." It should be noted that in this and all the

the 105 with highest degree from Texas can have a doctorate (19 per cent); among the 242 with the highest degree from another institution, 102 must have a doctorate (42 per cent). (It should, incidentally, be noted that, at the outset, it appears that less training is required for an appointment if the candidate is from Texas.) Now taking rank into account: there are 39 assistant professors among the inbred and 119 assistant professors among those from other institutions. It follows, then, that at least half the inbred assistant professors (19 of 39) do not have doctorates. Among assistant professors from "outside," at least 14 per cent (17 of 119) do not have doctorates; and, given these data, it appears quite reasonable to assume that the proportion of non-Ph.D.'s must be considerably larger among the Texas assistant professors. Or, looking primarily at those without the doctorate, it can be seen that at least 22 per cent of the Texans (19 of 85) are assistant professors, while at least 12 per cent of the non-Texans (17 of 140) are assistant professors. Far from indicating discrimination in favor of "outsiders," the data clearly suggest a bias in favor of local products. It appears to be relatively easier for a Texas man without a Ph.D. to become an assistant professor than it is for a non-Texas man without a Ph.D.

If we look at rank at first appointment (Table 1, *b*) in relation to present rank and academic nativity, there seems to be additional information suggesting that the administration may favor its own products in making promotions. In the Texas group, 95 per cent apparently began as instructors (or sometimes less than assistant professors), but in 1957, the year for which that data have been collected, only 63 per cent remain at that rank; there has been a *relative* decrease of 34 per cent, that is, one-third of the instructors have been promoted. However, among the non-Texans there is a *relative* decrease of instructors of 23 per cent. (Sixty-six per cent began as instructors, and 51 per cent held that rank in 1957.) Thus, even though there may well be discrimination against the inbred in terms of rank at first appointment, it seems that, after entry into the faculty, discrimination operates against the person who did not get his highest academic degree at Texas, particularly if his highest degree is not a Ph.D.[9]

McGee does begin a multivariate analysis involving the productivity variable, but he does not carry it through. He shows that Texas Ph.D.'s are as productive, if not more so, as are Ph.D.'s from other institutions (Table 1, *c*). This, however, must be matched against the scholarly productivity of those without doctorates.

By combining productivity and the possession of a doctorate in relation to rank and source of degree in a more complete multivariate analysis than that assayed by McGee, it is possible to obtain some extremely suggestive results (Table 2). Among the Texans, 45 per cent have no record of scholarly productivity *and* do not hold a Ph.D. Presumably, these individuals are most likely to be instructors, that is, have least claim to higher rank. Actually, 63 per cent of the Texans are at the instructor level. Therefore, at least 33 per cent of the Texans with some claim to higher rank must be instructors [(63 per cent—45 per

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analyses which follow we are relying solely on the data in McGee's published report.

[9] If we could assume that all Ph.D.'s are assistant professors, there could be a maximum of only 12 per cent among the non-Texans without Ph.D.'s who have achieved the rank of assistant professor; the similar maximum for Texans is 22 per cent. But our inference might in turn be upset by the introduction of an additional variable, years served in junior rank: there is evidence at the zero-order level that the Texans tend to serve longer in junior rank. Therefore, it could be that non-Texans move more rapidly from instructor to assistant professor and then to the senior faculty, so that at any given time there appear to be relatively fewer who have moved from instructor to assistant professor because relatively more have *just begun* serving on the junior faculty. However, the necessary multivariate approximation to check this is impossible with the data as presented by McGee. In any event, his inference on the basis of zero-order associations remains unacceptable.

cent)/55 per cent]. Among the non-Texans, only 22 per cent have no record of scholarly publication *and* do not hold a doctorate, but 51 per cent are at the instructor level. There are, then, at least 37 per cent of those with some claim to higher rank who must be instructors [(51 per cent—22 per cent)/78 per cent]. On the basis of these data we can hardly infer discrimination against Texans.

At the other end of the continuum of possible claim to higher rank, 18 per cent of the Texans have both a record of scholarly productivity and a Ph.D. Presumably, such individuals are most likely to be assistant professors, that is, to have the most claim to higher rank. Actually, 37 per cent of the Texans hold the rank of assistant professor. Therefore, there must be at least 23 per cent among the Texans who do not meet one or both of the two criteria generally considered most important for professorial rank—a doctorate and scholarly productivity—who have attained assistant professorships [(37 per cent—18 per cent)/82 per cent]. Among the non-Texans on the junior faculty, 33 per cent have both a record of productivity and a Ph.D. Actually 49 per cent of the non-Texans are assistant professors. There must be, then, at least 24 per cent among those "outsiders" who do not meet one or both criteria for professorial rank who have become assistant professors [(49 per cent—33 per cent)/67 per cent]. On the basis of such data, to conclude there is systematic discrimination against the inbred is hardly warranted.[10] Indeed, the discrimination appears to be anything but systematic, and in some respects, such as promotion and appointment without the doctorate, it appears to work rather clearly against those who do *not* hold their highest degree from Texas.

TABLE 2

SOURCE OF HIGHEST ACADEMIC DEGREE IN THE JUNIOR FACULTY, 1957, BY POSSESSION OF DOCTORATE AND PROFESSIONAL PRODUCTIVITY

	Source of Highest Degree			
	University of Texas		Other Institutions	
Degree and Productivity	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N
Ph.D. *and* productive	18	18	33	82
Ph.D. *or* productive (not both)	37	38	45	109
No Ph.D. *and* unproductive	45	46	22	54
Total	100	102	100	245

DAVID GOLD
STANLEY LIEBERSON

State University of Iowa

[10] Considerations of space preclude our pursuing this analysis in relation to the variables of years served in junior rank and annual class load. In addition, the data as reported by McGee do not allow the approximations of the higher-order associations that have been made in the previous examples; and we must resort to aggregate associations with their well-known weaknesses for inferring individual correlations. The analysis in these terms would reveal little suggestion of undue discrimination against local products by the length of time they serve in junior rank or by their annual class load.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

BERREMAN'S "CASTE IN INDIA AND THE UNITED STATES"

November 1, 1960

To the Editor:

Attempts to identify race relations in the United States with the caste system of India have a long and interesting history, and Gerald D. Berreman's penetrating essay in the September, 1960, issue of the *Journal* (pp. 120–27) continues the tradition. He centers his discussion on the relationship between twice-born castes and untouchables in Sirkanda, a remote Indian village where he made anthropological investigations; but he also generalizes about the entire social structure of Hinduism. Most of his detailed parallels and analogies have been interpreted differently in the literature. For example, he does not recognize a distinction between membership in a caste and belonging to a racial group by birth; between paternalism in caste relations, feudal-estate relations, labor relations, and race relations; or between hypergamy in race relations and caste relations.

There are, however, three points which seem to be pivotal: his polarization of the caste system, the relevance of religion, and the stability of the system. The author defines the caste system as *"a hierarchy of endogamous divisions in which membership is hereditary and permanent."* But his two groups of castes, twice-born and untouchables, to which he frequently refers as "the high caste" and the "low caste," respectively, are manifestly not a hierarchy. This conceptual restructuring of Hindu society seems to be a precondition for an equation of caste with race relations in the American South. The author does not bear in mind the fact that subcaste interaction among the untouchables is just as significant as is interaction among the "clean" subcastes. Each of these castes is endogamous and hierarchically superposed. In fact, the author's groupings, though constituting social realities, do not constitute caste at all. To develop the hypothesis, it appears that interrelation between whites and Negroes in South should be compared to that between subcaste and subcaste and not merely to the relationship between aggregations of castes.

Although Berreman deflates the importance of religion as an ideological support of the caste system, he still implies that its "contradictory" application to "low-caste" behavior may be cause for social unrest. We are not convinced that this is so. However, the author seems to have overlooked not only the sharp distinction between the Christian ethic and that of Hinduism but also the relative access and pertinence of religious doctrine to the masses of people.

On the stability of the caste system, Berreman states: "India is frequently cited as an example of a society in which people of deprived and subject status are content with their lot" (p. 124), and he continues, "I maintain that this is not accurate and therefore not a valid distinction." The implication here is that the same kind of discontent operates among the untouchables of India, and especially of Sirkanda, as among the Negroes of the South. Thus "aggression against the economically and numerically dominant high castes in Sirkanda was too dangerous to be a reasonable alternative. It was discussed by low-caste people in private but was rarely carried out." "Rarely" indeed! It would be interesting to know the circumstances which led outcastes of a backward Hindu village to revolt against the upper castes. No suggestion is made re-

garding the time of occurrence of the event.

The question, in the first place, is not properly put. Ordinarily, those who refer to the permanence of the social structure of Hinduism and to the remarkable docility of the untouchables do not especially have in mind "contentment." It is the absence of any tendencies toward radical social change in the caste system which is of consequence. There has been no progressive social movement for betterment among outcaste castes in Brahmanic India. The incidental, invidious rivalries for social position among them, as among the clean castes, constitute caste behavior which confirms but does not involve or threaten the system. Berreman recognizes that "in America objection is . . . directed toward the system as such," but this does not serve as a cue to further distinction between the functions of the two social systems. At this juncture a consideration of the role of untouchability itself as a unique trait of the caste system and that of the joint Hindu family as a stabilizing force should have been revealing.

Not insight but confusion is derived from an identification of situations of race relations—one of which previously obtained between the British and Hindus in India—with caste relations. If indeed they are sociologically identical, one should be able to work in the reverse direction and call the caste system of Sirkanda "race relations"—which, one supposes, would astonish most Hindus. The caste system is not a simple societal trait which may be universalized by "cross-cultural comparision." Rather, it constitutes the social and institutional structure of a distinct pattern of culture. To identify it with race relations in the South seems to be no less an operation than to identify the social structures of capitalism and Hinduism.

Oliver C. Cox

Lincoln University

REJOINDER

November 25, 1960

To the Editor:

Professor Cox presents the kind of erroneous, stereotyped view of Indian caste which I intended to counteract in my paper. I would ask the interested reader to read his works and then, with my argument in mind, to read some of the literature on village India cited in my article and draw his own conclusions. Professor Cox adheres to his position, stated in 1945, that "race relations are not caste relations" and that "Brahmanic Indian society represents the only caste system in the world."[1] Most of the empirical anthropological and sociological work on caste in India has appeared since that time.

Much of the reaction against drawing comparisons between Negro-white relations in America and caste relations in India stems from the view that caste relations are static. There is an understandable reluctance to so identify race relations in America. It was one of my purposes to demonstrate that this is not the case; that, rigid as the caste system appears, it is much less secure than its proponents might wish or than those who have learned of it from its apologists might fear. Professor Cox's view of static Indian caste is much like a White Citizen's Council member's view of race relations "in the good old days," and it is equally well founded.

The crux of Professor Cox's position is to be found in his return to a preoccupation with the allegedly fundamental difference between the functioning of racial groups and castes. It is this confusion of biological and social terms which most profoundly affects his thinking on the subject. I would point out that, for the study of social processes, the significant thing about membership in a caste is that a person is a member by birth of an identifiable and socially significant group which is so ranked, relative

[1] O. C. Cox, "Race and Caste: A Distinction," *American Journal of Sociology*, L (March, 1945), 360.

to other such groups, that its members have differential access to goods, services, prestige, and well-being. I fail to see what difference it makes whether the groups are genetically distinct and therefore racial or not.

My objection to use of the term "race relations" in the Indian situation would be that Indian castes *are not*, in most cases, genetically distinguishable. On the other hand, Negroes in America *are* a caste as defined in my article. It is worth noting, parenthetically, that many Hindus believe that castes are racial groups, and some have employed physical anthropologists in attempts to document this view.

Of the "pivotal points" to which Professor Cox refers, I think the second and third, relevance of religion and stability of the system, are covered sufficiently in my article and that I need discuss them no further. I can only refer the reader to the literature cited. On the first point, "polarization of the caste system": although I have generalized about interaction between high and low castes, I did not intend to imply that these categories were castes. The data upon which I based my entire argument were specific instances of interaction between particular castes (*jatis*). To talk of high- and low-caste groups is not to restructure Hindu society. It is merely to restate the explicitly recognized structure of society in the part of India where I worked, parallel to the structure described for the Gangetic plain by Cohn, for Orissa by Bailey, and for Ceylon by Hocart, among others.[2] If this is not a hierarchy, I would like to see one. That each caste is ranked relative to all others does not alter this basic structure or make it less useful for purposes of analysis. One would not expect every intercaste situation in India to be identical, any more than he would expect Negro–American Indian relations to be identical with Negro-white relations, but this does not mean that they could not be described as intercaste (or, in the latter two cases, interrace, if you prefer) relations.[3]

In my article I did not attempt "to identify the social structures of capitalism and Hinduism," whatever these may be. Rather, I attempted to identify certain recurrent social processes in rigid systems of social stratification which I believe can usefully be called "caste systems" in recognition of their common features and in the interests of comparative social science.

GERALD D. BERREMAN

University of California Berkeley

[2] See B. S. Cohn, "The Camars of Senapur: A Study of the Changing Status of a Depressed Caste" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1954), p. 116; F. G. Bailey, *Caste and the Economic Frontier* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1957), p. 8; and A. M. Hocart, *Caste: A Comparative Study* (London: Methuen & Co., 1950), p. 4.

[3] Professor Cox is curious and, by implication, incredulous as to the circumstances of low-caste revolt. It did happen in Sirkanda, and it has happened from time immemorial in India under conditions approximating those to be found when Negroes of the Mississippi delta arise against their white oppressors. Rarely indeed! They revolted when they felt they could get away with it or when oppression became intolerable. The recent literature on village India abounds in examples of attempts by low castes to raise their status over high-caste opposition. The history of Jainism, Buddhism, Islam, Sikhism, Christianity, Hindu reform movements such as Arya Samaj, and the platforms of every major political party in India should be consulted on the question of "progressive social movement for betterment among outcaste castes" in India.

"DOCTORS AND POLITICS"

November 23, 1960

To the Editor:

I would like to make a brief comment on William A. Glaser's article, "Doctors and Politics" (this *Journal*, LXVI [November, 1960], 230–45). I agree with Glaser on two points: for obvious reasons, physicians as a rule do not belong to those professions which are easily "available" for political offices, nor does the way in which medicine is practiced

today give the physician much opportunity to discuss politics with his patients. I believe, however, that there are other ways in which doctors become influential in the forming of political opinion, and these are, according to my observations, more important. Physicians play golf; they go hunting (as Glaser states on p. 243, American doctors prefer outdoor sports to reading); they belong to church congregations and various kinds of clubs; they meet people at parties, etc. It is at these occasions, and not when treating patients, that physicians, like others, engage in conversation about political issues, and it is in these situations that their opinion is likely to influence others.

There may be differences in this respect between doctors in big cities and in small communities. In large cities their informal social contacts as well as their contacts in organized groups (clubs, church, etc., may be rather limited to their own social set, which comprises other physicians, lawyers, and businessmen), while in smaller cities or towns their contacts may be more varied and their influence on opinion may reach a greater variety of social strata. It is also likely that the small-town physician has more time to engage in political discussion and enjoys greater prestige as an authority on political issues.

It would be interesting to approach this matter historically in order to see whether active participation of physicians in political life has declined or not and whether or not physicians have always been as "conservative" politically as most of them seem to be today. I suspect there was a time in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when doctors, if at all politically active, were typically liberal. Some of the leaders of nineteenth-century liberalism in Europe were physicians, and it seems that physicians were active in quite a variety of progressive movements.

RUDOLF HEBERLE

Louisiana State University

MARTINDALE'S *AMERICAN SOCIETY*

December 1, 1960

To the Editor:

I do not ordinarily answer critical reviews; however, Dennis H. Wrong's review of *American Society* (this *Journal*, LXVI [November, 1960], 299–300) seems to be such an all-out attempt to destroy the book at any cost that in this case I am going to depart from my usual practice. A number of people wrote to me before the review appeared praising the book for the very things Wrong attacks. Since the review has appeared, several others have written to say that they considered it nasty and unfair.

I am not going to comment on his numerous inconsistencies, irrelevancies, and innuendoes. For these he is responsible to his own conscience. I am shocked that he should completely ignore the theory of community and theory of institutions which provide the structure of the book. To compound the misrepresentation, he states that the book is without theory, eclectic, and a mere potpourri of facts. I believe that this is the first time institutions have been organized under the categories of socialization, mastery of nature, and social control. Moreover, it is rare for a book in sociology to integrate social and cultural institutions in a single account. Finally, I offer no apology for having followed Max Weber's lead in treating the nation as a distinctive community of contemporary man.

It is Wrong's privilege to disagree with me. However, it does not seem possible that a trained sociologist could miss the theoretical distinctiveness of the book unless there is a specific chapter labeled "Theory of Book." Perhaps some one should call to his attention that the word "theory" appears in the titles of two chapters. And if he did not miss the theoretical structure I do not understand his motives for condemning the book for the lack of what he chose to ignore.

Finally, I am tired of reading sociological reviews which either question an author's credentials to write on his subject in the first place or, if the reviewer is not sure he can pull this off, attempt to alienate his audience. Just what did Wrong mean by the statement: "Although this book is described on the jacket as a 'new introduction to sociology,' one is left somewhat puzzled as to the identity of the audience for which it is intended"? Was this a snide attempt to destroy the audience for the book in advance?

DON MARTINDALE

University of Minnesota

REJOINDER

December 15, 1960

To the Editor:

Don Martindale is mad because I do not share his own and some of his friends' high opinion of his book, although I myself was under the impression that my review was by no means entirely unfavorable. Since he fails to be specific, I simply am at a loss as to how to respond to his charge that the review contained "numerous inconsistencies, irrelevancies, and innuendoes." Where was I inconsistent and irrelevant? As for innuendoes, I certainly intended none—I thought I was rather direct and unambiguous in my critical remarks. And why in the world should I wish "to destroy the audience for the book in advance"? I assure Don Martindale that I have not now and do not expect in the future to write a competing text. I was genuinely puzzled as to whether the book was intended as a text for introductory sociology courses or for courses in American civilization, or whether it was that familiar compromise, a treatise for his peers concealed as a high-level text.

I did not state that his book was "without theory." I found the theory in it, notably that centering on the notion of "mass society," inadequate and specified why. And in the book Martindale himself insists that the "mass society" concept provides his central theoretical focus. The suggestion that I wished to challenge the author's "credentials" is absurd. It was what he wrote that I criticized, not his credentials to write it. Anyone who is acquainted with me or with what I have written knows that I am the last person to care about credentials and that I indeed think that much if not most of the best contemporary sociology is produced by non-professionals. It is Martindale, not I, who invokes the "trained sociologist" as a standard. I don't know what a trained sociologist is, although I have some idea as to what an *educated* one ought to be.

DENNIS H. WRONG

Brown University

NEWS AND NOTES

University of Alberta.—The Sociology Division inaugurated an M.A. program this year and is also developing a community research laboratory.

Earle H. MacCannell, formerly of San Diego State College, Cecil L. French, formerly of Drury College, and Richard Laskin, formerly of Brandon College, Manitoba, have joined the staff as assistant professors of sociology in the new Department of Philosophy and Sociology.

Professor Laskin spent the summer doing research at the Center for Community Research at the University of Saskatchewan and is now analyzing data from the project.

Amal Vinogradov is special lecturer in sociology this year.

Gordon Hirabayashi has under way a study of factors relating to attitudes and voting behavior in a recent plebiscite on fluoridation. He is also directing a two-year study sponsored by the Alberta Tuberculosis Association relating to the re-incidence of tuberculosis among persons of Indian descent, assisted by Professor French. Brigham Card, who was also involved during the initial phase of the study, is on sabbatical leave.

Ralph L. James is making a study, supported by a University research grant, of the ecology of the aged and their problems in Edmonton.

Milton Maxwell, formerly of Washington State University, has joined the Alcoholism Foundation in Edmonton.

American Institute for Research.—A Creative Talent Award of $1,000 and two of $500 are offered by the Institute, an independent, non-profit organization devoted to basic and applied research in the behavioral sciences. Awards will be made annually to graduate students working for the doctorate in psychology or in a related field, broadly defined. The outstanding dissertation in each of three areas of study will be selected annually by panels of distinguished scholars. The candidate judged as showing the most promise for creative contributions to scientific knowledge will receive the award of $1,000.

For the first year, awards will be offered in three areas. For the year 1960–61 these are: (1) perception, learning, and motivation: comparative physiological studies; development and adaptation of methods for training and education; study of general capabilities and limitations for performing various types of tasks; (2) development, counseling, and mental health: studies of child development, aging, mental health and illness, psychotherapy, and related aspects of clinical psychology; and (3) measurement and evaluation: individual and group behavior: studies of individual differences, personality, and social psychology, including measurement in education, business, industry and government; studies of statistical theory and application.

For information, write to the American Institute for Research, 410 Amberson Avenue, Pittsburgh 32, Pennsylvania.

American Orthopsychiatric Association, Inc.—The thirty-eighth annual meeting will be held at the Hotel Statler-Hilton, New York City, March 22–25. Topics to be covered include: changing social institutions, migration and urbanization, aging, bereavement, and social studies in parent-child relationships.

Further information is available from Dr. Marion F. Langer, American Orthopsychiatric Association, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, New York.

University of Arizona.—The University awarded to Emory S. Bogardus an honorary doctorate. While on campus, Dr. Bogardus addressed members and friends of Alpha Kappa Delta at their semiannual banquet in conjunction with the celebration of the fortieth aniversay of the honor society he founded.

Peter Garabedian, from the University of Washington, has joined the department as an assistant professor and is specializing in penology and criminology.

Samuel Daykin joins the department in the spring as an associate professor of sociology and public administration.

Lorenzo Snow will join the staff this spring as an instructor in sociology.

Ray Mulligan, acting head of the department, is completing an ethnic social-distance study of a desert city.

Robert Stone has completed his study of *Sierra Vista: Urban Challenge in a Yearling Community.* Copies of this report (Parts I and II) may be obtained by writing to *Arizona Review,* College of Business and Public Administration. *Eloy: A Cotton Town in Transition* is now being prepared; the first two parts were recently published in the *Arizona Review.*

William Lawton is continuing to develop his experimental course on theory and methods of social research at the freshman-sophomore level.

James Officer has just completed a study of the Mexican subcommunity of Tucson, carried out under the direction of Charles Loomis of Michigan State University with financial assistance from the United States Public Health Service and the Carnegie Corporation. He is now studying Anglo-Mexican role linkage in the formal voluntary associations of a bicultural American community.

The Pacific Sociological Association will hold its 1961 meetings in Tucson, April 13–15, with the University of Arizona serving as host.

Several graduate teaching assistantships in sociology are available in the department for the coming academic year.

Association for the Advancement of Psychoanalysis.—The Karen Horney Award, in the amount of $150, is made for a paper deemed to have contributed significantly to the furthering of psychoanalysis. The award committee is currently evaluating entries for the year 1961. Authors who wish to enter papers should submit them no later than October 31, 1961. Presentation of the Award will be made at the Annual Karen Horney Memorial Lecture in March, 1962.

All entries should be forwarded to Louis E. DeRosis, M.D., Chairman, Karen Horney Award Committee, 815 Park Avenue, New York 21, New York.

Brooklyn College.—Marion Cuthbert and Walter Dyk retired in February, 1961. Professor Cuthbert has been with the department since 1944; Professor Dyk, well known as the author of *The Son of Old Man Hat,* retired after eighteen years of service.

Professor Charles R. Lawrence has been promoted to the rank of associate professor.

Gerald Henderson has been promoted to the rank of assistant professor.

A. M. Lee, former chairman of the department, is on leave as a Senior Fulbright Lecturer at the University of Rome.

Herbert Bloch has returned after a year in Ceylon, where he served as Chief of Mission for Public Safety, working under the auspices of the International Cooperation Administration.

University of Chicago.—Bernard H. Baum has won the second annual doctoral-dissertation competition sponsored by the Ford Foundation program in economic development and administration on subjects applicable to business problems. The dissertation, *The Decentralization of Authority in a Bureaucracy,* was awarded a $500 prize and will be published by the Ford Foundation.

Cornell University.—The Peruvian Family Life Project, supported by a grant from the Population Council is directed by J. Mayone Stycos, and is integrated with the long-term departmental research in the Andean region.

Robert Ascher has joined the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. He will teach courses in archeology.

G. William Skinner has been appointed associate Professor in the Departments of Sociology and Anthropology and Far Eastern Studies. He will teach courses in anthropology and in Chinese studies.

Gordon F. Streib, who was on sabbatical leave, is again in residence. He had a Fulbright Lectureship in Denmark at the Danish National Institute of Social Research.

William W. Lambert has been promoted to full professor.

The study of scientific organizations directed by Norman Kaplan under a grant from the National Institutes of Health has become cross-national in character as a result of fieldwork in medical research organizations in western Europe and the U.S.S.R.

Alexander H. Leighton and Charles C. Hughes are initiating field research in Nigeria under the Cornell Program of Social Psychiatry.

Wayne Thompson has been appointed secre-

tary to the Cornell Centennial Planning Committee. He will retain his teaching and research position in the Department.

To the Program in Social Psychology, which is offered jointly by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and Psychology, new courses have been added. The program is under the direction of William W. Lambert and Leo Meltzer, who hold joint appointments in the two departments.

Emory University.—John T. Doby has been appointed as acting chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, effective June 1, 1960, replacing James W. Wiggins. He is studying patterns of interaction compatibility in an alcoholic clinic. With Jerry L. L. Miller, he is co-operating in the design of a model of decision-making for selected aspects of hospital administration.

Alfred G. Smith has been promoted to the rank of associate professor of anthropology.

Alvin Boskoff is studying differential exposure to mass media by an investigation of patterns of influence in the formation of political opinions.

The Department has been offering a doctoral program in sociology since 1958 in theory, methodology, social organization, and social interaction. Scholarships, fellowships, and assistantships for M.A. and Ph.D. students are now available for 1961–62. Information may be obtained by writing the chairman or the Dean of the Graduate School, Emory University, Atlanta 22, Georgia.

Houghton Mifflin–Esquire Fellowship Award.—An award of $7,500 is offered in celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Houghton Mifflin Literary Fellowship. The oldest publisher-sponsored award of its kind and inaugurated in 1935, it is designed to help authors complete literary projects in fiction and non-fiction. This year, in celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the fellowship, Houghton Mifflin has increased its customary award from $2,400 to $5,000. *Esquire Magazine* is offering an additional $2,500 for first serial rights, making a total award of $7,500. The contest will close on April 1, 1961. Both fiction and non-fiction projects may be submitted at any time up to that date. A finished manuscript, as well as a work in progress, will be eligible for the award. No work that has been published previously in book form will be eligible.

For information and application blanks write to Houghton Mifflin Company, 2 Park Street, Boston 7, Massachusetts, or its branch office at 432 Park Avenue South, New York 16, New York.

Indiana University.—John H. Mueller retired as chairman of the department last July. Karl F. Schuessler was appointed acting chairman and was promoted to professor.

Sheldon Stryker has been made associate professor.

The American Management Association has awarded a research grant to Delbert C. Miller and Fremont A. Shull, of the School of Business, to conduct research on role conflict in business and labor leaders.

The Ford Foundation has awarded a grant to Albert K. Cohen, Alfred R. Lindesmith, and Edmund Vaz for research in juvenile delinquency. Cohen, who is visiting professor at the University of California in Berkeley this year, will continue his study in delinquent behavior. Professor Lindesmith is studying how narcotic addiction spreads among young people. Mr. Vaz will investigate the behavior of European gangs of juveniles.

John Liell has been appointed a member of the University's new Department of Urban Studies.

Martin L. Dosick, who was appointed lecturer this fall, is studying juvenile crime at the Federal Correctional Institution, Ashland, Kentucky.

L'Institut de Sociologie Solvay.—The Ford Foundation has granted the Institute a subsidy of $25,000 in support of the Center of Regional Economics (Centre d'Économie régionale). The grant will be devoted to the making of an international bibliography on the economic development of underdeveloped countries.

International Institute of Differing Civilizations.—The thirty-second study session took place in Munich, September 19–22, on the subject of staff problems in tropical and subtropical countries and under the honorary chairmanship of Dr. Heinrich Luebke, president of the German Federal Republic, and Dr. Hans Ehard, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the State of Bavaria. James S. Coleman

(University of California) presented the legal report; Georges Balandier (Sorbonne), the social report; Sir Sydney Caine (London School of Economics), the economic report; Gabriel d'Arboussier, Minister of Justice in the Senegalese Government, was to have written the political report, but had to be replaced by a substitute. The report on the cultural aspect was prepared by Charles Ammoun, Lebanese representative to UNESCO.

The next study session will be held in September, 1962, in a North African town; the subject will be the comparative study of the constitutional and administrative organization of emergent states.

University of Kentucky.—George A. Hillery, Jr., has been appointed assistant professor in the Departments of Sociology and Rural Sociology. He came to Kentucky after a year as a postdoctoral fellow at the University of Florida.

Joseph J. Mangalam, formerly of the University of the Panjab, Pakistan, joined the Department of Rural Sociology as an assistant professor.

Willis A. Sutton, Jr., has returned from India after a year's leave of absence during which he served as Ford Foundation research consultant with the Indian government's Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation.

Howard W. Beers, on indefinite leave from the university and serving as field associate in community development and extension education for the Council on Economic and Cultural Affairs, visited the Departments while on home leave from Indonesia.

James S. Brown received a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health to do a restudy of the Beech Creek neighborhood in the Kentucky mountains, with particular emphasis on the adjustment of migrants from this area. Joining him in the study are Harry K. Schwarzweller, Joy M. Query, and Joseph J. Mangalam.

James W. Gladden is a member of the special committee named by the Commission for Democracy in Education, National Education Association, which is investigating the educational system of Levittown, New York.

Jiri Kolaja has recently published *A Polish Factory: A Case Study of Worker's Participation in Decision Making.*

The Department of Rural Sociology is collaborating with the United States Department of Agriculture on two studies. E. Grant Youmans, the state representative, is completing a study of the health status, socioeconomic conditions, and leisure activities of older persons in rural and urban Kentucky. He and Harry Schwarzweller are conducting a follow-up study of men from eastern Kentucky who were in the eighth grade in 1950 and have collected data on their occupational achievements, family and community adjustments, and integration into American society.

Thomas R. Ford has been promoted to professor. He also serves as executive director of the Social Research Service and continues as director of general research for Southern Appalachian Studies.

John C. Ball and Sidney J. Kaplan have been promoted to be associate professors.

Marion Pearsall has transferred to the newly dedicated Medical School, where she is an associate professor of behavioral science and an associate professor of rural sociology, as well as co-ordinator of behavioral science for the College of Nursing.

Long Beach State College.—The new chairman of the Sociology Department is William Hartman.

George Korber will study the conflict between administrators and faculty members while on sabbatical leave during the spring semester of 1961. Hamid Zahedi, who is completing his Ph.D. in sociology at the University of Southern California, will replace Professor Korber during the spring semester.

Merrill-Palmer Institute.—The 1961 Groves Family Conference will be held at the Institute on April 10–12, 1961. The theme this year is: "New Roles for Males and Females in Premarriage, Marriage, and Parenthood." The program chairman is Dr. Winston Ehrmann of Colorado State University.

Requests for invitations should be directed to: Dr. John W. Hudson, Merrill-Palmer Institute, 71 East Ferry Avenue, Detroit 2, Michigan.

National Science Foundation.—The Division of Social Sciences announces that the next closing date for receipt of basic research proposals in the social sciences is February 1, 1961. Proposals received prior to this date will be dis-

posed of approximately four months later. Proposals received after February 1 will be reviewed following the spring closing date of May 1, 1961.

Inquiries should be addressed to the National Science Foundation, Washington 25, D.C.

New York University.—Wellman J. Warner, for fourteen years chairman of the Graduate Department and then head of the several departments at the university, has resigned his administrative appointments and will devote his time to teaching and research in the Graduate School. As chairman of the International Council, he has announced the organization of the Third International Congress of Group Psychotherapy in Paris in August, 1961.

Robert Bierstedt has been appointed head of the department. He has returned from a year abroad where he was Fulbright Lecturer at the University of Edinburgh and Barnett Lecturer at Oxford University. He gave additional lectures at the universities of Liverpool, Southampton, and Munich.

Joseph Bram is continuing research on "Puerto Rico: A People in Search of Its Identity," which he began early last year.

Erwin O. Smigel, chairman of the department at University College, has been promoted to professor.

John L. Landgraf has been appointed associate coordinator of research services at the university but will continue to offer courses in the department.

Charles F. Westoff was appointed chairman of the department in Washington Square College. His book, *Family Growth in Metropolitan America*, written with colleagues at the Office of Population Research of Princeton University, will be published this spring. He is continuing his work on a longitudinal study of social and psychological factors affecting fertility.

Margaret Benz has taken sabbatical leave this year and will resume her teaching responsibilities in September, 1961.

Elliott P. Skinner, who spent the summer in West Africa with a group of students under a grant from the Crossroads African Project, is offering a course on the "Peoples of Africa" on "Sunrise Semester," the university's television series on WCBS-TV.

The Department of Sociology and Anthropology has received a three-year grant under Title IV of the National Defense Education Act to expand by the addition of graduate courses in linguistics, Southeast Asian ethnology, and Southeast Asian languages. Rufus S. Hendon has joined the faculty as assistant professor of anthropology to teach in these fields. He is currently also serving as visiting assistant professor of Indonesian at Yale.

Seymour Yellin, formerly at the University of Michigan, has been appointed assistant professor in Washington Square College.

H. Laurence Ross, formerly at Northwestern University, has been appointed to assistant professor in University College.

Constance Sutton has been appointed instructor in University College.

Northeastern University.—A Department of Sociology and Anthropology has been created from the former Department of Sociology and Philosophy. Donald S. Pitkin is its chairman and is an associate professor, Morton Rubin is an assistant professor, and H. Wade Seaford, Jr., is a lecturer.

Dr. Pitkin has recently returned from Italy, where he was a Fulbright Research Scholar at the University of Naples. His seminar and research on power and authority in the Italian rural community is in preparation for publication.

Dr. Rubin is continuing research and publication on Negro migration and adjustment in Boston and on the effect of Boston's urban renewal program on Negro neighborhoods.

Mr. Seaford's anthropometric survey of United States Air Force personnel through Tufts University and the United States Air Force is in preparation for publication.

University of Pittsburgh.—David Landy has been appointed associate professor of anthropology in the Graduate School of Public Health, with a joint appointment in the Department of Anthropology. He will organize a program of teaching and research in the social sciences in the various areas of public health and teach a course in primitive and folk medicine in the academic department. In the summer of 1961 he will begin research into the relationships between cultural values and personal attitudes toward work and the development of emotional disorder, for which a three-year grant has been awarded by the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Princeton University.—The newly established independent Department of Sociology and Anthropology now includes the following: Morroe Berger, Gerald W. Breese, Heinz Hartmann, Peter Kunstadter, Marion J. Levy, Jr., Wilbert E. Moore, Charles H. Page (chairman), Keith Simpson, Frederick F. Stephan, Edward A. Tiryakian, and Melvin M. Tumin; in addition, graduate and undergraduate study in demography is offered by Ansley J. Coale of the Office of Population Research.

Professor Berger has completed a general sociological study of Arab society, and is working on a study of the sociological writings of Mme. de Staël.

Professor Hartmann returned in February from Germany, where he has been on leave of absence for a year, continuing his study of problems associated with the export of industrial culture.

Dr. Kunstadter is preparing for publication his study of the use of the clinic among the Mescalero Apache Indians.

Professor Levy returned in September from eight months of research on modernization in Japan with special reference to the social structure of the Tokugawa Period as the base from which change took place. This research was done under a grant from the Ford Foundation.

Professor Moore is continuing his studies of the dynamics of industrial societies in collaboration with Arnold Feldman of the University of Delaware.

Professor Page, who completed his editorship of the *American Sociological Review* in December, is now working on a general evaluation of sociological work in the United States since 1959 and is preparing a study of communication in the social sciences.

Keith Simpson, who was lecturer in the department during the fall term, and is research associate in the Industrial Relations Section, is completing a study of the organization of research in a national laboratory.

Professor Tiryakian, who was on leave of absence during the school year 1959–60 in Paris, is completing a comparative study of the views of Émile Durkheim and existential philosophy on the relation of individual and society.

Professor Tumin is on leave of absence (1960–61) on a Fulbright fellowship in Norway, where he has completed his study of stratification and mobility in Puerto Rico and is working on a general study of social stratification.

Social Security Administration.—The Cooperative Research and Demonstration Grant Program provides for the fiscal year 1961 the amount of $350,000, available for grants or contracts, The Social Security Administration will entertain requests for grants for projects relating to any aspect of the general field covered by the Program. At least during the first year, however, it will give priority to projects related directly to the reduction of dependency and to improvement in programs under the Social Security Act. A grant is generally made for a period of not more than one year.

Application forms and instructions may be obtained by writing to Ida C. Merriam, Director, Division of Program Research, Office of the Commissioner, Social Security Administration, 330 Independence Avenue, S.W. Washington 25, D.C. All grant requests must be submitted on Form SSA-RD1, "Application for Research or Demonstration Grant," and in the manner prescribed by the Administration. To assure consideration this fiscal year, applications must be received by March 1, 1961.

United Nations Commission for Africa (Addis Ababa).—Jean Comhaire has joined the Commission with a special research assignment in urbanization. He plans a survey of tropical Africa, as part of the survey of world urbanization begun in the Mediterranean region two years ago. He will leave Ethiopia for a month's preliminary reconnaissance tour in December and hopes to have a workshop set up before the end of 1961. Professor Comhaire writes that the university in Elizabethville has been made a Katanga state university and its management has been given to the University of Liège. The interdepartmental social research institute has been closed and its director, Professor J. Maquet, dismissed. The Elizabethville social research center, which had been run by the University of Brussels, has also been closed.

United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.—Five project grants have been awarded by the United States Public Health Service to four collegiate schools of nursing and one school of public health to develop training in public health nursing. The

University of Bridgeport (Connecticut) College of Nursing, was awarded $27,015 for increasing the resources available for field experience and improving the curriculum in public health nursing; Catholic University's School of Nursing (District of Columbia) was given $10,543 for developing training in epidemiology, particularly of accidents, alcoholism, and mental retardation, and especially for candidates for the Master of Science degree with a major in public health nursing; The University of Minnesota's School of Public Health was awarded $21,837 for improving the preparation for public health nursing instructors for college teaching positions; Loyola University's School of Nursing (Illinois) received $14,040, and South Dakota State College's Division of Nursing (at Brookings), $9,500, for expanding and improving field instruction for public health nursing students in each of these institutions.

Additional information on project grants for graduate training in public health is available from the Public Health Traineeship Unit, Division of General Health Services, United States Public Health Service, Washington 25, D.C.

Wayne State University.—The Department of Sociology and Anthropology offers graduate associateships in sociology for the academic year beginning September, 1961. In addition to tuition and non-resident fees (if applicable), these will carry a stipend of up to $2,400 per year and will require supervised teaching of up to six hours per week of lower-division courses.

Anyone possessing, or assured of obtaining, the M.A. degree in sociology, or its equivalent, and who, as an applicant for doctoral work in sociology, wishes to be considered for a graduate associateship, should write a personal application inclosing his *curriculum vita* to Leonard W. Moss, Chairman, Graduate Committee, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Wayne State University, Detroit 2, Michigan. He should also write for an *application for admission* to the Graduate Division, Wayne State University, Detroit 2, Michigan. The closing date for receipt of applications is April 5, 1961. Decisions as to associateships will be made by June 1, 1961.

Western Reserve University.—A grant of $35,134 has been received from the National Institute of Mental Health. It will be used to initiate a series of studies directed at understanding some basic reasons for family strength and utilizing findings from previous research on small groups other than the family. The chief investigator will be George Levinger, associate professor of social work at the School of Applied Social Sciences.

A research- and field-study-oriented workshop on intergroup relations for social science majors, social workers, teachers, government workers, ministers, workers in community organizations, administrators, nurses, and police and hospital personnel will be offered from June 19 to July 28. It will be directed by Marvin B. Sussman, Eleanor K. Caplan, Gladys M. Kuoksa, and James E. Jackson.

The workshop will be limited to forty students. Some part and full-tuition scholarships are available, donated by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Inquiries and registrations should be directed to Roland J. Hinz, Director of Admissions, Western Reserve University, Cleveland 6, Ohio.

Yale University.—The Summer School of Alcohol Studies will hold its nineteenth annual session from June 25 to July 20. It offers an interdisciplinary study of problems of alcohol and alcoholism in society, with lectures by specialists drawn from the social sciences, medicine and psychiatry, religion, education and public health. Enrolment is limited to three hundred students.

For information write to: The Registrar, Yale Summer School of Alcohol Studies, 52 Hillhouse Avenue, Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Effects of Leadership. By HANAN C. SELVIN. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. Pp. xvi+270. $5.00.

The title of this work promises to deal with the very core of the idea of leadership (with the *difference* that the leader makes) and with a key problem, namely, the consequences in behavior of social organization. Furthermore, knowing Selvin's orientation, one might expect a methodological effort as well as a substantive one; and that is indeed what we find. As is often the case in empirical work of this kind, the promise far outruns the achievement; yet the book is instructive in both substance and method.

The outstanding feature, on the substantive side, is the unplanned parallel with Lewin's classic study of climates of leadership. In the present case the subjects were army officers and their enlisted trainees. The latter described the leadership of the company officers, and each man reported likewise on his own non-duty activities (e.g., how frequently he "blew his top" or had intercourse). A factor analysis yielded three types of leadership—"persuasive," "arbitrary," and "weak"—which resemble Lewin's "democratic," "autocratic," and "laissez faire." The obtained relationships between leadership and non-duty behavior were generally congruent with Lewin's findings: on the whole, the persuasive (democratic) climate produced the least "outlet" activity—short-term absence without leave, drinking, and the like.

Selvin proceeds to show, by an extensive three-variable analysis, that the individual's status must be considered if these effects of leadership are to be thoroughly understood—by demonstrating, for example, that the arbitrary climate had one effect upon the less educated and another upon the more educated trainee. With some notable exceptions that go contrary to the theory of tension employed, the results are internally consistent; and they are carefully presented along with detailed technical appendixes.

Methodologically, the outstanding feature is the effort to develop procedures appropriate to a view of leadership in the context of social organization. Thus, "leadership climate" refers to "the average trainee's" image of the leadership corps *"as a group,* not as separate persons" (p. 28). Further, Selvin develops techniques for comparing effects when the status variables are controlled ("homogeneous sub-group comparison") and for testing contextual propositions—that is, three-variable interactions—where one of the variables is a group attribute.

These are interesting efforts in the direction of a unit-centered and situation-minded approach. But none of them is very novel; and Selvin reveals ambivalence on the matter of the study's methodological contribution. He recognizes, for example, that contextual propositions are simply an instance of statistical interaction and that "homogeneous sub-group comparison" is by no means a new technique however extensively it may be used. But then it is less important to determine how "new" are the procedures than it is to remain attentive to the difficulties, both of method and substance, that characterize studies of organization. Selvin's book will aid in this task by both directly attacking and reflecting the difficulties.

MELVIN SEEMAN

University of California, Los Angeles

The Causes of Wealth. By JEAN FOURASTIÉ. Translated and edited by THEODORE CAPLOW. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. Pp. 246. $5.00.

Here is a book that should be read—not merely reviewed. It is another example of the contribution that European social science can make to the often complacent, parochial, particularistic social science of America. Nearly every paragraph contains welcome reactions against anti-industrialism and romanticist *anti-machinisme.* Among those who define industrial sociology in terms broader than in-plant hu-

man relations—or, indeed, as something broader than management-union relations, conflict, co-operation, leadership, participation, etc.—Fourastié's book, originally published as *Machinisme et Bien-Être*, will provoke interest, since the emphasis is on industrialism as a culture complex.

Furthermore, as Fourastié has done in a more recent publication—*Revolution à l'Ouest*—he utilizes in this work a respectable breed of historical materialism in attempting to understand the roots of economic and social progress. This viewpoint comprises a technological and economic sociology which Max Weber would have approved. The author, in attempting to show his fellow Frenchmen—and, by inference, others in less developed societies—the positive side of technical progress, is not satisfied with mere rhetoric and exhortation: the study is richly empirical without being trivial and sterile. Using the advanced industrial complex of the United States as raw material, he has distilled values and practices by which France may benefit. He has arrived at a concept of industrialization, which should not be reduced to mere "American influence"; for Fourastié, America only suggests the potentials of modernization. Of course, one of the consequences of such acculturation might be that mass production in industry and mechanization in agriculture would make durable shoes and fine suits, steaks and chickens accessible to the masses.

Chief among the many contributions made by Fourastié, who is affiliated with Alfred Sauvy at l'Institut National d'Études Démographiques, is his conversion of money prices into hourly labor units as the basis for making certain historical and international comparisons and, particularly, in order to measure disproportionate rates of technical progress as shown in comparisons of particular commodities. While his theoretical contributions are to be gratefully appreciated, his point of view is of basic importance. Together with the viewpoints of W. A. Lewis, Rostow, and Colin Clark, it demands attention from the public and private practitioners of industrial development in Asia, Africa, and South America.

Two of Fourastié's many succinct observations may be quoted here as indicators of the quality of his style and thought. "The true cause of technical progress," he writes, "is the scientific advance which furnishes the active possibility of producing an increasingly greater amount of goods and services in a given amount of working time." In this, he refers to, among other forces, the organization of work and of markets, product design, technical control of materials in process, and the application of the sociopsychological sciences. In a chapter devoted to "Health and Life Expectancy," Fourastié ranks longevity as a criterion of human progress: "The individual must be alive that he may achieve civilization."

The concept of stages, of the causal relationships between material factors and social behavior and relations, of progress itself—all these, and others, are given new life in *The Causes of Wealth*. If there is weakness at all, it has to do with the author's neglect of the role of pressures for wage increases upon the search for more productive techniques on the part of management. It is not enough to assert merely that consumption, as measured in wages and prices, cannot be increased without increases in production. Since this role was not a part of the thinking of French industry in the past, perhaps this minor weakness can be excused.

Caplow's translation is by and large acceptable, although at times this reviewer (without referring to the French version) had some slight doubts. For example, on page 194 the word "metallurgist" should have been translated as something like "metalworker" or, better still, as "auto- or steelworker," since many of such occupations are grouped under the French term *metallurgiste*.

To sum up, Fourastié's *Causes of Wealth* (or "Technology and Progress," to use my own preferred translation) is a brilliant contribution to sociology, one that enters the main stream of American sociological inquiry. It deserves wide use in our classrooms, seminars, and research.

HAROLD L. SHEPPARD
Washington, D.C.

Sociological Aspects of Economic Growth. By BERT F. HOSELITZ. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. Pp. vii+250. $5.00.

In this collection of his articles published between 1952 and 1957, Professor Hoselitz locates himself between two kinds of analysis which he finds unacceptable. On the one hand, he finds "a theory of economic growth in purely economic terms" inadequate for analyzing eco-

nomic development; on the other, he rejects the German historical method: "setting up a system of stages of economic activity embracing all human experience." Attempting to utilize the valuable portions of both, Hoselitz wishes to generate "a theory relating economic development to cultural change." To avoid a *système du monde*, however, he restricts himself to the procedure of merely distinguishing between the stage preceding and that following rapid economic advance. In the end he produces not a formal theory but rather a number of sometimes interrelated insights—some extremely rewarding—into the social causes, concomitants, and consequences of economic growth.

Hoselitz pursues his difficult task at several different levels of generality. In chapters ii and iii he employs Parsons' pattern variables and a theory of deviance. These tools are rooted deeply in a more general theory of social systems. He distinguishes between underdeveloped and economically advanced societies in terms of the pattern-variable poles characterizing economically relevant roles and sees no difficulty in describing the advanced in terms of achievement, universalism, and specificity and the underdeveloped in terms of ascription, particularism, and diffuseness. In the case of affectivity-neutrality Hoselitz has broken his own rule and, sacrificing consistency, has applied the pattern variable to personal attitudes rather than to role behavior. In the case of self-collectivity Hoselitz' analysis reveals a genuine difficulty; Parsons himself discarded it as a pattern variable because of various conceptual problems.

In chapter iv Hoselitz turns to variables which are less systematically related to a theory of society. He traces the implications of three dimensions for economic development—expansionist-intrinsic, dominant-satellitic, and autonomous-induced patterns of growth. It is very likely that this discussion constitutes the most valuable portion of the book: certainly, I know of no more meaningful classification of the broad political parameters of economic development. The scheme, furthermore, has been put to good use, both here and in the recent studies edited by Hugh J. G. Aitken in *The State and Economic Growth*.

Toward the end Hoselitz examines several variables—for example, the city—which are even less rooted in systematic theory. To speak of the city as a variable which stimulates or impedes growth is to tap important problems. But, as a concept, the term is amorphous, multidimensional, and analytically "floating." Nonetheless, he utilizes the concept with great skill; in particular, he demonstrates by historical study that the recent empirical association between industrialization and urbanization is not necessary when considered analytically and, in fact, is probably almost unique in history. These last chapters open up fascinating points of departure for research into the functional specialization of cities and the influence of different kinds of cities on economic development.

One cannot expect a nice articulation of these various levels of analysis in a book of articles written at different times for different purposes. There is an occasional suggestion as to how the diverse arguments might be integrated theoretically, but, in general, the volume leaves innumerable strings for the reader to tie. An obvious and helpful future task for the author, therefore, is to attempt to unite his several modes of approach into a more coherent whole.

Technically, the book needs improvement. Obvious proofreading errors abound, and in one place (pp. 236–37) the first four lines of the same paragraph appear twice. The aesthetics of the printed page seem in this case to have been sacrificed unduly to the economies of publication.

NEIL J. SMELSER

University of California, Berkeley

Die befragte Nation: Über den Einfluss der Meinungsforschung auf die Politik ("The Respondent Nation"). By GERHARD SCHMIDTCHEN. Freiburg im Breisgau (Germany): Verlag Rombach, 1959. Pp. 292; tables. DM. 23.80 ($5.70).

One of the interesting postwar innovations in West German politics is the use of the public opinion survey. This import has a greater influence upon politics in Germany than it enjoys in the United State itself. The impact of polls is not in their use for campaign purposes by candidates for the Bundestag or the local legislatures; very few individual candidates have, in fact, used them. Rather, it is seen in the use of polls by the West German federal

government and, in particular, by the head of this government. Dr. Adenauer is probably the only head of government who keeps himself directly and regularly informed about the developments of public opinion through an independent research institute.

In Germany there is, on the one hand, the administrative use of opinion surveys and, on the other hand, the use made of them by the party in power for purposes of public relations. The public knows little of the administrative use of polls. (To give an example of one such poll: surveys to find out how many persons intended in the near future to build homes and, of these, how many would take advantage of government building subsidies revealed that those most in need of such subsidies were least informed about the possibilities of getting them.) But the public is aware of the use of polls in electioneering. As the party in power, the Christian Democrats realized the uses of public opinion surveys much earlier than did the Social Democratic opposition party. Moreover, the several small parties felt they could not afford the new instrument. Thus, public discussion of the use of surveys and their influence on politics was confused at first by several issues. The discussion was and still is vehement. Newspaper editorials, periodicals for intellectuals, and several books have declared that representative samples of the population are not representative of public opinion, that the new devices are means of brainwashing the electorate or that polls will debase politics and politicians by giving importance to the wishes of the uninformed and unintelligent average voter. Academic sociologists in Germany have, so far, done nothing to still this Babel. Their failure to state with authority the limits of all instruments of social research and of every government's power to plan the future and to manipulate opinion is probably one of the most unfortunate consequences of the division of social research into "academic" and "commercial," a division that is often purely organizational.

The importance of Dr. Schmidtchen's book must be assessed against this background. He is a leading member of the Institute für Demoskopie of Allensbach, which has done much to win the respect of public officials and politicians for survey research. With the appearance of this important book, the Institut für Demoskopie opens its archives for a long-needed scholarly analysis of the role of public opinion surveys in politics. The Institut, which was founded in 1948, has since 1950 regularly conducted surveys for the government and for its various administrative departments, and this, as well as its surveys of matters of public interest for other political and economic bodies, has been indexed in the *Jahrbücher* of the Institut (Allensbach/Bodensee: Verlag für Demoskopie, 1955, 1957). In Schmidtchen's book, however, the results of the surveys are only of incidental interest. For here we find, so to speak, eighty case histories of surveys, their conception, their execution, their results, and an objective and critical assessment of their use, whether successful or not. The book is thus an invaluable source for knowledge of the role of social research in society. It is also a great rarity, for seldom indeed do we hear whether those "interesting findings" which are the pride of the researcher have ever been translated into action and, if so, how they fared.

The author gives a clear and thorough systematization of the material. He shows how surveys fit in with other determinants of political decisions, both as to policy-making and executive action; and that they are least effective where tradition or ideological considerations, such as party policy or economic necessity, tend to control the decisions made. Sometimes mere prejudice, stupidity, or bureaucratic inertia can obstruct their effect.

The book finally broadens out into a "revision of the concept of public opinion." Schmidtchen is convinced that surveys of public opinion can and will be used to strengthen democratic political institutions in Germany and elsewhere. He thinks that, as the interplay of popular opinion with institutional structure and political doctrine is clarified and enters the public's understanding, the danger of violent and destructive political changes will become avoidable. Necessary changes may be anticipated and introduced neither too late nor too early. In reaching these conclusions, Schmidtchen makes full use of American sociological literature, but his book achieves a special authority in its masterly treatment of the recent attacks on the use of public opinion polls. The polemics against polls of some German political theorists, so treated, offer a fascinat-

ing chapter in German political and intellectual history.

This is a book well worth serious study.

IMOGEN SEGER

Columbia University

European Socialism: A History of Ideas and Movements. By CARL A. LANDAUER. 2 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960. Pp. xxviii+1,894. $20.00.

This work of more than eighteen hundred pages of text, notes, and bibliography is more than a conventional history of socialism; actually, it may be called a history of modern Europe as it is affected by the socialist movement or a study of the role of socialism in the history of modern Europe. It covers the period from the beginning of modern socialism to the establishment of the Hitler regime and ends with a discussion of neo-Marxism and the revival of constructive (or, as the Marxists would say, utopian) socialist theory. The term "socialism" denotes: (1) "a system of communal (or social) ownership of the means of production"—in other words, an economic order; (2) a kind of thought which believes in the desirability and feasibility of that kind of social order; and (3) "a social movement which strives to establish that type of economic order" (p. 5).

The plan of the book is chronological, except for two masterful chapters on the life and work of Karl Marx. Within this general framework the treatment is by countries, but with constant application of the comparative method. The scope is continental Europe excluding the Balkan countries but including Russia; policies of repression and countermovements (fascism and naziism) are also discussed.

Since Landauer is concerned with the interaction of ideas and movements, the basic approach is bound to be sociological. He is by no means committed to the Marxian interpretation of history, which he rightly thinks was a technological interpretation rather than a truly economic one.

There are in this work two levels of criticism: the critique of socialism which came from other schools of economic thought and the author's own critical evaluation of ideas, policies, and events. Landauer's own critique is "immanent" criticism, since he accepts the ultimate objectives of socialism; and it is ; ways fair and well balanced. He tries to und(stand why an idea was formulated as it w or why certain ways of action were chos rather than others. The same understandi fairness is also found in his treatment of t personalities of socialist leaders; there is no of the resentment and derision which marre for example, Sombart's work on proletari socialism.

How the socialist movement became a wor ing-class movement is, of course, a major then of this work. The idea that socialism per se w a creation of non-proletarian intellectuals w proposed more than forty years ago by So bart and others, but, at that time, Somba conceived of the merger of the socialist a the labor movements as inevitable, since s cialism as a system of thought expressed t class consciousness of the workers. This thes of course, is hardly supported by the develo ment in the United States and in the Briti Dominions. Landauer, therefore, gives a diff ent interpretation of the relationship betwe the two phenomena (p. 28).

A work of this scope will inevitably conta some weak parts. The chapter on the Scan navian labor movements, for example, does n attain the level of analysis which prevails the remainder of the work. This may be d to the fact that the chapter was drafted by collaborator. Certainly, the many chapte dealing with the movement in Germany, which the author speaks from personal expe ences and a thorough knowledge of sources, a probably the best part of the book. A bett characterization of what the socialist mov ment meant to the German worker (pp. 309 f is hard to find.

That this work should be published at t very moment when Western European soci ism seems to have reached an ideological i passe and a tactical dead end is an irony history. However, socialism is not dead in t rest of the world, not in the Orient nor in La America nor in the no-longer "Dark" Contine

Informative, reliable, well written, and i teresting, Landauer's book will be a standa work for any study of socialism and the s cialist movement in modern times.

RUDOLF HEBER

Louisiana State University

Americans View Their Mental Health. By GERALD GURIN, JOSEPH VEROFF, and SHEILA FELD. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1960. Pp. xxxv+444. $7.50.

This survey of American attitudes to mental health reflects the Survey Research Center's superb craftmanship. The investigation focuses on two related questions: What are the adjustment problems of members of a community? In what ways do community members go about solving their emotional difficulties?

A careful statement of the limitations of the survey method and of self-reports in studying emotional adjustment provides a perspective for the analysis. Adjustment is examined by relating demographic variables—particularly age, sex, and education—to over twenty measures reflecting various dimensions of general adjustment, perception of self, marital adjustment, adjustment to parenthood, job adjustment, and symptomatology. The analysis of the ways members of a community solve their emotional problems describes, in terms of the same demographic variables, persons who reported readiness for referral, who received help, and who recognized the need but did not seek help. There is no doubt that both social scientists and practitioners will find the book of interest.

A major disappointment, however, is the failure of the research team to design their investigation so that it adds to already accumulated knowledge about attitudes toward mental illness. It is hard to believe that there is nothing worth replicating or exploring further in such studies as those by Star, Woodward, and the Cummingses. Moreover, in terms of the major problems investigated their choice of "independent" variables is too limited. For example, although the research is concerned with treatment received from medical practitioners, the interview schedule does not include items on health insurance, which might explain differential use of medical and psychiatric personnel.

The main criticism of the study, however, is their unimaginative analysis and failure to exploit the available data adequately, for example in the treatment of social class. In discussing characteristics related to the various adjustment measures, they report a number of relationships between education, income, and adjustment. On the other hand, when occupation is ranked along a social status continuum, it shows no relationship to adjustment. Since occupation is a key component of Hollingshead's scale, it would seem that the authors were obligated to explore further this apparent discrepancy between their findings and Hollingshead's. This could have been accomplished either by controlling for occupation and studying the relationships between education, income, and adjustment or by scoring their sample on education and occupation, which would have given them an approximation of Hollingshead's ranking. Later in the book they report that, among the 4 per cent of their study group who received treatment for emotional problems, education and income are related to going to a psychiatrist. Gurin and his associates maintain that their data confirm the Yale study without either attempting to approximate Hollingshead's scale or even informing the reader of the relationship between occupation and psychiatric treatment. If occupation did not correlate, their claim of confirmation of the Yale data with respect to psychiatric care is questionable.

The treatment of measures of adjustment is perhaps the most serious limitation of the study. Each area of adjustment is analyzed separately, with no attempt to examine the relationship between adjustment in the various areas. Several techniques might have been used in analyzing these, including the development of typologies. For example, how do persons with problems of both marriage and parenthood differ from those with problems of only one? Or they might have typed informants on the criteria that cut across the various areas; for example, in connection with adjustment in marriage, parenthood, and work, the same three criteria are used—feelings of satisfaction, feelings of inadequacy, and problems experienced—but the relationships between demographic variables and scores obtained on each of these criteria should have been investigated. Furthermore, if factor analysis were an appropriate technique to determine symptom dimensions—as appears probable—the authors might have attempted the same procedure for their twenty-odd measures of adjustment. Much potential advantage of using multiple criteria of adjustment is lost by not having ascertained their relationships.

In fairness to the research team, their report is part of a ten-volume series, and undoubtedly

they were faced with a deadline. Perhaps Gurin and his associates intend to undertake further analysis of data. They should.

HOWARD E. FREEMAN

Brandeis University

Studying the Effects of College Education: A Methodological Examination of Changing Values in College. By ALLEN H. BARTON. New Haven, Conn.: Edward W. Hazen Foundation, 1959. Pp. 96.

In 1957, in his *Changing Values in College: An Exploratory Study of the Impact of College Teaching,* Philip E. Jacob, having surveyed and interpreted the findings of social research on the effects of going to college, expounded the general conclusion that, with only a few exceptions, American colleges have little effect on the values of their students and that the values with which students leave college are not commendable. The Hazen Foundation approached Columbia's Bureau of Applied Social Research for a methodological discussion of Jacob's book, from which the present work resulted. According to the Foreword by Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Barton's report of that discussion attempts to explicate what Jacob had done with the studies and analyzes more in detail the original materials themselves, in order to give the technically untrained reader of Jacob's monograph a chance to judge for himself whether the information is sufficient for final conclusions and to suggest ways in which additional and more adequate data could be collected in the future. In addition to the Foreword there are four chapters, "What Effects Do We Want To Study? The Problem of Definition"; "Problems of Measurement"; "Problems of Design"; and "Problems of Specification and Generalization." An appendix contains questionnaires and attitude scales used in the study of values and some analysis and evaluation of these by Barton. Barton's findings, sketched briefly, are that, while Jacobs justifiably chose to concentrate his attention on values, other important variables are dealt with in the various studies examined. He finds that many of them are ambiguously defined, that the measuring instruments are often contaminated with other variables, and he notes that there are various ways of measuring a concept, depending upon how it is defined. Studies of the effects of college education, he reports, are of four main types of design, all of which yield some knowledge but are also defective and difficult to evaluate in differing degrees. He concludes that Jacob's conclusion could not be established by the available evidence but, instead, must be considered a hypothesis to be investigated. Barton's suggestions to improve future research include a number of recommendations to specify the process by which changes occur (by treating the college as a system of interacting elements), the differences between colleges (the stimuli), and the effects on different types of students (the population).

It is obvious that Barton could not in eighty-three pages evaluate both Jacob's book and the studies themselves and instruct a technically untrained audience in the many aspects of methodology involved. Barton, in fact, confines himself to brief descriptions and illustrations of some of the problems present in social research that make the educational studies inconclusive. The over-all result is that the technically untrained reader is more forewarned than instructed.

Since Barton presents no new methodological principles or illuminations of old problems, the "Columbia tradition" within which Lazarsfeld places this essay is reflected chiefly in the choice of methodological problems treated; the book is otherwise an elementary application of some of the principles discussed in previous works from the Bureau.

SANTO F. CAMILLERI

Stanford University

Theoretical Studies in Social Organization of the Prison. By RICHARD A. CLOWARD, DONALD R. CRESSEY, GEORGE H. GROSSER, RICHARD MCCLEERY, LLOYD E. OHLIN, GRESHAM M. SYKES, and SHELDON L. MESSINGER. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1960. Pp. 146. $1.50.

This excellent little volume is composed of six essays that grew out of the Conference Group on Correctional Organization sponsored by the Social Science Research Council in 1956 and 1957. Because the concepts and hypotheses were drawn from various social sciences, the book will be of interest to students of social organization who may not ordinarily be concerned with the field of correction.

The first two essays deal with the society of prisoners, the norms of inmate culture, and official and unofficial mechanisms of social control. Gresham Sykes and Sheldon Messinger show how prison norms, for example, "Play it cool!" and "Don't be a sucker!" function to maintain the inmates' self-conceptions and morale in the face of severe social and psychological deprivation. Richard Cloward argues that formal devices of control, as frequently used by prison officials, may tend to elicit from inmates precisely those modes of behavior that they were intended to discourage. Prison culture is interpreted largely as a defensive reaction against official use of status-degrading ceremonies and against the employment of incentives that for most inmates are unattainable.

The second pair of essays examines problems of prison management. Richard McCleery's observations of a prison administration that in a decade changed from a traditional custodial policy to a more liberal policy of treatment and resocialization provide a revealing account of how social disorganization may result from lack of integration between the power structure of a prison and its system of communication. Donald Cressey discusses the organizational effects of contradictions among correctional objectives and concludes that it is impossible for a prison administration to maximize both programs of custody and techniques of individualized treatment. Decisions concerning the relative importance of custody and therapy are therefore necessary. Furthermore, methods of therapy cannot be successfully instituted unless the administration realistically assesses the restrictions on custody and authority that are implied by a program of treatment.

Lloyd Ohlin gives further attention to conflicting correctional objectives through an examination of the demands and pressures upon the prison by interest groups in the world outside. He discusses the formation of interest groups, their strategies, and their long-run and immediate effects with respect to correctional programs and policies.

In a concluding statement George Grosser systematizes the preceding discussions by focusing upon the relationship between the external setting of the prison and its internal social relations. The study of correctional institutions is placed within the broader perspective of the analysis of social institutions.

The main defect of this volume is the lack of systematic supportive evidence. While the arguments are generally consistent and plausible, other equally sound formulations may have very different theoretical and pragmatic implications. Consequently, readers may seriously doubt that prison culture is to be explained as a reaction against the pains of imprisonment, that conflict between custody and therapy is inevitable, or that the authority of prison officials is especially prone to corruption. Reliable evidence, as well as sound reasoning, is essential to the formulation of theory in empirical science.

CLARENCE SCHRAG

University of Washington

Drinking Behavior in Small Groups: An Experimental Study. By KETTIL BRUUN. Helsinki: Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies, 1959. Pp. 132. Sw. Kr. 16.

The author of this monograph is the head of the Department for Social Research of the State Alcohol Monopoly of Finland; the small-group investigation which he reports is part of the research of the Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies.

The data derive from a quasi-experimental study of fifteen four-member male groups who were permitted to drink to intoxication (self-demand schedule, variety of alcoholic beverages), from 6:00 P.M. to midnight, in a carefully supervised but natural drinking environment (private room, restaurant). Subjects were workers from the Helsinki metal industry; members of each group had drunk together previously (problem drinkers were excluded). During the evening, groups were given problems to discuss and questions on attitude to answer; they also had "free" time. Group interaction was recorded and analyzed in accordance with Bale's technique; there was a follow-up interview the next day.

The author is explicit about the sociological assumptions he makes concerning drinking as a social custom and about the probable consequences of alcohol on interaction and on changes of behavior within a group. His leading ideas are that alcohol reduces feelings of anxiety and that this leads to freer outlets for positive emotions and aggressions; also, that high emotionality leads to the imposition of sanctions. Among other things, he found that the consump-

tion of alcohol increased the proportion of negative reactions in the group members' total interaction, but the amount of alcohol consumed had no significant relation to the magnitude of change in the proportion of negative reactions; that there are intricate relations between differentiation of role within a group and the amount of alcohol consumed, aggression, and intoxication. For example, isolates tend to become undeniably drunk more often than do other subjects, and, when the same subject performs the role of emotional specialist and drinking leader, the amount of alcohol consumed is greater than in groups with other role structures. He also found interesting relations among aggression, group cohesion, and group stability. All in all, this book should prove of value to specialists in alcohol studies and small-group research.

OMAR KHAYYAM MOORE
Yale University

The Anatomy of Psychotherapy: Systems of Communication and Expectation. By HENRY L. LENNARD and ARNOLD BERNSTEIN, with HELEN C. HENDIN and ERDMAN B. PALMORE. New York: Columbia University Press, 1960. Pp. xx+209. $6.00.

The aim of this little book was to see how well hypotheses taken from the literature on small-group interaction could be applied to analysis of psychotherapy as a two-person interaction system. The work of two sociologists, a clinical psychologist, and a psychoanalyst, this monograph is a model of theory-oriented, interdisciplinary researcch. The work was done under government contract with the Bureau of Applied Social Research.

From carefully defined concepts of system equilibrium, differentiation, role expectation, interpersonal learning, and message content, an ingenious system of categories is derived, providing a code for classifying multiple aspects of verbal exchange taken from five hundred recorded psychotherapeutic sessions. Data were obtained from four therapists who carried two patients each for about eight months. The patients, secured through natural referrals, agreed to the recording of their sessions. (Motivated by reduction of the fee and by immediate treatment, five of the eight patients discontinued treatment when the "discounts" were terminated at the close of the study).

Fortunately for the claims of psychoanalysis, the phasing of therapists' behavior was found to be more consistent than that of the patients. And patients were found to be the ones who do by far the most talking. Then, too, the verbal behavior of patient and therapist was revealed as interdependent and as moving toward high similarity over time.

Not all the findings are as reinforcing to the analytic tradition. The authors show that the unresponsive or ambiguous therapist stimulates anxiety, confusion, and disorientation in the patient (without asserting this is good or bad, therapeutically). They also show that the demands of the two-person *system* "exhibit their own dynamic which is relatively autonomous," transcending the "goals of the therapy . . . diagnosis . . . and the theoretical orientation of the therapists."

Yet the exciting thing about the study is the authors' ability to be as relevant to social psychology as to psychotherapy. This is not another study of the efficacy of therapy; indeed, perhaps unfortunately, no measures of outcome were tried. The emphasis is consistently given to the variables that seem most salient to the process of interaction. The code categories and their tailoring to data-processing procedures by machine should prove useful generally in basic research. The hypotheses concerning the maintenance of systems tell us more than we knew previously about the conditions under which dyads are likely to persist. The problems of affiliation, symmetry, sentiment, and cohesion are nicely illuminated by analysis of the selective reinforcement of interpersonal responses.

The chief weakness of the study involves design and inference. Problems of ascribing statistical significance and of assessing magnitude of change over time are handled casually. Where differences between therapists could perhaps have been treated effectively with analysis of variance, simpler techniques are applied with some loss of economy and precision. It is also hard to tell the findings from the newly generated hypotheses without an elegant design. In fairness, the authors for the most part treat their task as one of uncovering rather than testing hypotheses.

ROBERT A. DENTLER
University of Kansas

Juvenile Delinquency: Its Nature and Control. By SOPHIA M. ROBINSON. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1960. Pp. xiii+546. $6.75.

This is a fairly conventional text on juvenile delinquency. The book consists of thirty chapters which are divided into five major sections dealing with definition and incidence, causation, legal agencies, institutions, and prevention.

The book has many excellent features, the most striking being the excellent coverage of the literature, including unpublished reports and documents. The use of comparative material on delinquency in foreign countries (chap. iii) and institutional practices outside the United States (chap. xxv) is a step toward overcoming a deficiency common to most treatments of delinquency. The descriptions of the juvenile court (particularly the role of the judge), psychiatric services for the court, treatment-oriented centers, and individual and gang prevention programs are particularly well done.

The most distressing feature of this book is that it lacks any theoretical orientation. Its noticeable casework-mental hygiene point of view is not sufficient for a meaningful synthesis. This is particularly evident in the section on causation, which is uncritically encyclopedic and eclectic. The neoclassical works and the psychiatric material are uncritically presented. Four chapters on sociological approaches are primarily descriptive. The eclecticism appears to be particularly forced in labeling the discussions of religious and ethnic variations and delinquency, anomie, nonconformity, culture conflict, and multiple causation as "Anthropological Approaches."

The reader who is interested in coming to grips with the question of causation is not helped by the chapter on causal theory. The treatment of the concept of cause, the strategy of scientific research, and the difference between definitions and empirical propositions is confused and occasionally misleading. For example, the discussion of substituting forms of conduct for legal definitions confuses questions of definition, classification, and inference. Also, the study of delinquency rates and delinquent behavior is confused.

The important problem of developing a workable definition of delinquency is poorly handled. The author's consistent reference to the central register as indicating some answer and the uncritical discussion of the studies of "hidden delinquency" indicate confusion. The discussions of treatment and prevention only rarely reflect necessary concern with questions of causation. This failing is compounded by the implication that the question of causation is theoretical, while that of treatment and prevention is technical. Clearly, little is offered here which will improve the dismal plight of theories of etiology and treatment.

As a delinquency text this book falls short in theoretical organization and methodological sophistication and does not present "a fresh attack on the problem of juvenile delinquency." However, in comparison with the other books in the field, it deserves the wide use it will undoubtedly receive.

DONALD L. GARRITY

San Francisco State College

Headhunter's Heritage: Social and Economic Change among the Mundurucú Indians. By ROBERT F. MURPHY. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960. Pp. xii+202. $5.00.

In spite of its somewhat sensational title, this is not a popular book. Nor is it, as the subtitle might suggest, a typical study of acculturation. It is, rather, a noteworthy attempt to examine causal linkages among economic and social factors in time—in short, to combine a functional with a historical approach. There may be some misgivings about the nature of the historical data which Murphy, an anthropologist, is forced to use, but the main lines of his argument are not dependent on their accuracy.

The Mundurucú Indians inhabit the area of the upper Tapajóz River in central Brazil. Their economic history is fairly well known. They became involved in trade soon after their pacification in the late eighteenth century, obtaining trade goods, first in exchange for manioc flour and later in exchange for rubber. The effect of these economic activities on the social structure is the main problem with which this study deals.

Those Mundurucú who still live in traditionally organized villages have a very unusual social structure based on patrilineal descent and matrilocal residence. Using a variety of kinds of evidence, Murphy argues that the Mundurucú were once patrilocal and presents a hypothesis to account for the change to matrilocality. It is, essentially, that the dependence

on manioc flour as the major trade item so enhanced the importance of women, who were the producers, that daughters were kept at home after marriage to form part of a productive unit of related females. There are a number of special features of Mundurucú social structure, especially the weakly corporate nature of the groups of patrilineal descent, which would make this change more feasible than might be the case in other patrilineal societies.

The more recent changes in social structure are clearly related to the gathering of rubber, which is the most disruptive of any of the extractive industries in which Amazonian Indians have taken part. The efficient collection of latex precludes co-operative activity, so that those who become most involved usually move away from the villages to live in small family units near the rubber trees, where their ties with the Brazilian trader become more significant than are their ties with fellow tribesmen. This sequence has happened repeatedly among the Mundurucú, but fragmentation has proceeded much further in some villages than in others. Murphy analyzes in detail the factors making for solidarity and fission, with special emphasis on the strains inherent in a social structure based on patrilineal descent and matrilocal residence. It should be noted, however, that rubber-gathering has had essentially the same effects in a number of tribes with a variety of social systems.

This study represents a real advance over the traditional treatment of acculturation in which all change was attributed to borrowing. It is also a major contribution to the continuing effort to fuse functional and historical analysis.

SETH LEACOCK

University of Chicago

Germany Rejoins the Powers. By KARL W. DEUTSCH and LEWIS J. EDINGER. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1959. Pp. xvi+320. $6.50.

The book is a *must* for students of international political behavior, and, in general, it merits the attention of political sociologists, political scientists, and historians.

The volume is strongest, undoubtedly, in its careful description and documentation, including data on public opinion, of certain aspects of Western Germany's development: policy images in opinion (Part I); institutions and elites (Part II); and system in operation (Part III). It is weakest in its lack of such theoretical concern as would contribute to comparative studies of political behavior, but the book is indeed rich in source material for such endeavor.

The authors tackle, admittedly, a subject that is extremely difficult from both substantive and methodological viewpoints. For they seek to provide a type of portrait of German society and, at the same time, to present the dynamics whereby it has been changing and developing over time. Even if relatively ideal data on all salient variables were available, to organize and report them would be a stupendous job. As it is, the authors must rely, on the whole, on the limited supply of available data, although their collation of information on German postwar elites is just about invaluable (esp. Tables 9.1–9.8, pp. 133–41, and Table 3.1, pp. 270–87).

The exhaustiveness of their study has, no doubt, equipped the authors to specify the data still required for points on which better information would have been desirable (e.g., on views of the goals of foreign policy, on ideological cleavages, on interaction among elite members). Such a statement of precise data requirements—perhaps too much to ask—would have been of strategic value for the continuation of research in a systematic manner.

In discussing the role of political parties, only the Christian Democratic Union and the Social Democratic Party are stressed. Other parties are viewed, quite properly as of the date of writing, as "minor" (pp. 62–75). Yet, here lies one of the more fascinating aspects of contemporary Germany: its gradual drift into a two-party system. A substantive summary of the sources of this trend would, too, have been quite useful.

Again, although the authors point to a sharp difference in the types of individuals chosen for past German cabinets (1890–1945) and postwar cabinets, the reasons which might account for this are not elaborated (pp. 77 ff.).

While the writers recognize that the problem of Germany's unification, always important, is becoming *the* major issue rather rapidly (see, e.g., p. 178), the discussion of this dilemma leaves a lot to be desired. What are some of the specific bargaining positions of the various parties? Of the various elites? Of the popula-

tion? How much would Germany wish to give in order to achieve its crucial objective? With what consequences for the future of Germany's political system? For international politics? Most of these questions are only touched upon —and here additional analysis would have been appropriate.

In Tables 16.1 and 16.2 (pp. 204–12), data on support of specific governmental policies among various component elites are presented: these are materials from the exciting research of Daniel Lerner. The interpretation of these findings on the part of the authors (esp. p. 203) is powerful; unfortunately, it, also, is too brief.

The Deutsch-Edinger study of Germany is well worth the reader's time and effort. Let there be more volumes such as this on the affairs of nations in our turbulent era.

JIRI NEHNEVAJSA

Columbia University

The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950–57. By ERNST B. HAAS. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1958. Pp. xx+552. $8.00.

Consensus Formation in the Council of Europe. By ERNST B. HAAS. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960. Pp. 70. $2.00.

Europe's Coal and Steel Community: An Experiment in Economic Union. By LOUIS LISTER. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1960. Pp. 495. $8.00.

These three books deal with the development of a supranational community in Western Europe, a process to which sociologists have paid little attention. The emergence of regional communities is an area of international relations to which sociological concepts and insights are particularly applicable much more so than to the widespread coercive or instrumental relations among nations. Hence, these volumes deserve special attention.

Haas's *Uniting of Europe* is a major pioneering analysis of supranationalism and a study of one case, the Western European community, 1952–57. The central question is: How much integration has been achieved between nations? What are the accelerating, as against the obstructing, factors? The process of integration began when, in 1952, with the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) as a limited economic arrangement, a supranational institutional framework was set up for administrative purposes. Its success led to a realignment of intranational interests and attitudes in such a way that pressure was generated (1) for a broad interpretation of the original treaty, with the result that the integration of the sectors became more encompassing; (2) for integration in another sector, atomic energy (Euratom); (3) for a broad economic integration (which brought about the foundation of the European Economic Community, popularly known as the Six, in 1958); and (4) for the establishment of supranational political institutions, including labor unions, trade associations, and political parties.

Haas's study points out that the main factor which made possible the initiation of the process was the internal ideological and social fragmentation of each nation. It was when the groups interested in integration were more powerful than were those opposing it—a balance that did not exist only two years later—that the treaty leading to the ECSC was ratified. Once established, the central institutions of the ECSC functioned in such a way as to gratify more interests than they frustrated. Often, they did so by supporting industry, the stronger sector, and by repressing labor, the weaker, or by being "soft" on powerful partners, like France and Germany, or by staying out of problems that might have led to major conflicts of interest (e.g., free migration of Italian labor). Finally, "perhaps the chief finding is that [interest-] group pressure will spill over into the federal sphere and therby add to the integrative impulse." Various industries, labor unions, and political parties realized that they might lose ground unless they organized themselves on the supranational level and, there, lobbied to affect the central decision-making bodies of the regional community. Thus, various alliances have been formed, which cross and, hence, suppress national loyalties.

The conceptual framework for this study, which has been carefully worked out by Haas, includes definitions of political community and political integration close to those used by sociologists. His major contribution lies in his analysis of the differences between intergovernmental and federal integration of nations and in his demonstration that the European case falls in between but develops in the federal

direction. Haas is fully conscious of the distinction between formal agreement and real power structure, and his book can be read as a major work on the interaction of the two. For instance, federal institutions call for decisions by a simple or weighted majority; intergovernmental bodies require unanimous decisions and allow for vetoes. In the ECSC both forms of decision-making exist (differentiated by issues), but few votes are actually taken. Issues are worked out secretly in an endless chain of international and intergroup concessions; the main drive is the underlying consensus to keep the community going.

Haas takes great pains to suggest that only a small role is played by ultimate values and consensus in the process of integration and that a much larger role is played by various constellations of interests and expediency. To the degree that he argues against those who *believe that integration requires full consensus*, he has a strong case. On the other hand, he seems to overestimate how detailed a consensus has to be in order to be effective. The vagueness of ultimate values is surely a prerequisite for their integrative function. Haas himself shows the importance of ultimate values in his analysis of the material: he reports on the significance of Catholic ideas in the unification of Europe, on the role of the Socialist tradition of internationalism and on the anti-Communist ideological struggle. Moreover, internal fragmentation of the six nations, which Haas proves to be central to the process of integration, is itself a conflict not only of interests but of ultimate values as well.

The book is an excellent illustration of how to study large social units. Haas focuses on central decision-making bodies, on the various elites and organizations which affect those bodies, on the major economic interests as well as on the ideological systems of the constituting subunits (nations) and subunits of subunits (e.g., major steel industries in each nation). Whenever possible, he draws on statistical data, his major source being public and private records, the typical material of a contemporary historian. This important volume will be invaluable to students of political sociology and social change and to the ordinary reader who wishes to understand the major political and social developments of our times.

Consensus Formation in the Council of Europe is a brief follow-up study by Haas. While *The Uniting of Europe* examines a major historical process which is leading to successful integration, the later publication examines one organ which, so far, has largely failed. Haas formulates nine hypotheses concerning conditions and processes necessary for the formation of consensus. Eight are rejected on the basis of close statistical analysis of voting in the Council. National parties are the focus of loyalty, not of international organizations, such as supranational parties or subregional alliances. When consensus is achieved, it is extremely vague and reflects domestic orientations rather than international sharing of values. No consistent improvement can be detected during the ten years of this international experiment.

Haas explains the difference between the Six and the Council (which includes the Six): first, the Six excludes, while the Council includes, *countries not interested in federalization of* continental Europe, such as Britain, the Scandinavian countries, Turkey, Greece, and Ireland. Second, unlike the semiparliamentary bodies of the Six, the Council has no specific tasks to which it may address itself; it is chiefly a forum for debate. Third, it has no executive body, like the High Authority of the Six, which could criticize and attempt to control. While Haas's argument on this point is potent and convincing, it should be pointed out that one could make a strong case if the findings were reversed. One would suggest that it is easier to reach consensus on vague ideas than on concrete policies whose execution directly affects interests—policies which involve control over an international executive. Clearly, the study of more cases, following Haas's model, is needed.

Lister's *Europe's Coal and Steel Community* is an economic study of the ECSC. It examines costs, investments, corporate concentrations, restrictive agreements, and price behavior in the six countries under the impact of the treaty. The book does not answer the major questions concerning supranational economic integration, many of which the author himself raises: Does the increased international trade increase efficiency in the industry of each country? Does it bring about a more effective distribution of resources in each country? Among countries? Does it lead to a more rational investment plan? The author spends much time conscientiously exposing the legal clauses of

the treaty and in a careful representation of the basic data, but he spends little time on analysis of trends. The major reason for this seems to be that trends had little chance to develop and even less to be recorded. We learn, though, that free movement of labor and capital has not been attained, nor has anything like harmonization of working conditions and upward leveling of wages been approached. There is, however, no reason to believe that these goals may not partially be obtained in the next years with the expansion of integration from one sector to the whole economy. Thus, the book serves as a report on the base line and suggests, in a highly tentative tone, some initial developments. It was written too early for an evaluation of the first stage of the process.

Lister, in a concluding remark, is much less optimistic than is Haas about the degree to which "Little Europe" is federalizing. This difference in evaluation further increases our interest in this experiment in supranationalism: Is it just a case of extensive intergovernmental co-operation, or is it the beginning of a United States of Europe?

AMITAI ETZIONI
Columbia University

After a Century and a Quarter: Lonikand Then and Now. By G. S. GHURYE. Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1960. Pp. xi+126. Rs. 12.50.

A colonial surgeon named Coates made some observation of a village, Lonikand, near Poona, in 1819. Professor Ghurye in 1954 sent two of his research assistants, Drs. Chapakar and Kulkarni, to the same village. This book compares the state of the village at the two dates. The results are published in this book, which is one of the very few—perhaps the only—thorough reports of a century and more of change in an Indian village.

In a long introduction, "Perspectives," the author reviews some of the etymological and other evidence of village life in India from early time. He then turns to a point-by-point comparison of Coates's findings with his own. The layout of the houses of the village, the land and its cultivation, the families, castes, and households, the religious, economic, and social life of the village, the public institutions and activities—all are described in some detail. In a final chapter the changes are appraised.

It is obvious that the land of the village is much more congested now, but much of the increase has resulted from immigration. Irrigation pumps and a diesel-powered machine to grind grain have eased life somewhat, as has also the bicycle. The iron plow has made better cultivation possible. There is now a school, and arrangements have been made for teaching modern sewing and other arts to girls and women. The teacher acts as an innovator.

Yet, one gathers that the villages do not show any great ability to organize themselves for decisive improvements that they could afford.

Ghurye has given us a model which might well be followed in a study of social change. Of course, there is not always an earlier study to fall back on.

EVERETT C. HUGHES
University of Chicago

The Chinese in the United States of America. By ROSE HUM LEE. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1960. Pp. x+465. $7.25.

It is symptomatic of the complexity of the task Professor Lee has undertaken that the term "Chinese" in the title of the work under review has three different referents, namely, the rural "sojourners" who came from Kwantung Province, the urban "students and intellectuals," mainly from central and northern China, and the "Chinese-Americans," that is, Americans of Chinese ancestry. These three groups, with their sharply divergent orientation and objectives, are portrayed in their interaction within the "Chinese community" as well as in contact with the larger society.

The body of the work consists of an examination ordered under institutional and associational headings, interspersed with historical material. The developing situation may be divided into three phases. The first phase, that of unrestricted immigration is distinguished by the objective of the early immigrants, that is, the accumulation of money to be used to attain higher status *in China*, not the United States, an immediate consequence of which was the development of ethnocentric self-estrangement from the larger society. This was aided by discrimination and also contributed to a stereo-

type of the Chinese which helped, in turn, to intensify the estrangement. The second phase, one of restricted immigration, is marked by the rapid growth of an associational structure and the increase of Chinese-Americans until they became a majority of all the "Chinese" in the United States. The period opened with the Exclusion Act of 1882. The discriminatory legislation and the unbalanced sex ratio which resulted from it are first links in a causal sequence which culminated in, among other things, the immigration "slot racket." The concealment of the slot racket became one of the functions of the associational structure, which, in turn, impeded the acculturation of those members of the "Chinese community" who were oriented toward the larger society. The third phase is the present, since 1945, and the immediate future. The central issue here is the shift in control of the associations from the hands of the China-born to those of the native-born and the possible consequences for assimilation and integration.

Professor Lee has courageously provided a number of correctives of the contemporary picture of the "Chinese in the United States," particularly as presented in the mass media. Most thoroughly documented is the revision of the notion of the traditional, stable, "happy Chinese family." Grounds are also furnished, for example, for questioning the conception of the Chinese in America as an especially law-abiding group.

Several shortcomings must be noted. The report contains some questionable formulations, the presence of which bespeak the need for careful editing. Second, there are a number of doubtful assertions, for example, one linking genetic mutation to miscegenation (p. 55) which—at least to this writer's knowledge—is without support among the geneticists; another is: "Prejudice is the covert manifestation of a preference for or dislike of a given group of people, whereas discrimination is the overt expression of the emotional component, prejudice" (p. 355). Aside from internal contradictions, this double definition is—in this unqualified form—inaccurate. It oversimplifies the complex relationships between the two phenomena and neglects the occurrence of discrimination in the absence of prejudice and the reverse. A third shortcoming is the moral tone of the report. The book is studded with frequent admonitions directed to the sojourners and the Chinese-Americans. These seem to be a waste, since, as the author points out, the book is not likely to be read by "the persons who have the most pressing need to 'see themselves as others see them'" (p. 5). Scholars who will use the report, however, may find in the normative statements conceptual stumbling blocks.

Nonetheless, *The Chinese in the United States* is a welcome and necessary addition to the literature on ethnic groups. This is especially the case with the "Chinese in America" because they—unlike some other numerically small groups—have been conspicuously underreported. Professor Lee's book helps to fill this gap in the literature.

LESTER SINGER

New York City Community College

Working-Class Suburb: A Study of Auto Workers in Suburbia. By BENNETT M. BERGER. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960. Pp. xiii+143. $3.50.

Blue Collar Man: Patterns of Dual Allegiance in Industry. By THEODORE V. PURCELL. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960. Pp. xviii+300. $6.00.

Other than the obvious reference to the working class, these books have little else immediately in common, and no purpose would be served by forcing comparison.

Berger, justifiably dissatisfied with the popular view of suburban society, to which sociologists have also contributed, utilized an excellent opportunity to document his disagreement. He interviewed one hundred production and maintenance workers who relocated in a new San Jose suburb when the Ford Motor Company moved its assembly plant from Richmond, California. *Working-Class Suburb* is a significant demurral to the current myth that has tried to translate the existence of suburbs into a way of life called "suburbia." What Berger describes is in the way of a suburban novelty: a new housing tract populated by working-class residents who have retained their working-class outlook, aspirations, politics, religion, and leisure pursuits. They have not been transformed by a split-level alchemy into suburbanites. This finding, Berger properly concludes brings into question "the right of others to

generalize about 'suburbia' on the basis of empirical studies of selected samples whose 'representativeness' has yet to be demonstrated." It is time, in other words, for sociologists to recognize their heavy bias toward middle-class suburban styles. In no other area of research has the sociologist been so gullible for so long.

Berger's study is significant for another reason: he is willing to speculate on the reasons for that gullibility. Almost hypnotized by the dictum that research is "value-free," we sometimes overlook the uncomfortable fact that researchers have to be motivated, too, and that their motives cannot always be explained by impersonal and scientific ends alone. Berger's argument is that the critics of suburbia have committed a double error: drawing a biased picture of the social terrain and then attacking the image in the "respectable and harmless" terms of a cultural, as opposed to a political or economic, criticism. "The critic identifies himself with culture and taste but . . . he does not expose himself to the retaliations of powerful political and economic interests precisely because his criticism constitutes no direct threat to them." A good deal of the literature on suburbs flays the residents but seldom anyone else. One hopes that Berger's book presages a new trend, long overdue, in the study of suburbs.

Blue Collar Man reports the result of a ten-year study of packinghouse workers in three plants of Swift and Company. Purcell evidently knows these people. He lived with some of them and has interviewed nearly eight hundred employees and the leaders of the three unions to which they belong.

The major purpose of all this effort is to document the "dual allegiance" of the workers, that is, the favorable attitudes that they hold simultaneously toward both the company and their union. His measure depends on materials extracted from the interviews: from what respondents said about the company (their jobs, pay, standards, foremen, and perceptions of the company) and about the union (grievance procedures, strike policies, leadership, and satisfaction with the union). In spite of two strikes, some dissatisfaction with the wage-incentive system, dissatisfaction of Negroes with the inequality of opportunity, and the wish by a majority to keep their children out of the plant, the attitudes were highly favorable toward company and union. Dual allegiance was expressed by 73 per cent of the Chicago, 78 per cent of the Kansas City, and 99 per cent of the East St. Louis workers. Foremen, too, were generally favorable. Most surprising, however, was the finding that union leaders were as favorable toward the company as anyone else, except for the leaders of the CIO local in Kansas City, who had to compete with a company-favored independent union.

Purcell considers the outlook hopeful for a successful conversion of dual allegiance into dual loyalty. Although most readers are likely to know much less about the packinghouse workers than Purcell, they may not be as sanguine. Even Purcell notes the presence of major forces confronting the packinghouse workers: the "mass-production factory system" and the "large impersonal union," or automation and bureaucratization. One can read Purcell's data and still reach an opposite conclusion: that to the packinghouse worker the job will remain only a job, not a "calling," and the union will remain only a requirement, not a militant brotherhood. Loyalty, it would appear, needs better ground from which to develop.

LEONARD REISSMAN

Tulane University

The Corporation in Modern Society. Edited by EDWARD S. MASON. With a Foreword by A. A. BERLE, JR. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959. Pp. xv+335. $6.75.

Professor Mason has performed a useful service to the Fund for the Republic, which commissioned this collection of thirteen essays, and to professionals and laymen interested in the development of the large corporation. A broad survey of the place of corporations and corporate activity in modern society, the book is lucidly written and should be of interest to the student of institutional forms and the organizational analyst as well as to the specialist in business and economics. The contributors include three professors of law, five economists and professors of business administration, two political scientists, one member of parliament (Crossland), one member of the Ford Foundation, and one sociologist (Warner).

The range of topics reflects the contributors' diverse backgrounds. We are treated to a

sophisticated discussion of the limitations on government and private action by the reliance on private investment for developing new nations (Vernon). Two essays set the corporation in a comparative context. Crossland indicates that the problem in Britain today is to increase the discretion of managers of public corporations and, at the same time, their accountability to the public. Gerschenkron notes the pressures toward decentralization inherent in industry in Russia, if managerial incentives are to be encouraged. He further suggests that cycles of centralization and decentralization may be inevitable in maintaining a dictatorship while increasingly gratifying consumers' desires. Turning to the relationship of technological innovation to the corporation, Schmookler documents the increasing proportion of patents applied for by corporations. He sees a major problem in the duplication of effort involved under our present patent laws in developing technology. Ironically, he points to the fact that the Russians can purchase a description of a patent for twenty-five cents and apply it while American firms must wait almost two decades to gain free access to it.

On a sociological note, Norton Long analyzes the declining dominance of the branch plant associated with the rise of national management. On the one hand, a mark of achievement for the rising executive is his successful participation in non-controversial community affairs; on the other hand, the lack of long-range participation in the community effectively cuts the corporation off from political dominance. Other essays concern the interrelation of management and labor (Chamberlain), a much too brief essay by Warner summarizing his work, with Abegglen, on recruitment to executive positions, and a conception of the corporation as a political system (Latham).

However, the core of the book is the five chapters discussing the propositions first put forward by Berle and Means about the increasing concentration of wealth in the largest corporations, the increasing separation of ownership from management, and various propositions about the legitimacy, accountability, and responsibility of management. Both the major strengths and the weakness of the volume are to be found in these five chapters. At least four —those by Brewster, Chayes, Rostow, and Kaysen—make the explicit or implicit assumption that contemporary managers are not sufficiently accountable; that they have become largely self-perpetuating and therefore potentially irresponsible, denying profit maximization, retaining profits for internal use, and investing from internal funds for purposes which are not economically justifiable. (I am overstating their assumptions.) Although these essays are interesting in themselves and they cover a variety of topics, they could hardly have been written in the form in which they were published if the editor had made it possible for the authors to read each other's contributions, and especially that by John Lintner on "The Financing of Corporations."

Working with somewhat more adequate data, Lintner has attempted to test the famous propositions of Berle and Means (*The Modern Corporation and Private Property* [1932]). Is there any evidence that wealth is more concentrated in the larger corporations today than it was fifty years ago? Is there any evidence that the proportion of investment from internal sources is greater today than previously? Is there any evidence that the dividend policies of corporations have substantially changed since managers took over control? Lintner's answer to these questions, on the basis of work in progress and some already published, is, in general, "No." In other words, the fateful economic consequences of the managerial revolution do not seem to have occurred. Internally managers are probably no more arbitrary than owners; it may be, less so. Of course, to show that the expected consequences of the separation of management and ownership have not occurred does not mean that institutional rules may not be changed so as to avoid the *possibility* of their occurring. However, it may be that in professional management subtle controls have been developed which negate the need for more direct control of managers. For example, as several of the authors comment, the professional manager is more conscious of public relations than is the owner-entrepreneur, and this may lead to constraints on managerial irresponsibility. In any event, this volume deals with almost all the major questions raised about the modern corporation, and in raising them in a lucid form it may even provoke some research.

MAYER N. ZALD

University of Chicago

The Scientist in American Industry. By SIMON MARCSON. ("Research Report Series," No

99.) Princeton, N.J.: Industrial Relations Section, Princeton University, 1960. Pp. ix +158. $3.00 (paper).

Social research on the research organization is now gaining momentum. Given the increasing bite research expenditures are taking from budgets in private industry and the concomitant increase in professional and technical employees, the organization of research has become a paramount concern of both students of organizational behavior and administrators. Recently, a number of social scientists have turned their sights toward these new behemoths of professionals in order to understand how they adapt to and shape the bureaucratic ethos.

Simon Marcson, a research associate at Princeton's Industrial Relations Section, has fashioned the first of three comparative studies in this general area. The other two will focus on university and government research organizations. By studying a large industrial laboratory within a corporate structure through a series of depth interviews, the author attempts to illuminate certain questions surrounding the scientists' role and the sources and management of tensions generated by grafting onto the Weberian conception of bureaucracy a conglomerate of freethinking scientists. In short, Marcson is concerned with the conflict between the value system of science and the institutional imperatives of the profit-making enterprise.

Somehow this volume does not quite measure up to the allure of the problem. The reader is never sure about the sources of data the author is using to make his points. The data are not presented in a clear and unambiguous way, and it is difficult to divine whether Marcson is using the voices of the subjects or other research or his own deductions made from what the institution of science ought to be.

Equally disappointing is the lack of a clean conceptual framework. In a very interesting chapter, for example, on two opposing authority systems (the university's "company of equals" and industry's role-incumbency hierarchy), Marcson digs into an especially pithy problem; yet the treatment of it goes no further than identifying the problem—the conceptual bite is soft and loose and does not take the reader too far from the obvious. In fact, his discussion of the question of authority tends to obfuscate rather than clarify.

Possibly the two prospective studies in this Industrial Relations Section series will sharpen, clarify, and refine the rich ore Marcson has struck.

WARREN G. BENNIS

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Changing Patterns of Industrial Conflict. By ARTHUR M. ROSS and PAUL T. HARTMAN. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1960. Pp. x+220. $6.50.

There is talk that the strike is withering away as a weapon of industrial conflict. Where has it, in fact, done so, where has it not, and in each case why? These are the problems studied in this recent production of the Institute of Industrial Relations at the University of California (Berkeley). Arthur M. Ross and Paul T. Hartman studied the statistics of unionism and strikes of some fifteen countries with free-labor movements, put flesh on the statistical bones with studies of the labor history of each, and now present in this book a tentative theory.

They isolated four patterns from the strike statistics without benefit of formal "tests of significance" between the differences they find. In the most extreme pattern, strikes have declined as measured by both average duration and proportion of workers involved. This they call the "North European pattern" in its first variant (Denmark, Germany, Netherlands, United Kingdom). In its second variant, the proportion of workers involved has declined more than has the duration of strikes; this holds in Norway and Sweden. There is a third pattern, the "Mediterranean-Asian," in which the duration of strikes has declined more than has the proportion of workers involved; it is found in France, Italy, Japan, and (with qualifications) India. The fourth, or "North American pattern" of the United States and Canada, displays relatively little decline in strike activity by either basis of measurement. Australia, South Africa, and Finland differ from others with similar general cultures. Ross and Hartman also suggest the possibility of a fifth, or "underdeveloped-country pattern," of declining strikes, with Israel and Egypt as examples, not studied in detail.

In chapter vi, Ross and Hartman isolate five factors which seem to explain their results. These are: (1) the organizational stability of

the labor movement, as measured by the stability of its membership rather than by its age; (2) the strength or weakness of leadership conflicts in the labor movement, with special reference to the presence or absence of rival federations and to the strength or weakness of Communist elements; (3) the nature of union-management relations, meaning the degree of acceptance of organization by employers and the development of standardized bargaining processes; (4) the presence or absence of a strong labor party, with some role in the government; and finally (5) the degree to which the state enters labor relations directly by setting minimum standards for wages and working conditions or by procedures for aiding the settlement of industrial disputes. The writers explain the decline of the strike in a particular country by increased stability of the country's labor movement, weakness of leadership conflicts within the movement, stabilized union-management relations, strong labor parties to remedy workers' grievances, and extensive state intervention in labor relations. Thus, the reason Norway and Denmark have not followed the general North European pattern is clearly the strong Communist minorities in their labor movements. On this basis it is also clear why Ross and Hartman do not anticipate that American labor relations will follow North Europe's simply from increased "maturity" of the American labor movement. It is less clear what factors determine whether strikes decline primarily in length or in numbers involved.

Most readers assume the rise of industrial peace to be a good thing, if not at any price then on any terms which do not cripple the labor movement. Ross and Hartman agree, but they mention briefly the possibility of the strike's being replaced in part by an unholy alliance of Big Business and Big Labor against the rest of the community. In the tradition of American labor economics, they do not explore this delicate topic further.

This is, nevertheless, one of the most impressive publications of any Institute of Labor Relations in America, and its style of writing enhances its appeal. Both authors are economists, but their work sets up no disciplinary barriers and requires for appreciation more sociology, politics, and history than theoretical economics.

Martin Bronfenbrenner

University of Minnesota

Metropolis 1985: An Interpretation of the Findings of the New York Metropolitan Region Study. ("New York Metropolitan Region Study," Vol. IX.) By Raymond Vernon. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960. Pp. xiii+252. $5.00.

In 1956 the Regional Plan Association of New York asked the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration to undertake a three-year study of the New York metropolitan region. The findings have been published in a series of eight monographs. The volume under review is an interpretive summary of these volumes and an attempt to project the key economic and demographic features of the region to 1985.

The author, who was the director of the study, begins with a very brief overview of the region's present economic structure. This is followed by an account of New York's economic history. The region's early economic growth was based on a lead in foreign trade, followed in turn by domestic commerce, manufacturing activities, and, finally, a proliferation of financial, office, and specialized business services which have made New York the financial and business capital of the nation. Having attained its peak growth during the years 1900–1929 New York's economic structure today represents a peculiar mixture of fast-growing economic activities, increasingly counterbalanced by competitive weaknesses, particularly high costs of labor and of transportation. The region's strength now lies in the availability of highly specialized facilities that can be shared by many enterprises dependent upon speed flexibility, and face-to-face contacts.

With great skill Vernon analyzes the interrelation between the region's industries and the people who live and work there, tracing the continuous redistribution of jobs and population within the twenty-two counties of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut that comprise it. Special attention is paid to the problems of transportation and commuting, and to the difficulties presented by the fractioning of local government into no less than fourteen hundred separate entities. The book ends with an attempt to portray the people and the jobs of the New York metropolitan region for 1965, 1975, and 1985 and with the prediction that the favorable economic mixture will gradually be overcome by the slipping competitive position, resulting in a relative decline of the

region in relation to the nation as a whole. Within the region, centrifugal forces will continue to operate, producing the familiar picture of declining central cities and growing rings. If anything, the projections appear conservative. As the preliminary results of the 1960 census indicate, the dynamic forces pinpointed by Vernon and his collaborators seem to operate rather more rapidly than they anticipated.

Well-written and based upon a wealth of research material, the book deserves to be read by all sociologists. Those with a special interest in problems of metropolitan development will need to refer also to the more detailed monographs upon which it is based.

KURT B. MAYER

Brown University

Governance of Colleges and Universities. By JOHN J. CORSON. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1960. Pp. viii+209. $5.50.

Robert M. Hutchins once remarked that, insofar as the administration of universities is concerned, faculties have traditionally manifested a preference for anarchy over any form of government. Since the times when colleges and universities were bands of scholars who governed themselves, however, a good many others have got into the act. The process of academic decision-making, as a consequence, has become so involved that it is not always easy to ascertain just who is responsible for what.

The intricacies of this whole process are thoughtfully examined in John J. Corson's book, *Governance of Colleges and Universities.* The author is both a "several-time educator," as he calls himself, and one of the nation's best-known management consultants. (Both perspectives, incidentally, are evidenced in his presentation.) The volume is ninth in the Carnegie Series in American Education, a series being issued "to provide facts and recommendations which would be useful to all those who make or influence the decisions which shape American educational policies and institutions."

In brief, this book tells who the decision-makers of higher education are and how they arrive at the basic policies and procedures which determine action. Corson looks first at the broad problems of governance inherent in the college or university as an administrative enterprise and appraises the roles of trustees, presidents, departmental chairmen, and faculties. In a section entitled "The Ecology of Governance," the influence exerted by outside groups such as alumni, governmental agencies, professional associations, accrediting organizations, donors, foundations, and others is analyzed.

Although Corson's analysis is based principally upon what has already been written about colleges and universities, it also stems from some firsthand observations in ten institutions and from "conversations and correspondence" with a wide variety of individuals who are directly involved in one way or another with the governance of academic institutions. Written with a full appreciation of the fact that the administration of higher education is and should continue to be different from that of government, business, and industry, this book is unusual for its balance and lack of bias. The findings are not arranged to make a predetermined case for any special mode. Moreover, there is no defense of cumbersome practices which are no longer adequate to meet the increasingly complicated functions of higher education. The descriptive and analytical materials, correspondingly, make this a very useful volume.

For the sociologist who is interested in the institutitonal processes of higher education, the book is full of leads to further inquiry in an area where emotion and rhetoric rather than the interrelations of structure and function have too long been guides to action.

LOGAN WILSON

University of Texas

Identity and Anxiety. Edited by MAURICE STEIN, ARTHUR J. VIDICH, and DAVID MANNING WHITE. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. Pp. 658. $7.50.

Most of the essays in this volume were chosen to illustrate "the pitfalls awaiting the persons who would develop a personal style in mass society." With the solemnity of the physician palpating a diseased organ, the editors hold our society up for diagnosis by sociologists, political scientists, anthropologists, psychoanalysts, philosophers, and writers. The conclusions are depressing: "Political and social upheavals of our time . . . represent such pervasive and overwhelming threats to stable identity that . . . it almost appears as if the anxiety they arouse can only be managed by defensive apathy."

Some representative themes are: commercial pressures make it difficult to implement traditional values (Griff); neurotic unconscious impulses have profound effect upon the choice of career and may even wreck a career after it has begun (Kubie); traditional orientations such as liberalism and socialism are not pertinent to modern political and social problems (Mills); the institutional pressures of the teaching profession tend to produce desiccated and inflexible personalities (Waller); philosophers are eschewing traditional problems in favor of inquiries into contentless technique (Earle); it is difficult to synthesize an identity in the face of the deteriorating values and the diminishing emotional support offered by the home (Moore) and the church (Wakefield). The editors have also included essays on the "dissolution of identities" that results from extreme coercion. The topics include the behavior of people in organizations like mental hospitals, prisons, and concentration camps (Goffman); the effect on prisoners of the reform of thought practiced by Chinese Communists (Lifton); the imprinting of unwelcome ideas and the creation of apathy by direct and indirect methods of brainwashing and "menticide" (Meerloo).

What may result if one stumbles into any of the numerous pitfalls, as most are apparently destined to do? Again we are provided with a long list of difficulties, most of which amount to confusions about values and self: the pervasiveness of anxiety (May); the origins of anxiety in the lack of freedom for self-realization (Fromm-Reichmann); the indefinable fears caused by the fact that "nobody really believes in what he still takes for granted" (Riezler); the atomization of the outer world in a complex society with resultant increase in inner disorientation (M. Mead); the development of diffuse and negative identities (Erikson); persecutory anxiety, which sometimes produces ego-surrender in the mass through affective identification with a leader (Neumann).

The editors, reaching no "shortcut solutions," offer in a final section essays by or about men who "have access to vital qualities emerging in world history and . . . are able to incorporate these qualities into their intellectual efforts." The section includes creative essays in various fields: poetry as a civilizing force (Bowra) and as an expression of the desire to transform and renew (Howe); values and emotions in the poetry of primitive people (Radin); individuality (Cohen); the fruits of mysticism (Fingarette); our position in history (Dardel Jaspers); an existential reinterpretation of some traditional values (Buber).

The creativity that one is led to expect from the array of scintillating names—Martin Buber, Howard Becker, C. Wright Mills, George Orwell, I. A. Richards, among others—is manifested in a high proportion of the essays. The editors have shown considerable acumen in choosing provocative and relatively short selections, most of which have not been reprinted elsewhere. It is the interpretation and organization of the reprinted material to which many a reader will take exception. There is an implicit promise of an organized theory in the editor's description of identity and anxiety, which are described as "central perspectives" which "allow us to undercut conventional interpretations of many important social issues." The editors do not make it clear how the undercutting is to be done. Certain kindred issues are evident in some of the essays, but the alien orientations of the different writers preclude conceptual unity. The editors maintain that the divergent intellectual styles "illuminate" the same issues and that these will become evident to the reader who assumes the "generalist" identity and reads the essays with his "sixth" and "seventh" senses. Oft reiterated terms, like "mass society," "reality," "identity," and "anxiety," apparently provide keys to common themes, but they are nowhere defined by the editors.

By grouping the papers under such lurid titles as "The Terror and Therapy of Work" and "The Encircled Mind," the editors have distorted the meanings of some of the essays. While these can be used to illustrate the difficulties of establishing an identity in mass society, they are not necessarily related to this topic and seem to have been written with other goals in mind. Among them are Fromm-Reichmann's clinical analysis of anxiety, Swado's discussion of the unskilled worker's lack of gratifications, Orwell's scintillating essay on politics and the English language, and Gorer's ideas about man's resistance to thinking about death.

In the introductory chapter the editors claim an intellectual kinship with such writers as William H. Whyte, David Riesman, and Erich Fromm. In a reprinted essay, Harold Rosenberg identifies the works of these writers as part of an old literary tradition concerned with

the destructive automata created by society. Instead of Shelley's Frankenstein, Poe's mechanical man, or Melville's confidence man, the current inheritors of the tradition worry about other-directed and organization men, their loss of identity, their escape from freedom. The latter writers, Rosenberg thinks, are part of a self-conscious intellectual caste, successful in their quest for powerful positions in large bureaucratic organizations, but alarmed because they have become automata dominated by their roles in "the dehumanized collective." Consequently, they often suffer from profound depression, "a force [which precludes] a . . . radical and realistic understanding of American life." The fear that we will all suffer the anxiety and confused identity of the "Orgman" is "not a conclusion based on social analysis but a projection of the fate [these writers] have chosen."

DANIEL R. MILLER
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FIRO: A Three-dimensional Theory of Interpersonal Behavior. By WILLIAM C. SCHUTZ. New York: Rinehart & Co., 1958. Pp. ix+267. $6.50.

"The book is organized around a formal theory. The range of phenomena to which this theory is applicable may be called interpersonal behavior. . . . There are three interpersonal need areas, inclusion, control, and affection, sufficient for the prediction of interpersonal behavior." Any work which proposes a *formal* theory intended to be necessary and sufficient as a *basic* theory for the entire range of interpersonal behavior cannot fail to be of great interest, if not a great shock, to sociologists.

FIRO (meaning "Fundamental Interpersonal Relations Orientation") is one of the recent theoretical works to come out of small-group work (and as such can be very fruitfully compared with other theoretical works depending primarily on small-group data for inspiration and support, such as Thibaut and Kelley's *The Social Psychology of Groups*). It differs from most of the other theories in that it makes an attempt at "coming-out." Its paucity of references to other data might be laid to a certain shyness inevitable in any theoretical coming-out, but it is nonetheless striking.

Schutz has tried to show that the three primates—inclusion, control, and affection—which are measured by the FIRO questionnaire, assume dominance in a sequential phase-shift of group, as well as individual and cultural, development and dissolution. First the problem of inclusion dominates interpersonal behavior; then control dominates; then affection. The similarity of this phase-shift model to Parsons and Bales's phase-shift model in the *Working Papers* is striking, but somehow the *Working Papers* escape reference. During the dissolution of a group the order of dominance (of ultimate concern) is reversed: from affection to control to inclusion—which is a something-more-than-Parsons-and-Bales. Group compatibility, treated largely as a function of complementarity of desired and expressed role behavior, is considered at length, but primarily relative to group productivity. Finally, the subtheories are collected into a proposed formal general theory, which is not totally synthesized into a *system* of equations.

FIRO seems to be a theory built around and for instrumental task groups; its relevance for the entire range of interpersonal behavior is more an assertion than a description of what the work attempts. Quite possibly this chasm between aspiration and serious attempt is due primarily to a failure to grasp fully the fundamental question underlying every theory in process of being constructed: precisely what are the important questions to ask nature about this universe of phenomena? One of the consequences of the failure adequately to face this question is the lack of any variable representing communication (how are inclusion, control, and affection to get around without communication?) or learning (and thus no "values") unless in some way one can get "learning" out of "control."

The major potential contribution of *FIRO* to sociology is its consideration of affection as a basic variable of interaction—a variable generally completely left out of sociology, though Homans gave it far more adequate treatment—and its development of a formal theory of interaction that demonstrably generates specific, quantitative hypotheses to be tested by measuring devices developed as an integral part of the theory. The formal theory of *FIRO* seems largely an attempted synthesis of interpersonal behavior under a basic theory of three interrelated quantitative variables—

an undertaking strikingly Newtonian in its grandiose aspirations, if not in its achievements.

Schutz's failure to consider such closely related and frequently competing theories as Homans' interaction-friendliness theory, Heider's structural-balance theory, Newcomb's A-B-X model, etc., is disturbing. But the terrible audacity of the work is captivating and its empirical theorizing most exemplary for sociology.

JACK D. DOUGLAS
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Successful American Families. By CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN and LUCIUS F. CERVANTES, New York: Pageant Press, 1960. Pp. 226. $5.00.

In his early works Zimmerman expressed grave fears that the atomistic American family would lose its moral solidarity. His fears were not realized, and this book attempts to explain why.

The main argument is essentially a theory of differential association. Using data from brief questionnaires filled out by 9,253 high-school seniors about their parents' intimate friends, the authors find that successful families (defined as those without divorce, separation, or police records, having a child in the senior year of high school) are more likely to associate with other successful families. Further, the more intimate the friendship and the more similar the friends in terms of income, religion, region of origin, and common kinship, the more striking is the success. In the newer western cities in their samples, where rates of divorce and social problems are higher, the successful families are even more discriminating in selecting non-divorced friends who have no criminal records.

Although the authors' moralizing and lack of methodological sophistication will not provoke rapturous enthusiasm in the sociological reader, the evidence seems sufficient to establish their main thesis and to indicate that, even in this society with a relatively isolated nuclear family, the community plays an important role in mediating the societal system of values for a family.

Unfortunately, the authors do not really go beyond establishing this simple relationship. In particular, two crucial problems could have been easily answered by a careful analysis of the data and by the use of control groups. One question is whether what they are describing is essentially a pattern of middle-class people choosing others of the middle class, or whether there is the phenomenon of clear polarization within class groups between those who abide by certain moral values and those who do not. It would also be important to determine whether unsuccessful families also chose successful families as friends or whether there really was a subgroup differentiation along moral lines. With these questions answered, it would be possible to support the authors' conclusion that, even in a society where all families may increasingly be sharing the common mass culture, there may be significant social differentiation on a moral basis.

If this social differentiation, or, as the authors say, "polarization," has actually taken place and is independent of social class, important new lines of research possibilities suggest themselves.

EZRA F. VOGEL
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Epidemiology and Mental Illness. By RICHARD J. PLUNKETT and JOHN E. GORDON. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1960. Pp. xvii+126. $2.75.

How do the authors connect epidemiology and mental illness? "The epidemiologist, by coordinating the endeavors of all sciences that are qualified to shed light on the problem, is in a position to organize a new, ecologically oriented approach to the etiology of mental illness" (p. 32). The statement sounds like arrogation, but one may accept it as true by definition. There could be a unified science of all diseases in human populations, for which "epidemiology" would be a reasonable name; and, historically, epidemiology has been growing to fill the bill. It now has, in addition to a store of knowledge and method, a body of general theory and some special theories.

The social scientist, so called, when he joins in research on a disease, usually does not get very familiar with the epidemiologist's storehouse. As a chronic pioneer, he is likely to assume that he should think things out for himself. He thereafter finds two separate but easily confounded bars to communication: the lan

guage and ideas of social science and of his own pidgin epidemiology.

There is much more of value in the epidemiologist's epidemiology than what the newcomer can conveniently reinvent. There is also much biologism and misplaced concreteness in it for him to dispute. It is a waste for a scientist to study a thing without making effective contact with the instituted science of it.

The present volume was instigated by the Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health as the sixth in their series of monographs. The authors discuss epidemiology in its principles and in its relation to mental illness. They underscore the problem of classification as a crucial stumbling block in the search for causes, postulating that they can be embraced in the frame of reference that has worked for somatic diseases. They offer an extended summary and critique of eleven community surveys of mental illness in the United States since 1916.

The authors conclude that the point-survey "fishing expedition" has had a usefulness, but one whose limit has been reached. They recommend for future work the testing of definite hypotheses in long-term controlled field studies.

It is painful to read such advice for those who believe that the point survey, far from being through, has hardly begun fishing.

IRVING SILVERMAN

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Management in Britain: A General Characterisation. By I. C. MCGIVERING, D. G. J. MATTHEWS, and W. H. SCOTT. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1960. Pp. ix+157. 25*s*.

This little book both teases and informs as the authors cautiously grapple with problems too large for the space in which they can maneuver. Their intended audience is not clear but presumably embraces most social scientists.

Chapter i, on the "pre-1939 and post-1945" industrial structure, is largely economic. Sensitive about government controls and British performance relative to other advanced industrial countries, the writers present data on unemployment, trends in distribution of the labor force and in value of net production, size of firms, concentration of employment by industry, changes in forty years in volume of output for different industries as well as per employee, the value of exports, and so on.

Sociologists will find more for themselves in the second chapter. Here the authors discuss managerial characteristics and organization and reveal their preference for bureaucratic structure as they hurry over such topics as trade associations, ownership and control, and management structure and managers. There are echoes of American problems: systems that operate purely for private profit, the training and criteria for appointment and assessment of performance, directors who are also shareholders, the correlation—if any—of diffused holdings with diffused power, the social origins of directors, the entry and expansion of staff forces, and the debate about theories of leadership. Nods are also given to the factors of tradition, nepotism, social class. Relevant to our own studies, especially Lloyd Warner's, the researchers speculate that opportunity for movement from the bottom to the top is decreasing and that marrying the boss's daughter may be important in the climb.

On industrial relations they argue that industry-wide collective bargaining is creating "neo-paternalism" at the level of the local plant. This condition allegedly robs the union of its potential development and its function—debated in America—of promoting managerial efficiency. Students should dig further to be sure that the British "paternalism" is not the silent autonomy of both local union and management that often exists in America as part of the response to formal centralization.

The body of the book merits a fuller running analysis than it received. Bolder in their conclusions, the authors hopefully assess what is professional in management, seek to justify recruitment of managers from the outside, and recognize the work of sociologists and social psychologists, but innocently think their managers are "less constitutional" than American executives in dealing with subordinates and unions.

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TARDE'S *PSYCHOLOGIE ÉCONOMIQUE*: AN UNKNOWN CLASSIC BY A FORGOTTEN SOCIOLOGIST

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ABSTRACT

In his published lectures on economic psychology Gabriel Tarde defined society as a "web of interspiritual actions, of mental states working upon each other." He then applied this idea to economic behavior, but more especially to study of leisure; for it is by wider distribution of leisure among levels of the population that the arts of consumption are made to flourish. This work of Tarde's, which has been completely ignored by social scientists, should be read and discussed, as should other sociological classics, not for specific hypotheses but as a source of ideas to be used in setting and studying problems.

Gabriel Tarde, he of *Opinion and the Crowd* and *The Laws of Imitation*, delivered a course of lectures on economic psychology at the Collège de France in the session of 1900–1901. He published them in two volumes in 1902.[1] A copy of them, owned by Robert E. Park, stood on a shelf in my study, noticed but unread, from shortly after Park died in 1944 until perhaps 1953 or 1954. I then, being interested in certain problems of industry and human work, took them down and read parts of them. I found that, although Tarde was ahead of his time in defining the problems of industrial work and fatigue, he was even more so on those latest concerns of sociologists, consumption and the use of leisure. I read a good deal of the book, but not all. Nor, I believe, did Park, although he was a prodigious reader of sociology, anthropology, philosophy, history, novels, poetry, newspapers, and comic strips. For his characteristic underlining of crucial passages is found only in the long first chapter, entitled "Considérations générales et lois sociales" ("General Considerations and Social Laws"). Since Park's marginal notes are in German, I assume that he got the book when he was studying in Germany, that is, about the time when it was published. Park studied in Germany from 1899 until he got his degree at Heidelberg in 1904. In his thesis, *Masse und Publikum* ("The Crowd and the Public"), he quite naturally refers repeatedly to Tarde's works on crowds, the public, and imitation.[2] He refers once (p. 39) to Tarde's critique of the psychological concepts and assumptions of the older economics and his

[1] *Psychologie économique* (2 vols.; Paris: Felix Alcan, 1902). The preliminary section contains a chapter on the general nature of society, one on "Value and the Social Sciences," which discusses the place of political economy among the social sciences, and one on the history of economics in relation to psychology. Book I contains chapters on desire, belief, needs, work, money and capital. Book II, entitled "Economic Opposition," has chapters on price, struggle, crises and rhythms. Book III, entitled "Economic Adaptation," deals with the economic imagination, property, exchange, association, and population.

[2] Robert E. Park, *Masse und Publikum* (Bern: Buchdruckerei Lack & Grunau, 1904); Scipio

attempt to draw economics into the domain of social psychology in a book entitled *Psychologie économique*. So far as I know, Park never again referred to this work in print; nor did I ever, in twenty years of association, hear him mention it. None of the forty references to Tarde in the *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*[8] concerns the *Economic Psychology*. Park shared Tarde's interest in collective behavior and, at times, wrote with admiration of his insights. He sometimes criticized his overworking of the concept of imitation. But he never spoke of him as his master. As for the *Economic Psychology*, Park appears to have forgotten it completely, as many doctoral candidates forget items in the bibliographies of their dissertations. During the time of my acquaintance with him Park referred to Simmel and the American pragmatists, Dewey, Royce, and James, as his special mentors and to W. I. Thomas as a close friend and colleague from whom he had learned much.

This bit of intellectual biography raises an interesting question concerning the use of other people's work, and especially the works of our intellectual forebears, by sociologists. How do we choose, each of us, our sociological ancestors, and what use do we make of them? For our intellectual ancestors are numerous, and are more so unless limited by inbreeding, as are our biological ones, the further back we go. Most of us studied with one, two, or a few men; one of them is very likely to have adopted us as a sort of son and to have got in return something of a son's ambivalent combination of sentiments toward a successful father—love, pride, jealousy, resentment, loyalty, discipleship. But that man had ancestors, too. And, as one goes further back in his ancestry, choice from among them becomes more and more a symbolic act. The chosen ancestor himself becomes more and more a symbol of something we are or want to be, of some stream or system of thought with which we want our work identified. The others, not so chosen, are generally not even known to us; the more likely so because, as in human genealogies, names become numerous and are sometimes changed. An idea does not always keep the same name—especially in sociology.

But, in order to choose an ancestor to fit our case, we must simplify him. He must be reduced to a stereotype. It does not require great stretching of the facts to say that the history of sociology, as generally presented in encyclopedias and textbooks.

Sighele Tarde (*The Psychology of Sects*), J. Mark Baldwin (*Social and Ethical Interpretations*), and G. LeBon (*Psychology of Crowds*) are among the more frequently cited authors in *Masse und Publikum*. In the *curriculum vitae* at the end of the book Park acknowledges his debt to his teachers, Windelband, Munsterberg, John Dewey, Josiah Royce, and William James. He mentions the fact that he heard Simmel lecture for a semester in Berlin in 1899–1900 and refers to some of his work. There is nothing to suggest the very great influence of Simmel upon Park's work. One must remember that only parts of Simmel's *Soziologie* had then been published.

[8] Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922).

In the "Index of Names" in the *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* Tarde is referred to forty times, but no selection of his writing is used in the text. Simmel is mentioned forty-three times, and nine passages from his writings are used. Park and Burgess were very catholic in their references; they paid little attention to disciplinary boundaries and characteristically referred directly to the works of a man rather than to secondary sources. Here are the people most frequently referred to:

Thirty times or more: Darwin, Simmel, Tarde, Spencer

Twenty to twenty-nine times: Comte, Cooley, Durkheim, LeBon, Small, Sumner, W. I. Thomas

Ten to nineteen times: Aristotle, J. Mark Baldwin, Bechterew, Bryce, Dewey, Havelock Ellis, Freud, Gumplowicz, Hobbes, Hobhouse, William James, William McDougall, Sighele, Adam Smith, Thorndike, Westermarck, Znaniecki

Park's major studies had been in philosophy, geography, economic and social psychology. These interests are reflected in his use of sources. One must also remember that in 1922 professional sociologists were not as numerous as now; one was thus saved the temptation of quoting none but members of the guild. But he need not have gone so far as to refer to George Meredith, W. H. Hudson, and Émile Zola.

the classes and seminars which go by name of "*the* theory course" or "*the* ory course" (phrases which emphasize trange divorcement of history and the- from our daily concern with empirical ly), consist in the main of stereotyped tches of a few arbitrarily chosen men their work. If this statement contains riticism, it does not imply that the op- ite circumstance would be better. There nothing so tiresome and fruitless as the npulsively exhaustive search for precur- s and nagging criticism of men of crea- mind who fail to footnote every pos- e source of their ideas. The latter fault, vever, is not the common one among erican sociologists. We tend rather to tchy and stereotyped knowledge of so- ogists of previous generations. We use t knowledge mainly to test graduate dents; they learn the lesson well and it, as they do their often farcical nowledge" of a foreign language, only examination purposes, or perhaps occa- ally to win a point at one-upmanship I may be accused of doing now). The tter of language is related to our knowl- e of past work, for much of it is in other guages, and we Americans, the world's guistically most crippled of all people claim to be scholars, are completely endent upon the accidents of transla- for whatever is written in other lan- ges. Our publishing economy has not n inclined to publish foreign works er quickly or in full; and, even if it e a bit more profitable to publish trans- ons, it is not likely that we will have in future that supply of immigrants and igees upon which we have largely relied he past to do the hack work of trans- ng.

However these things may be, it is the for a man to be known by some one cept, by some part of a theory, which got attention and has become the sign ed up when a student of sociology is d to write a word suggested by the ne Simmel, Weber, Durkheim, Spencer, Comte. In such a test the student presented with the word "Tarde" would write "imitation."

He would, of course, be right. For Tarde not only wrote a book called *Les lois de l'imitation*, but he very much overworked the concept. It is, however, much less important in his way of thinking than are the concept "inter-psychologie" and its mate "inter-spirituel." On the first page of his *Psychologie économique* he defines society "as a web of interspiritual actions, of mental states acting upon each other. . . . Each interspiritual action," for its part, "consists in the relation of two living beings . . . one of which impresses the other, one speaks to the other who listens, one of whom, in a word, modifies the other mentally with or without reciprocity." Tarde's chief contention is that society is the result of mind working upon mind. Perhaps no sociologist, except perhaps Simmel (and Park, who adapted Simmel's work into his own), puts so much emphasis on the process and so little on the substantive results of social interaction. Indeed, what appears to be Tarde's last work is a utopian fantasy entitled *Fragment d'histoire future* in which, after a series of natural catastrophes destroys the earth as we know it but lets men live, there develops a society from which the distinctions of language, religion, region, and race and those of city and country are all gone, as are wealth and political power and the distinctions based upon them.[4] Man, being able to produce all the goods he can possibly want with no great effort and at the cost of but a fraction of his hours, and being freed of all social barriers, develops a purely interspiritual life, a life whose only disease is an intensity which sometimes causes people to destroy themselves. In this utopian world, the barriers to *conversation* being all gone, any idea becomes diffused quickly, its contagious power being gone only when it collides with another idea of greater truth and beauty. In the *Psychologie économique* itself there

[4] *Fragment d'histoire future* (Paris: A. Storck & Masson, 1904).

is a passage of almost equal fantasy in which Tarde speculates on the social effect of the world being spherical, rather than flat:

If the earth were a plane surface . . . and not a sphere, the problems raised by the tendency to imitation, in every realm in indefinite progression would pose themselves in quite different ways and would bring other solutions. There would be peripheral states whose imitative radiation, whether in respect of political institutions, economic needs, products, mores, arts, etc., would press only in one direction, not in all, because of the limits of the earth, the impenetrable columns of Hercules, while the state at the center would enjoy the privilege of being able to radiate imitatively in all directions. . . . The central region of the earth would then be that which inevitably would serve as model in the long run to all the others and would be able to make its social forms spread gradually to all the world. But, the world being spherical, no natural advantage of this kind belongs to any state, since no point on a sphere can be considered central in relation to the other. There are other natural advantages, that, for example, of being in a more temperate zone, but this is shared by a number of states; they form a long broad band, not a point. . . . In sum, a flat earth would lead to increasing inequality among states and men; a round earth leads to increasing equality.[5]

There is plenty of evidence that Tarde was aware of the realities of political geography. These passages, and many others in his work, are important—as theoretical fantasy often is—because they bring a system of thought into clear relief. Tarde is preoccupied with the problems of the interaction of minds. The theoretically pure society would be that in which the conversation of minds would be uninhibited by all the barriers which now prevent the free movement of ideas from one mind to another:

Given a group of minds in mental contact, if one of them conceives an idea, a new action, or one which appears new, and if this idea or action shows an appearance of truth or of superior utility, it will communicate itself to three, four, ten persons around; and each of them, in turn, will spread it around him, and so on until the limits of the group are reached. . . . This will at least be the tendency, although often stopped by obstacles or contradictory tendencies.[6]

In a footnote to that passage Tarde raises the question of the determination of the limits of the groups; he speaks of the multiplicity of *esprits de corps*—domestic, professional, national, political, religious—which limit the spread of ideas and action. This is, of course, very reminiscent of Simmel's discussion of the crossing of social circles (not then published, I believe), of Bayles' work on communications and power in small groups, of our present concept of the reference group, and of work on the spread of influence.

In the end, *conversation* for Tarde is a concept practically as broad as "interaction" is for Simmel. In some passages Tarde writes of conversation in terms very like Mead's "conversation of gestures." In others, conversation becomes the great system of communication within a people and among peoples:

If, among the actions from which opinion results, one seeks the most general and constant, one perceives easily that it is this elementary social relation, *conversation*, which has been most completely ignored by sociologists.[7]

That allegation would not be so true now as it was in 1901, for most sociology had been confined to grand treatments of society. Tarde, in that passage, goes on to plead for a complete history of conversation among all people, "a comparative conversation . . . almost on a par with comparative religion, comparative art, or even comparative industry, i.e., political economy." Perhaps he chose the wrong name for this great science of communication, for conversation ordinarily refers only to

[5] *Psychologie économique*, I, 24. All translations here are my own.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[7] "Introduction," *L'opinion et la foule* (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1901).

face-to-face talk. Nevertheless, he is, among pioneer sociologists, the one who thought of communication, of the influencing of minds by each other, as the central object of study and who worked out a set of basic concepts and problems to that end. They are not the concepts which have become current among students of communications; they are at once more direct and more poetic than the current concepts. In the *Psychologie économique* Tarde calls for the development of a *gloriometer* to measure notoriety and admiration, two of the great forces of society. Notoriety could be measured by finding out the number of people who have heard of a man or his actions. To measure admiration, one would have to find out not merely the number of admirers but also the intensity of their admiration and would have to take account of the "social weight" of the admirers.[8]

It is his preoccupation with the conversation of minds that leads Tarde to his extensive criticism of economics in the *Psychologie économique* and to his great emphasis on study of leisure. Of economists he makes the familiar complaints of the artificiality of their *homo oeconomicus*. He accuses the economists of having introduced into their work, sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously, the assumption that work is that human activity which is of greater value, leisure being merely a respite from work and preparation for more of it. They have not been completely consistent on this point, for they also seem to value such progress in production as will reduce the hours of labor. Here is how Tarde puts his case:

> We say that the economic life of man is composed not of work alone but of leisure as well; and leisure, in which economists have shown almost no interest, is more important to consider, in one sense, than work; for leisure does not exist for work, but work for leisure. By their work men serve each other; by their leisure, by their fetes and their play, they unite themselves into a truly free accord and they [*s'entreplaisent*] give one another truly social pleasure.[9]

He states clearly, although not in any sentence easy to quote, that leisure and the consumption of goods go together; and not merely in that goods are consumed in time of leisure but in that in leisure there occurs that conversation of minds out of which new wants develop. As leisure is increased, there arises the great problem of its distribution. The aristocratic solution was to give full leisure to a few people, while the others had little or none. In our times the leisure is divided among all, just as work is; everyone works more or less, but the hours of work are reduced for all. This solution, the more just and fraternal one, evidently is to Tarde's liking, but he insists that some people must have more leisure than others if we are to produce scientific discoveries and poetic beauties. A third solution would be that implied in economics: that leisure is bad and should be suppressed for all. Fortunately, Tarde says, the apostles of the virtues of labor do not draw this logical conclusion from their theories.[10]

Tarde expects that, given our solution of dividing leisure among all, there will be a wild growth of popular arts, just as there is a growth of weeds when ground is turned and not immediately planted. But that prospect pleases him. He believes that in America, where *machinofacture*[11] has gone furthest in giving every one free time, such a movement will show particular vigor. The wild growth of fantasy of mind will

[8] *Psychologie économique*, I, 76 ff. One must not conclude from my discussion that Tarde's work did not have wide influence. A. Lawrence Lowell, in a passage of his *Public Opinion and Popular Government*, published in 1913 and quoted by Park and Burgess (*op. cit.*, pp. 826–29), refers to Tarde's discussion of the importance of intensity of belief in the spread of ideas.

[9] *Psychologie économique*, I, 119 ff.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

[11] This is a word coined by Tarde to replace the (strictly speaking) obsolete *manu*facture. He would doubtless have loved the word *automation*, in spite of its slipped syllable.

furnish the germ of industrial and aesthetic ideas.

Tarde does not claim to be the first to call attention to the necessity of studying leisure and consumption as an aspect of economics, but he correctly states that people who had done so did it in a spirit of homesickness for the rustic existence and for the virtues of the artisan. He is, I believe, the first to see leisure and the arts of consumption as integral parts of the economics of a growing and ever more urban world. His works breathe love of cities, of life that is more and more complicated, and a utopian faith that technological progress will free men of the material and traditional barriers to free social conversation. Race, class, nationality, religion are such barriers.

It is not the aim of this paper to prove any theory of Tarde's or to promote any of what may appear his bizarre concepts. His theories bear looking at. His concepts are simply unpretentious combinations of words or syllables which say what he meant them to say. My aims are several. One is to convince readers that Tarde, although stereotyped as one who reduces all to imitation, was in fact a man of great scientific, literary, and human sophistication, who was preoccupied in a sensitive and rather prophetic way with the trends and issues of his time and with the problems of method of social science. Let me quote still another passage as evidence:

> The tendency to mathematize economic science and the tendency to psychologize it, far from being irreconcilables, ought rather, in my view, to support each other. In a statistics, reformed and better understood—in a statistics penetrated by interpsychological spirit, I see a possible and even an easy conciliation of these two apparently divergent tendencies.[12]

Another aim is to suggest that, if Tarde is so much richer in ideas than he is generally given credit for, the same may be true of others who have been given a place in the sentence-completion tests which we honor with the title, "Ph.D. examinations."

Finally, I would like to encourage discussion of the way in which we can use the work of such men. Most of them, as did Tarde, claimed by their writings a dual mandate for sociology. The one mandate was that of developing a general theory and method for study of human societies. The other was that of analyzing and commenting upon the societies in which they lived. Comte, Spencer, Bagehot, Simmel, Durkheim, Weber, Park—all were men who wrote in general terms, yet interlarded their work with quasi-empirical study of their own societies and with open or implied criticism of them.[13] These men, and others, vary in the proportion of their work given to general theory and methods as against that given to empirical study or comment on their own times or on some specific society. Some are more skilful in one part of their work, some in another.

If the work was done some time ago, we will generally find little profit in taking from it some particular hypothesis, concept, theory, or social comment which we test, in some way now thought appropriate, with a view to saying that Weber, Durkheim, Simmel, etc., or Tarde was right or wrong. A great deal of time has, in my opinion, been wasted in taking the specific hypothesis of Durkheim on suicide, or some of those of Weber on protestantism or of Park on the marginal man or the

[12] *Psychologie économique*, pp. 141–42.

[13] Tarde gives us some lovely satire and criticism in *Fragment de l'histoire future*. In it he has someone in a time of the distant future discover an ancient document concerning a social experiment, based on the writings of the "ancient Herbert Spencer" in which cities were organized according to their professions. There was a city of sculptors, one of naturalists, mathematicians, even of psychologists, but none of philosophers. "It was impossible to establish and maintain a city of philosophers, mainly because of continual disturbances caused by the tribe of sociologists, the most unsociable of men" (p. 85). On the dual mandate see my paper, "The Dual Mandate of Social Science," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XXV (November, 1959), 401–10.

race-relations cycle, and going through the exercise of proving those men wrong—as one obviously can. What one gets from such men, especially from those whose work was done before the more recent developments of empirical method, is a statement of general problems, a set of concepts, and sometimes some fruitful hypotheses and ideas with which to enrich one's own thinking and to suggest methods for solving the problems with which he is concerned.

If we read such men as Tarde—and encourage our students to do it—rather fully and in an imaginative mood, we may learn much. We may find that some of our pet notions have been stated or have been punctured by them (one is about as wounding to the ego as the other). We should not go to them for indisputable statement of fact or for petty hypotheses to test out as an exercise or as a way of getting an article into print. I am certain that any young sociologist will do better for his sociological imagination by reading some one or two classic sociologists fairly fully, and, if possible, in the original language, than by going through the usual course or two in which stereotyped figures are lined up in an alley and knocked down or in which a few, equally stereotyped, are canonized and others declared heretics.

As for Tarde, anyone who wants theoretical stimulation or even, in some degree, hypotheses concerning society considered as interaction of minds—or, correlatively, concerning the social processes involved in the use of leisure and in consumption generally—will be both amused and profited by reading a good deal of his work.[14] One might even try to find out why it was that he had no sociological sons, while Durkheim had so many. No one seems to have chosen Tarde as his sociological ancestor; I recommend him as at least an uncle who is generous with his ideas.

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[14] Tarde's *La Philosophie pénale* ("Penal Philosophy") (Paris: Storck & Masson, 1890) is much better known than is his *Psychologie économique*, but I do not think that its basic theme is generally known. It is really a treatise on change from a society dominated by tradition to one in which fashions and other kinds of influence flow out from cities. It contains suggestive hypotheses on that problem. *L'opinion et la foule* is known, but the sections on *conversation* are not often referred to. Still another line of thought, related to that of the the several things thus far mentioned, is to be found in a piece on various forms of organization in a collection known as *Essais et mélanges sociologiques* (Paris: Storck & Masson, 1895).

A SKEPTICAL NOTE ON THE RELATION OF VERTICAL MOBILITY TO EDUCATION

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

ABSTRACT

The assumption that in contemporary society vertical mobility depends upon formal education is tested vith data from England, Sweden, and the United States. The upwardly mobile group is found to comprise nainly persons of typical, not superior, schooling, though among the few individuals with superior training there is relatively high probability of upward mobility. Detailed data for England reveal that recruits o each stratum outnumber inheritors. A large fraction of the new upper stratum is of lower origin and nedian schooling. At the same time, a considerable fraction of even the better-educated sons of upperlass fathers drop down the occupational status scale. Circumstances other than schooling play a major part in mobility.

A decade ago it was widely agreed .mong American sociologists that mobility vas diminishing. Dissent by a few writers nd many new studies have virtually reersed that conclusion. In turn, the firmly .ccepted view that mobility is distinctivey frequent in the United States has been hallenged. This article examines a more videly shared conclusion: namely, that in omplex societies vertical mobility is closey dependent upon formal education. This proposition is central in theories concerning education as well as in those concerning nobility. Though there are few data at iand suitable for testing the proposition, it s useful to see what those few data can ell us. Moreover, since the data come from hree countries, they may indicate somehing about varying functions of education.

A whole series of corollary relationships s related to the proposition:

1. In order for schooling to change a status ystem, it must be a variable; that is, its mount or quality must differ among the nembers of the society. If everyone received he same schooling, it could not be correlated vith other individual attributes. The shape of his distribution of schooling also is imporant; the results are quite different when the node is high from when it is low or when kewness is upward rather than downward.[1] As schools enrol progressively larger proportions of children and retain them longer, the correlation between schooling and later occupations can diminish over time.

2. Even though all children received identical schooling, the aggregate impact of education upon the society in the form of productivity or citizenship could be enormous without any individual's receiving a differential benefit.[2]

3. The influence of schooling upon mobility depends partly upon changes in the number of "openings"; here we focus upon openings at the top.[3] If children born in upper strata are distinctively capable inherently or receive superior training, there will be fewer vacated openings into which children of lower origins can penetrate. In dynamic economies, multiplication of tertiary and shrinkage of primary occupations plays a major part in alteration of opportunities.

4. It has been shown that those children born in lower strata who do receive an education comparable to that of upper-class children enjoy greatly enhanced chances of upward mobility. It is probable, moreover, that for the most talented lower-class children even a more modest training beyond that of their fellows in the same class of origin suffices to equip them for mobility.

5. One must also scrutinize the nature of

[1] See my article, "Educational Distributions and ttainment Norms," *1954 World Population Conress*, Vol. IV (New York: United Nations, 1955), ess, 27.

[2] T. W. Schultz, "Education and Economic Growth," *National Society for the Study of Education Yearbook*, Vol. LX (1961) (in press).

[3] See my "Intelligence and Occupational Mobility," *Journal of Political Economy*, LX (June, 1952), 218–39, in which a share of total mobility was allocated to such structural change.

the education supplied. Considered from the viewpoint of its implications for mobility, it can be divided into education for production and for consumption. That kind or part of schooling regarded as a good in itself, as preparation for leisure, or as mere display—when not taken account of in allocating individuals to adult roles—is irrelevant to occupational mobility. On the other hand, widespread use of school certificates with precise vocational implications or emphasis upon the "proper" training favors a close correlation. The existing moderate correlation of schooling and occupational level would presumably be higher if one could distinguish the part of training that is job- or income-oriented.

6. Schooling may inhibit the maintenance of the elite. Upper-class schooling may be dysfunctional in that respect. Conceivably, also, upper-class children are not better endowed hereditarily. In such circumstances change in the shape of the structure is of less moment. Account must be taken also of the initial degree of heterogeneity of the strata. If parental intelligence is closely graded with status and has low variance within strata, and if children's ability is appreciably hereditary in source and influences the schooling they receive, then education could have only a modest influence on mobility.[4] If mean parental ability does not differ greatly among strata while variance is large within each stratum, one would expect more mobility; however, the net effect of schooling after partialing-out native ability might be slight if ability and schooling of children are highly correlated.

7. The effects on mobility of schooling depend also upon the selective mechanisms at work within the schools and upon the character of the formal requirements for particular jobs. The latter may automatically insure that no one without the stated preparation will be admitted into favored positions, but they do not prevent men who meet the formal but not the underlying functional requirements from falling by the wayside. Reliability, validity, and suitability of the selective procedures within the schools are critical. Thus, if pupils are weeded out ruthlessly and "validly" at successive hurdles, education will show a higher correlation with later vocation than it would if routine promotion prevailed. The consequences of strict selection depend upon the extent to which the qualities determining occupational success are directly taken account of by the schools. If curriculums are mainly "cognitive" while job selection is based on "personality," schooling and occupation would be only moderately correlated. A persisting strong influence of schooling upon mobility would imply that school performance is accurately assessed by teachers and examinations and that such performance closely reflects those capacities that determine vocational performance.

[4] *Ibid.*

A satisfactory analysis of this problem presupposes data showing intelligence scores for fathers and for sons, social status of fathers and sons, and schooling of sons. No such data exist. However, we do have a few samples supplying status of father and son and education of son, and fortunately these samples represent three societies.

A few years ago Centers published a special tabulation from his national study of social class.[5] He related sons' schooling to occupational attainment, both stated relative to position of father. Among sons of fathers in white-collar occupations whose schooling was superior to that of their fathers, 38 per cent achieved an occupation above the fathers', while 29 per cent were in a lower occupation. When the son's schooling was inferior to that of the father, only 11 per cent held a superior position, and 68 per cent had a poorer one. Of better-schooled sons of manual workers, 53 per cent achieved a position above the fathers', while only 14 per cent were in a poorer job; if the son had less schooling, 23 per cent had a superior and 18 per cent an inferior job. It was noteworthy that a considerable proportion of sons had received less schooling than their fathers had (even with no correction for generational changes in median schooling). The effects on mobility of schooling seem to have been important.

Similar results are reported in Britain.[6]

[5] R. Centers, "Education and Occupational Mobility," *American Sociological Review*, XIV (February, 1949), 143–44.

[6] D. V. Glass (ed.), *Social Mobility in Britain* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1954), chap. x (with J. R. Hall).

mong the sons of semi- and unskilled 'orkers, 38 per cent of those with more ian a grammar-school education achieved ositions in the top stratum; when such ons had not gone beyond elementary

TABLE 1

CTUAL AND HYPOTHETICAL DISTRIBUTIONS OF SONS' STATUS AND EDUCATION RELATIVE TO THEIR FATHERS', UNITED STATES*

SON'S EDUCA-ION RELATIVE TO FATHER'S	SON'S STATUS RELATIVE TO FATHER'S			
	Higher	Same	Lower	Total
A. Actual Distribution				
ligher......	134	96	61	291
ame.......	23	33	24	80
ower......	7	16	22	45
Total.....	164	145	107	416
B. Hypothetical Distributions and Deviation of Actual Cases Therefrom				
1. Random Distribution†				
igher......	115	102	75	291
ame.....	31	28	20	80
ower.....	18	16	12	45
Total.....	164	146	107	416
2. Maximum Relative Education Association Distribution				
ligher.....	164	127	...	291
ame.....	...	18	62	80
ower......	...	...	45	45
Total.....	164	145	107	416
3. Deviation of Actual from Random Distribution (1)				
igher.....	19	−6	−14	
ıme.....	−8	5	4	
ower......	−11	1	10	
4. Deviation of Actual from Maximum-Association Distribution (2)				
igher......	−30	−31	61	
ame........	23	15	−38	
ower.......	7	16	−23	

* Source: R. Centers, "Education and Occupational Mobili-," *American Sociological Review*, XIV (February, 1949), 143–

† This portion of the table does not add precisely because of rors in rounding.

:hool, less than one in twenty rose to the p. Even among sons born in middle :rata, the effect of schooling was marked.

It would be possible to cite also considerable evidence from studies of lifetime intrageneration) mobility testifying to the ıfluence of schooling upon mobility. It has been shown in Sweden that a fourth of the urban laborers with more than folk-school training had entered white-collar positions five years later; of those with folk school only, one man in twenty did so.[7]

We turn now to a more detailed analysis of data from three countries for the purpose of assessing the relative influence of schooling upon vertical mobility. In the more usual analyses, as above, it is demonstrated that a son is more likely to be upwardly mobile if his schooling is superior to that of other sons in the same class of origin (and conversely for downward mobility among the relatively poorly educated sons born in upper strata). The present article is less concerned with this problem, however, than with ascertaining the relative order or magnitude of other factors as against schooling in determining the total amount of mobility.

We examine the total flow of sons among strata, identifying the sons with respect to their origin, their final position, and their schooling. Intergenerational shifts in the number of positions at each level of status (marginal totals) are taken into account only as constraints of an essentially static nature. On the other hand, the fact that the status structure is much smaller at the top than at the bottom is fundamental. Hence, while entrants into an upper stratum may form only a tiny proportion of all sons born into a lower stratum, those few upwardly mobile sons may supply a large fraction of the present top stratum. Likewise, the few sons sliding down into a lower class may be a sizable fraction of the upper class in which they originated. It is of secondary importance, in the present context, whether inheritance of status exceeds "expectancy" or whether the share of rising manual workers' sons is a smaller number than "would be expected."

From Centers' data (Table 1, A) one can compute that 82 per cent (134/164) of the sons with a better occupation than the

[7] See my article, "Lifetime Inter-occupational Mobility Patterns in Sweden," *Acta Sociologica*, I (1956), 168–201.

father had more schooling than the latter, 14 per cent had the same schooling, and only 4 per cent had less. When the occupational level was the same for both generations, the respective percentages were 66, 23, and 11; and, where the son's occupation was lower, the percentages were 57, 22, and 21. These data suggest that schooling exerts a strong influence upon mobility. However, let us look at the picture in another way: Table 1, B, shows the distributions that would prevail if the relations between relative education and relative status were random and if these relations were maximal; deviations of actual from the random and from the maximum association between relative education and status are also given.[8] It is evident that the actual figures are considerably closer to the random than to the hypothetical distribution that assumes education to dominate. The latter discrepancy is especially great among sons whose status is lower than that of their fathers and among those with an education above the fathers'.

Boalt traced the 1925 cohort of Stockholm-born sons until the year 1949.[9] He used a status rather than an occupational classification, and we have designated sons passing the realschool examination, or doing better, as having a "high" education (Table 2). Of the sons with "high" schooling, 36 per cent (271/751) have risen to a status above the fathers'; of the sons with poorer schooling, 32 per cent did so.

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF SONS' STATUS RELATIVE TO FATHERS', BY SONS' EDUCATION, STOCKHOLM*

Son's Education	Son's Status Relative to Father's Higher	Same	Lower	Total
High.	271	369	111	751
Low.	465	794	181	1,440
Total. . . .	736	1,163	292	2,191

* Source: G. Boalt, "Skolgång och Standcirkulation," *Tidens Kalendar*, XXXII (1953), 113–16.

On the other hand, of all sons with a present status superior to that of the fathers' 37 per cent had received a "high" schooling, but so also did 40 per cent of those now having a status lower than the fathers'. These sons are still young, and some will make later moves, but Boalt's data do not reveal schooling to be a major factor in mobility.

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF SONS' STATUS RELATIVE TO FATHERS', BY SONS' EDUCATION, SWEDEN*

Son's Education†	Son's Status Relative to Father's‡ Higher	Same	Lower	Total
Low.	99	381	127	607
Medium. . . .	13	43	16	72
High.	11	32	6	49
Total. . . .	123	456	149	728

* Source: G. Carlsson, *Social Mobility and Class Structure* (Lund: Gleerup, 1958), chap. vii.

† Low: elementary school; medium: at least some middle school; high: at least some Gymnasium (including university attendance).

‡ In terms of three class status scale.

To Gösta Carlsson must go the credit for the most explicit questioning of the conventional view that schooling is a powerful influence upon mobility.[10] He concluded that in Sweden schooling is "hardly the decisive factor in the majority of cases where people have moved upwards on the social ladder."[11] His data (summarized in Table 3) relate to a national sample of men. Over all, about four-fifths of the upwardly as well as the downwardly mobile sons had only an elementary schooling.

Since the data for Britain are more detailed, we make them the main object of analysis.[12] The percentages of sons moving from one stratum to another, classified by their education, appear in Table 4. Inheritance of status exceeds chance, and mo-

[8] See Appendix for method of computation.

[9] G. Boalt, "Skolgång och Standcirkulation," *Tidens Kalendar*, XXXII (1953), 113–16.

[10] G. Carlsson, *Social Mobility and Class Structure* (Lund: Gleerup, 1958), chap. vii. I owe the impetus to reassess the data on this topic to a rereading of Carlsson's discussion.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 137.

[12] Glass, *op. cit.* From the table on p. 296 the numbers in each cell were reconstructed.

TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF SONS ENTERING EACH STATUS CATEGORY, BY SONS' CATEGORY OF ORIGIN AND EDUCATION, GREAT BRITAIN*

	SON'S STATUS CATEGORY				
	1	2	3	4	
Total number of sons	257	324	450	1,409	1,010
Number born and staying in same status	124	64	108	702	407
Number entering from different status	133	260	342	707	603
Number moving upward	133	201	251	316	.....
Number moving downward	...	59	91	391	603
Percentage Distribution of All Upwardly Mobile Sons					
By status of origin and education:					
2A	8	...	...	.....	.....
B	6	...	...	.....	.....
C	5	...	...	.....	.....
D	16	...	...	.....	.....
Total	35	...	...	.....	.....
3A	5	10	...	.....	.....
B	5	12	...	.....	.....
C	2	1	...	.....	.....
D	11	5	...	.....	.....
Total	23	28	...	.....	.....
4A	7	22	43	.....	.....
B	16	25	25	.....	.....
C	4	1	1	.....	.....
D	8	7	3	.....	.....
Total	35	55	72	.....	.....
5A	1	8	18	74	.....
B	2	5	9	19	.....
C	...	1	...	4	.....
D	4	2	...	3	.....
Total	7	16	27	100	.....
By education alone:					
A	21	41	61	74	.....
B	29	43	35	19	.....
C	11	2	1	4	.....
D	39	14	3	3	.....
Percentage Distribution of All Downwardly Mobile Sons					
By status of origin and education:					
1A	...	24	11	5	2
B	...	22	3	2	1
C	.	15	6	2	1
D	.	39	8	3	.....
Total	.	100	28	12	4
2A	. .	...	25	19	6
B	...	...	29	7	1
C	...	.	12	2	.....
D	. .	. .	7	3	.....
Total			73	31	7
3A	.	. .	...	37	13
B	. .	. .	...	13	3
C	...	. .	.	3	.....
D	. .	...	...	3	.....
Total	..	...	. .	56	16
4A	.	...	.	.....	63
B	..		.	....	8
C	..	...	. .	.....	2
D	.	..	..	.....	1
Total	.	...	...	.....	74
By education alone:					
A	...	24	36	61	83
B	..	22	32	23	13
C	. .	15	18	7	3
D	...	39	14	9	1

* Source: numbers in each cell reconstructed from the table on p. 296 in D. V. Glass (ed.), *Social Mobility in Britain* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1954), chap. x (with J. R. Hall). For explanation of status and education categories see n. 13 in text.

bility is definitely correlated with the sons' schooling; the exposition on these points can be found in the source.[13]

When we view mobility from the sons' positions, we can trace the varying channels of recruitment. It is a striking fact that at each level the number of sons born into and remaining in a stratum is smaller than the number entering. Of the 257 sons now in the top stratum, for example, 124 inherited their positions and 133 entered from below; 35 per cent of the latter came from the stratum immediately below, 23 per cent came up two levels, 35 per cent came up from the next to lowest, and 7 per cent from the lowest level. In the lowest stratum there are now 1,010 sons, of whom 407 inherited their positions and 603 came down from various higher strata.[14]

When we look at the educational composition of these ascending and descending streams, we see that over nine-tenths of the sons moving into status level 4 from below were in the two lowest educational categories. Given the relative sizes of these two strata and the preponderantly poor schooling of sons who grow up there, this is to be expected on a random basis, as it would be for sons moving into the lowest from the next higher level. At the top of the scale, sons circulating among the upper strata only tend to be comparatively well educated, for such sons are more numerous among those growing up in those sets of families.

The fact that the numbers entering upper strata from below or the lower strata from above are fewer than "expected" does not contravene the importance of the observed patterns of recruitment. While few well-educated sons descended from upper to the lowest strata, a considerable number fell from the top into middle levels; over half of those moving down from the top to the second level have grammar-school training—possessed by only one in seven of all sons, by a half of those born at the top, and by a quarter of those born in the second stratum. Much more impressive is the fact that half the sons moving into the top stratum were in the two poorest categories of schooling; moreover, half of these poorly educated sons moving into the top level originated in the two lowest strata. In all, two-fifths of the present top class originated in the two lowest classes, of whom three-fifths had less than a grammar-school education.[15]

The proportions of sons with varying amounts of schooling who move upward or downward one step, two steps, etc., is shown in Table 5 ("actual" lines). The better-educated sons were more likely to move up, while those with little schooling were more likely to descend. But, as the first section of Table 6 shows, the distribution of schooling among all sons moving upward was not greatly different from that among the downwardly mobile. No one could deny that, looked at from the class of origin, better schooling has a favorable influence upon mobility. But one may conclude also that a large proportion of the entrants to a higher class will be relatively poorly educated and will have been born in lower strata. While education certainly influences a man's chances to move upward or downward one step, two steps, etc., is shown all mobility is linked to education.

In an effort to disentangle the influence of the educational from other factors, a table of hypothetical mobility was constructed on the assumption that sons' sta-

[13] The schooling categories are: A, senior elementary only; B, A plus some supplementary training: C, grammar school but no further; D, C and more. The status categories are: 1, professional and higher administration, managerial and executive; 2, supervisory and other higher non-manual; 3, supervisory and other non-manual of lower grade; 4, skilled manual and routine non-manual; and 5, unskilled and semiskilled.

[14] The downward drift of net mobility in the sample is puzzling; it may arise from the use of mixed "occupational" and "status" categories, or there may be deficiencies in the sample or the scale of status.

[15] If Category 1 included only professionals, recruitment to it of men with low education would presumably be less.

TABLE 5

ACTUAL AND HYPOTHETICAL MOBILITY UNDER VARIOUS ASSUMPTIONS, BY SONS' SCHOOLING, FROM BRITISH DATA*

Hypothesis	Mobility, by Steps +4	+3	+2	+1	0	−1	−2	−3	−4	Total	Total Up	Total Down	Ratio Up/Down†
					Group A								
Actual	1	1	4	17	42	25	7	2	1	100	23	35	.63
Schooling dominant	.	...	...	17	39	28	10	5	1	100	17	44	.36
Status dominant	..	.	...	.	91	9	...	...	..	100	.....	9	...
Random	2	6	9	20	30	20	8	4	1	100	37	33	1.17
					Group B								
Actual	1	4	11	21	35	19	6	2	1	100	37	28	1.33
Schooling dominant	..	2	17	38	24	12	6	1	..	100	57	19	3.00
Status dominant	.	.	.	.	90	10	...	...	..	100	.....	10	...
Random	1	5	8	16	29	23	10	6	2	100	30	41	.78
					Group C								
Actual	..	3	2	13	43	23	8	6	2	100	18	39	.47
Schooling dominant	.	10	22	15	22	31	...	...	..	100	47	31	1.51
Status dominant	..	...	...	..	90	10	...	...	..	100	...	10	...
Random	.	3	4	11	19	18	17	19	9	100	18	63	.29
					Group D								
Actual	2	5	10	16	41	16	7	3	..	100	33	26	1.23
Schooling dominant	6	20	20	17	32	5	...	...	.	100	63	5	12.60
Status dominant	..	...	...	.	89	11	...	...	..	100	.....	11	.
Random	..	2	4	9	18	21	17	19	10	100	15	67	.24
					Total (Per Cent)								
Actual	..	2	6	17	41	23	7	3	1	100	25	34	.80
Schooling dominant	.	3	7	21	33	23	8	4	1	100	31	36	.86
Status dominant		.	.	.	90	10	.	.	.	100	..	10	..
Random	2	5	8	18	28	21	10	6	2	100	33	39	.85
					Total (In Numbers)								
Actual	9	80	212	600	1,405	789	243	93	19	3,450	901	1,144	...
Schooling dominant	17	94	228	715	1,173	788	275	127	33	3,450	1,054	1,223	..
Status dominant			.		3,120	330	.	.		3,450	..	330	.
Random	62	189	287	608	971	715	323	214	81	3,450	1,146	1,333	...

* Data for groups A–D given in percentages. For explanation of categories of schooling see n. 13 in text.

† Since ratios were computed from actual numbers, they do not agree precisely with ratios of preceding two columns.

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SONS' SCHOOLING, BY MOBILITY UNDER VARIOUS HYPOTHESES, FROM BRITISH DATA

Mobility	Category of Schooling* A	B	C	D	Total
		Actual Data			
All cases	65	21	5	9	100
Upward	55	30	4	11	100
Non-mobile	67	18	6	9	100
Downward	69	18	6	7	100
		Education Dominant			
Upward	35	39	8	18	100
Non-mobile	73	15	4	8	100
Downward	82	12	5	1	100
		Status Dominant			
Upward	..	..	..	..	
Non-mobile	65	21	6	8	100
Downward	62	24	6	8	100
		Random			
Upward	73	20	3	4	100
Non-mobile	69	22	4	5	100
Downward	54	22	9	15	100

* For explanation of categories see n. 13 in text

tus is determined solely by schooling.[16] On this hypothesis ("schooling dominant" lines in Table 5 and appropriate section of Table 6) the correlation between schooling and degree of mobility would be somewhat closer than it is in the actual data. By a similar procedure a second table was constructed by assuming that mobility reflected paternal status only; on this assumption no sons moved upward, and about a tenth went down.[17] Finally, the random distribution of sons was computed from the basic data.

It is of particular interest to identify the location of the discrepancies between the actual distribution of mobility and that expected under each of the three hypotheses. Part A of Table 7 summarizes the discrepancies as absolute differences, first

[16] See Appendix for explanation.

[17] See n. 13 above.

unweighted and then weighted by the number of steps of mobility involved.[18]

There are two interesting features in this table. First, the actual moves are clearly much more deviant from the status-dominant hypothesis than from the two other hypothetical distributions of those sons lacking any grammar-school education, but this is less true of those with such schooling. Second, and of greater importance, are the systematic reversals of direction in tion)? A correction for these factors is provided in Part B of Table 7, where ratios of actual to hypothetical moves are shown.[19]

Expressed in ratio form, the greater deviation from the status-dominant hypothesis is most striking. The only ratios approximating the latter relate to the excess downward movement of the best-schooled sons, where ratios are much higher than in the intermediate schooling levels. Once more, there is no clear shift between the

TABLE 7

COMPARISONS OF ACTUAL WITH HYPOTHETICAL CHANGES IN STATUS FROM BRITISH DATA*

Category of Schooling	Direction of Mobility	Unweighted: Random	Unweighted: Education Dominant	Unweighted: Status Dominant	Weighted: Random	Weighted: Education Dominant	Weighted: Status Dominant
				A. Absolute Deviations			
A.	Up	−342	134	498	−821	287	651
	Down	67	−221	586	− 21	−479	890
B.	Up	47	−142	273	35	−137	429
	Down	− 89	64	128	−188	88	218
C.	Up	0	− 55	34	− 8	−119	50
	Down	− 47	14	54	−155	62	102
D.	Up	50	− 90	96	95	−242	170
	Down	−119	64	46	−329	108	90
				B. Ratios of Actual to Hypothetical Moves			
A.	Up	0.58	1.41	6.44	0.44	1.79	8.63
	Down	1.12	0.77		0.98	0.70	
B.	Up	1.21	0.66	6.21	1 09	0.75	9 40
	Down	0.70	1.45		0.61	1.43	
C.	Up	1.00	0.38	5.63	0.86	0.30	9.00
	Down	0.61	1.24		0.44	2.10	
D.	Up	2.06	0.52	5.36	2.27	0.41	9.13
	Down	0.39	5.57		0.27	8.71	

* A positive difference indicates that the actual moves exceed the hypothetical; see also n. 18 in text.

the deviations of the actual from the education-dominant and the random distributions between the lowest level of schooling and the other levels. (Incidentally, in each instance the negative deviation is of greater magnitude than the positive.)

Do these patterns hold when account is taken of the underlying numbers of cases and the constraints on up and down movements (implied in the limited number of status categories and in the initial positions of sons with varying amounts of educa- second and third educational levels even with respect to downward moves, nor is the best-schooled group distinctive from the intermediate ones in deviations of actual upward mobility from that presupposed by the education-dominant hypothesis. In relative as in absolute terms, the major break

[18] The weighted figures make the conventional assumption that distances between categories are equal.

[19] Fortunately, direction is unimportant in comparing with the status-dominant assumption, which for these data involves small downward movements associated with an over-all shift in the structure between generations; the problem of a zero denominator for upward moves is avoided by summing moves in both directions, regardless of sign, in deriving the ratios of actual to status-dominated hypothetical mobility.

is between the lowest category of schooling and all the others.

To sum up, sons with low education lose status far less often and those with intermediate or higher levels of education rise far less often than would be the case if education were the sole determinant. The "favorable" achievement of the least-educated sons stands in contrast to their conspicuously large discrepancy from the status-dominant hypothesis (Table 7, A). At the other extreme, by far the greatest relative deviation from the education-dominant hypothesis is manifested in the excess cases of decline in status among the sons with the most education.

The least-educated sons made many more moves up and fewer down than would be expected on the basis of their schooling. But they did make fewer moves up and more down than chance ("random") would bring about. This situation is reversed for the best-educated sons; they make fewer moves up and more down than education would bring about, but their upward moves are more frequent and their downward moves less frequent than chance would produce.

Adding algebraically the actual moves, up and down, of each educational group and then those to be expected on the education-dominant hypothesis and expressing the former sums as ratios to the latter provides a crude set of "efficiency indexes" with respect to schooling as a mechanism of job allocation (Table 8). These indexes could range, for small segments of a population, from negative to positive infinity. Values of zero and plus one have special meaning; the latter would mean perfect correlation between actual and education-dominant mobility, while zero would imply education played no role. Negative values imply that net mobility is in a direction contrary to that expected on the basis of education; if the negative index is large enough, one would infer that schooling was actually dysfunctional or (and this appears to be true for those with grammar-school education only) that selection of students at a given educational level was markedly out of line with their underlying relative abilities and motivation to achievement.

At the lowest educational level the positive indexes are much higher than at the other levels, though even for those with elementary-school education only the index is below .50. This might be interpreted to mean that less than half of the actual mobility (or lack thereof) among the least schooled can be "explained" by their schooling. What about the rest? Here there is a drag on the index, limiting its possible range so that approximation to zero is virtually impossible; this is because group A forms the bulk of the population and is dominated by men whose fathers, like themselves, are in low-ranking occupations; failure to move is in accord with their educational backgrounds. This is the only group for which net downward movement is theoretically required.

More surprising is the extremely low index for the men with the most education, group D. Undoubtedly we see here a reflection of the fact that men in the top occupations try to give their sons the "best" of schooling, regardless of their

TABLE 8

EFFICIENCY INDEXES: EDUCATION AS A FACTOR IN MOBILITY*

Category of Schooling	Unweighted Net Actual	Unweighted Net Hypothetical	Unweighted Index	Weighted Net Actual	Weighted Net Hypothetical	Weighted Index
A..............	−290	−635	0.46	−441	−1,207	0.37
B..............	68	274	0.25	134	369	0.36
C..............	− 30	30	−1.30	− 71	155	−0.46
D..............	18	172	0.10	48	398	0.12

* For construction of indexes see text.

abilities and personalities. The well-schooled sons of highly placed fathers who are not suited to jobs of high status lost status, despite their training; thus, among the best educated we get the previously noted high ratios of actual downward mobility to that predicted by the education-dominant hypothesis. This interpretation is strengthened by the negative ratios noted for group C, if one assumes that the downwardly mobile among these are sons of upper-class fathers who were especially low in "ability" and hence did not go beyond grammar school. These ratios point to major defects in the selection of students for grammar school and higher education if the "ideal" criterion is taken to be the individual's potentialities. The situation is quite different from that indicated for sons with supplemented senior elementary training (without grammar school), the upwardly mobile group for whom education appears to have played the largest part, having a weighted index of .36.

In conclusion, education is but one of many factors influencing mobility, and it may be far from a dominant factor. To say that its efficiency is low in this respect measured on an absolute scale, however, is not necessarily to say it "should be" higher. Education has multiple functions, and preparation for a vocation is only one of these. Moreover, qualifications not easily provided by formal schooling affect job success, aside from advantages or disadvantages in status. There are objections to setting up as a goal the maximization of correlations between education and occupation. There is no reason to disregard individual preferences concerning education as a consumer good or preferences among jobs. Moreover, there are many individual qualifications that are relatively independent of formal training.

In an earlier article, "Intelligence and Occupational Mobility,"[20] I suggested that, "before we lament the disappearance of opportunity or herald the iron laws of status fixation, it may be prudent to estimate just how effectively the existing mechanism of selection operates in sorting persons out, not according to inherited status, but according to their capacities." In that study it was concluded that from two-thirds to three-fourths of the mobility in the United States was congruent with "intelligence" differentials. I would interpret the present findings as suggesting that ability, whether hereditary or not, and associated motivation, varying independently of schooling, plays a powerful role in generating mobility.

It was concluded also that much of the mobility occurring served to compensate for "incorrect" placement among occupations of the fathers, combined with "regression" of intelligence. Hence, "when we talk of intergenerational mobility, we must think in terms not only of the actual occupational status of fathers and of sons but also of the occupations that the fathers 'should be' pursuing." The present analysis appears consistent with that conclusion.

In the three countries for which data exist, mobility independent of schooling occurs frequently. Because of the different classifications used in the three sets of data, one cannot draw explicit comparisons, though one might infer that education has more influence in the United States. Even with more equal distribution of educational opportunities, the independent operation of "intelligence" will probably damp the impact of schooling upon individual careers.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

APPENDIX

A

Section 2 of Table 1, B, was derived as follows. There were 164 sons with higher status and 291 with higher education. Taking all of the 164 higher-status sons from those with higher education leaves 127 (291 — 164) better-schooled sons; these are given the most

[20] *Op cit.*

favorable possible remaining status, "same," none going into "lower." Among "education same" sons, none can go into "status higher," and only 18 (145 — 127) can go into "status same," leaving 62 in "status lower." The remaining 45 go in the lowest diagonal cell.

TABLE A

HYPOTHETICAL DISTRIBUTIONS IN SONS' STATUS, BY EDUCATION AND FATHERS' STATUS, FROM BRITISH DATA

1. Group D

Fathers' Status	Total Sons	Sons in 1	Sons in 2
1.	103	89	14
2.	51	44	7
3.	59	51	8
4.	64	56	8
5.	19	17	2
Total. . .	296	257	39

2. Group B

Fathers' Status	Total Sons	Sons in 2	Remainder	Sons in 3*	Sons in 4
1.	40	5	35	25	10
2.	82	11	71	50	21
3.	120	16	104	74	30
4.	359	47	312	221	91
5.	131	17	114	80	34
Total. . .	732	96	636	450	186

3. Group A

Fathers' Status	Total Sons	Sons in 4	Sons in 5
1.	74	41	33
2.	168	92	76
3.	304	167	137
4.	1,022	559	463
5.	665	364	301
Total. . .	2,233	1,223	1,010

* In ratio 450/636.

B

The construction of hypothetical distrib tions on the British data is more intricat Regardless of parental status, all possible so with more than grammar-school educatic group D, were placed in status 1. Since the were 296 sons with this schooling but on 257 places in status level 1, the numbers fro each parental status group were multiplied [the ratio of 257/296, which allocates the 2 by taking the same proportion from each p rental category. Hence, some sons must . into status level 2. This first step is summ rized in Table A, 1.

There were 324 sons in status 2, of whc 39 are accounted for from group D. There a already 189 sons in group C distributed as fo lows by paternal status: 59, 41, 28, 42, 1 Since 324 – (39 + 189) = 96, these remai ing 96 places must be filled from the ne lower education category in proportion their distribution by paternal status.

The sons in group B in status 2 were coı puted by multiplying the total sons in groı B from each parental stratum by the ratio 96/732. Subtracting these from the total so with group-B schooling leaves 636. The were 450 sons in status 3, so each remaind is multiplied by 450/636, and when the c rived numbers are subtracted we have the so with group-B schooling who must go in status 4. They provide 186 of the 1,409 so in status 4. There remain 1,409 — 186 1,223 positions in 4. None had yet been p in status 5, which has 1,010 positions coı prising 39 per cent of all sons in group (2,233); multiplying the group-A sons in ea parental category by .39 allocates these so to 5; the remainder go in status 4.

OCCUPATIONAL ROLES AND FORMS OF ENTERPRISE[1]

JOSEPH R. GUSFIELD

ABSTRACT

An analysis was made of the work histories of a random stratified sample of 195 professional, managerial, sales, and trained laborers in a medium-sized city. Differences in the number of jobs and of occupations and in the shapes of careers were related to differences in occupations and to differences between determinate and indeterminate occupations. No differences were found between those employed in large-scale corporate organizations and those in small local organizations.

Two frequent questions asked about a man in modern society are: "What does he do for a living?" and "Where does he work?" This paper reports an investigation of the relative roles of these two characteristics, occupation and organization, in the determination of careers.

Our interest in this study stems from the often supposed consequences of recent changes in modern forms of economic enterprise. As a system of small, localized firms is replaced by one of large, bureaucratized corporations, certain changes in patterns of recruiting personnel, in administrative operation, and in the scope of the division of labor are also expected. One supposed consequence of the growth of large-scale organization is that the individual worker will increasingly find his career shaped less by forces of his occupation and more by those emanating from his position as a member of a specific organization. The concept of the Organization Man is one manifestation of the view that where one works comes to have more influence on career than what one does for a living.

[1] I am indebted to Bernard Karsh for aid and advice in all stages of the research and for critical reading of an earlier draft, and to students in the field-work classes of Spring, 1957 and 1958, in the Department of Sociology, University of Illinois, for their aid in pretesting the interview schedule and for help in collecting data. The research and analysis were partially financed by the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois. Bernard Phillips and Bernard Farber were helpful in reading an earlier draft of this paper.

OCCUPATION AND FORM OF ENTERPRISE

Two aspects of work are involved in this study: the specificity of the occupational role and the form of enterprise of the workplace.

Occupational specialization.—The general direction of bureaucratic systems appears to be toward substitution of specific and defined directives for informality and personal discretion. This process appears to be true of the direction of specific tasks within an organization and may also occur with respect to occupations. As an occupation becomes more specialized, the ways in which the prospective recruits learn it are more clearly specified, and the appropriate tasks are more carefully defined and distinguished from others. The important consideration here is the specificity with which the content of and preparation for the occupation are stated. Determinate occupations involve relatively fixed systems of training and a relatively fixed range of expected task behavior; indeterminate occupations involve diffuse expectations in methods of training and in expected tasks. Examples of relatively determinate occupations in American life are doctor, plumber, and sociologist; of relatively indeterminate occupations are sales representative, office manager, and banker.[2] In a determinate

[2] The distinction drawn here between relatively specialized and relatively unspecialized occupations is presented by Raymond Mack in his concepts of determinate and indeterminate occupations ("Occupational Determinateness: Problem and Hypothesis in Role Theory," *Social Forces*, XXXV [October, 1956], 20–25).

occupation the range of expected tasks is less likely to change from one workplace to another than is the case with an indeterminate occupation.

Forms of enterprise: corporate and local.—Large-scale organization requires a large amount of capital. It has been made possible in capitalistic systems by the development of the corporate form of enterprise. The small organization is less likely to share the general features of bureaucratic structure to the same degree as the corporations do. Hierarchies of supervision, intensive division of labor, multiple plants, and demand for trained personnel are more likely to be in the corporate form than in the enterprise operating largely within a local market.

TABLE 1

RESPONDENTS BY CATEGORY OF OCCUPATION AND FORM OF ENTERPRISE ($N=195$)

	Enterprise	
Occupation	Corporation	Local
Professional	25	25
Managerial	25	25
Sales	25	21
Trained labor	25	24
Total	100	95

The appearance of complex administrative hierarchies would lead us to expect that personnel in corporate enterprises would demonstrate distinctive types of careers. Weber stated that movement from one echelon of organization to another was characteristic of the bureaucratic officeholder. "The official is set for a 'career' within the hierarchical order of the public service. He moves from the lower, less important, and lower-paid to the higher positions."[3] We would anticipate in the personnel of a corporate enterprise a more stable work life with a consistent occupational and organizational attachment.

If form of organization exerts the influence on careers that is stipulated by the theory of bureaucracies, we would anticipate that the distinction between determinate and indeterminate occupation is less important in determining career than is that between corporate and local enterprise. If the opposite is the case, if occupation is more significant than is the form of organization in determining career, then the forces producing the determinate occupation may have an important impact on the status of organization man.

METHODS OF STUDY

One hundred and ninety-five male members of the labor force in a midwestern community (population 70,000 in 1950) constituted the respondents for the study, conducted in the spring of 1958. They were selected as a random stratified sample drawn from the latest issue of the city business directory.[4] The respondents were drawn from eight combinations of four occupational and two enterprise categories (Table 1).

The distinction between local and corporate enterprise was based on the size of the work force, multiplicity of localities used by the same company, corporate form, and absentee control. Enterprises were classified "corporate" when they met either or both of the following criteria:

1. The unit in the community studied has a work force of 300 or more and its officials, in whole or part, reside outside the urban area.

2. Although the unit in the community studied has less than 300 employees, the company has units in more than one community and a total work force of more than 300.

Respondents were interviewed in their homes and asked to complete a full work history, listing and describing each full-time job they had ever held for more than a four-month period. For each job, details of size of organization, length of time on

[3] Max Weber, *From Max Weber*, ed. and trans. C. W. Mills and H. Gerth (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 203.

[4] *Champaign-Urbana City Directory* (St. Louis: R. L. Polk & Co., 1958). Random numbers were used in selecting each subsample.

job, occupational status, and place of employment were obtained; the respondent reported the way in which he learned of the job, his sponsors, if any, in getting it, and the people he knew in the organization before he was hired. Standard categories of the Bureau of the Census were used for the classification of most occupations.[5] This paper reports the findings on stability and direction of career.

A career chart, developed for each respondent from the information in his work history showed the length of time at each workplace and in each occupation as well as additional material on horizontal and vertical mobility. From the career charts, typologies of career were constructed. Occupational role (determinate and indeterminate) and form of enterprise (corporate and local) were used as the independent variables, and type of career was used as the dependent variable. "Professional" and "trained labor" occupations (the latter equivalent to the census category of "skilled labor") were classified as "determinate" occupational roles.[6] "Managerial" and "sales" occupations were classified as "indeterminate." To prevent "spurious" findings of role differences, the material was first analyzed for differences between the two occupational categories composing a role classification. Each occupation, and each occupational role, was further analyzed by form of enterprise.

In this manner each aspect of the career was analyzed as to five variables:

1. *Occupation.*—Each of the four occupational categories
2. *Occupational role.*—Determinate and indeterminate
3. *Form of enterprise.*—Corporate and local
4. *Occupation-enterprise.*—Corporate and local differences within *each* occupational category
5. *Role-enterprise.*—Corporate and local differences within *each* of the two occupational roles

A fourfold table was designed for each set, a chi-square measure of association computed, and probabilities ascertained for Type I hypotheses.

It should be pointed out that the economic functions of the community studied were primarily education and trade; while academic personnel constitute a large segment of the total work force, their proportion of the corporate, professional sample was arbitrarily restricted to 8 per cent.

CAREER PATTERNS

The idea of career implies commitment to work, to workplace, or both; it is in contrast to randomly selected and continued or discontinued activity. The implication of a job or an occupation conceived of as a career is that the occupant has made a long-term commitment to it, has placed his economic life's chances on a relatively permanent relation to a workplace or occupation.[7]

At any given time, then, a specific job or occupation may influence careers in different fashions for different persons. Whether or not a given job or occupation becomes a long-term commitment cannot be known until sufficient time has passed. How long a workman will remain at a given workplace, or how long he will follow a given occupation in several workplaces, is one measure of commitment.

[5] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Alphabetical Index of Occupations and Industries* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1950).

[6] In keeping with Mack's usage and also supported by other considerations. Both professional and trained labor occupations have requirements in education, specific training, union membership, and other indexes of training. The various census classifications for managerial and sales personnel list few specific suboccupations. Another source supporting our usage is income: skilled laborers and professionals have a better defined income than have sales and managerial persons, and the income range among the determinate occupations is much narrower than among the indeterminate (Herman Miller, *Income of the American People* [New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1955], pp. 58–63).

[7] Everett C. Hughes, *Men and Their Work* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958), pp. 127–30; Edward Gross, *Work and Society* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1958), pp. 143–218.

Since occupation and workplace are distinct aspects of work, we have separated them in the analysis of career patterns. We ask: "How long did the person work for this organization?" and "How long did he follow this occupation?" There is a career both in workplace and in occupation.

Recognizing the different functions which a specific workplace or occupation serves for a respondent's career, we classified each individual job (work at a specific workplace) and each occupation into one of the following functions of career. In doing so, we followed the general procedure of Miller and Form, with one important variation:[8]

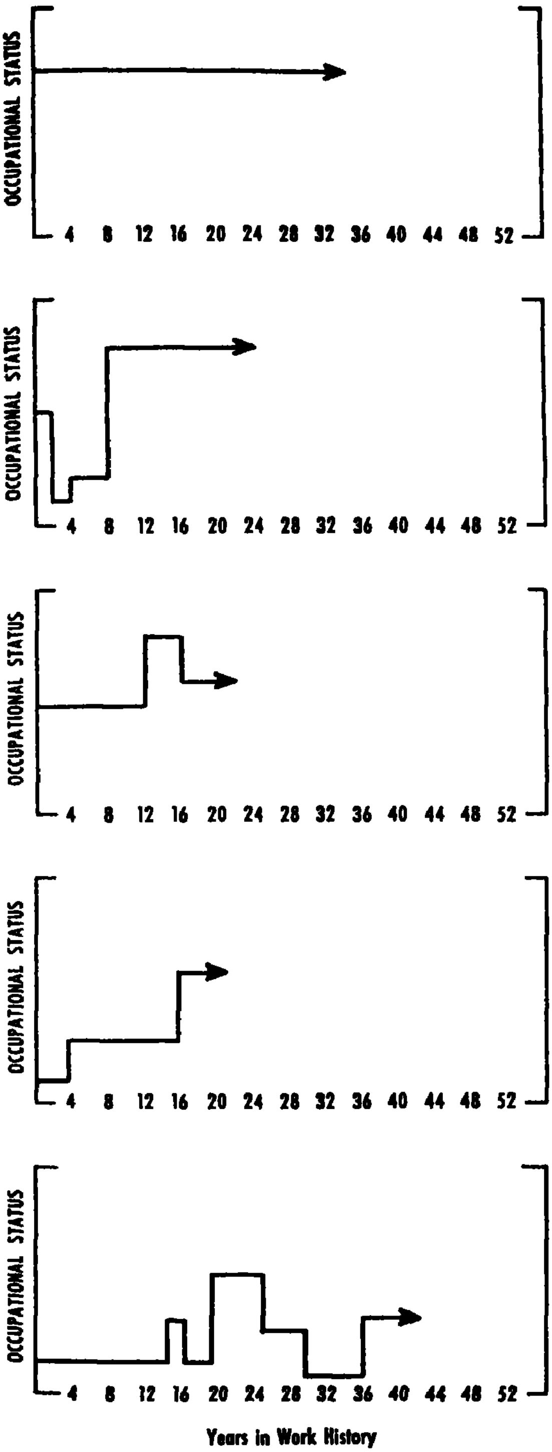
1. *Trial career period.*—A job or occupation which is temporary. The period of 0–2.9 years set the limit of this category.
2. *Stable career period.*—Three to 5.9 years constituted a stable period. This midperiod between a permanent career and a trial was needed because many of our respondents held a job or followed an occupation for longer than Miller's and Form's trial period, but not for as long as their subsequent work history. The end point of 5.9 was an arbitrary limit.
3. *Established career period.*—Although 6 years is not a guaranty that the worker will remain permanently a member of the organization or continue to follow an occupation, it is a longer commitment than the other two periods and more often connected with lifetime employment.

[8] Delbert Miller and William Form, "Occupational Career Pattern as a Sociological Instrument," *American Journal of Sociology,* LIV (January, 1949), 317–29; also their *Industrial Sociology* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1951), Part IV; and "Measuring Patterns of Occupational Security," *Sociometry,* X (November, 1947), 362–75. Other studies of career patterns include Gladys Palmer, *Labor Mobility in Six Cities* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1954), pp. 58–81; S. Lipset and F. T. Malm, "Social Origins and Occupational Career Patterns," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review,* VII (1954), 246–61; S. Lipset and R. Bendix, "Social Mobility and Occupational Career Patterns," Part I, *American Journal of Sociology,* LVII (January, 1952), 366–74, and Part II, *ibid.,* LVII (March, 1952), 494–504; H. L. Wilensky, "Work, Careers and Social Integration," *International Social Science Journal,* Vol. XII (Fall, 1960).

A respondent's work history is thus a set of job career periods and occupationa career periods. At one extreme we ca imagine a pattern in which one occupatio and one workplace characterize the tota work history; at the other, a history i which no job or occupation was held lon enough to establish even a stable period Between the two extremes of stability an instability are a number of empirical pos sibilities, both in quantity and in sequence The use of types of career periods enable us to depict the shapes of individual wor histories.

It was very rare for a respondent to re port immediate establishment of a perma nent career in *both* job and occupation. I was also very rare for a respondent not t have held any job or occupation lon enough to have developed an establishe career period. The closest approximation to the former pattern (early establishment were found among the professionals: her we observe a period of training often fol lowed by the immediate establishment o an occupation. Often respondents wen through a period of searching, trying firs one job or occupation and then anothe finally settling down to one and staying i it for most of their work history to dat Not all, or even most, had such directe careers, however. The distinctions in suc patterns led to a typology of career shape (Fig. 1):

1. *Directed career.*—Direction and stabl long-term commitment characterize th type of career pattern. Two subtypes were the *immediate-establishment* pattern, whic was characterized by early commitment t job or occupation with no changes durin the remainder of the work history, an *gradual development,* which included a pe riod of experimentation, for the responden began his work life in some occupation o job in which he did not stay long enoug to complete an established period, but hi present job or occupation is established an the only established one he has had. Th quality of fixed direction in the work his tory characterizes both these directed ca reers.



I. Directed career

a) Immediate establishment
Current occupation: Protestant minister
1. College, 4 years
2. Present occupation, 31 years

b) Gradual establishment
Current occupation: Salesman in family monument business
1. Salesman, 1 year
2. Marginal labor, 2 years
3. Factory operative, 3 years
4. Present occupation, 18 years

II. Undirected career

a) Unestablished
Current occupation: Comptroller in small, local business
1. Armed forces, 4 years
2. College, 4 years
3. Salesman, 3 years
4. Manager, 3 years
5. Present occupation, 4 years

b) Disestablished
Current occupation: Tavern manager
1. Factory operative, 1 year
2. Armed forces, 2 years
3. Skilled labor, 10 years
4. Present occupation, 4 years

c) Multiple
Current occupation: Painter and carpenter, employed by chemical corporation.
1. Factory operative, 14 years
2. Skilled labor, 2 years
3. Factory operative, 2 years
4. Clerk, 5 years
5. Farmer, 4 years
6. Marginal labor, 6 years
7. Present occupation, 6 years

FIG. 1.—Types of occupational career shapes

2. *Undirected careers.*—In many cases the work life does not display the directional and committed characteristics of the directed career. Frequent change and impermanence are found. Three subtypes were distinguished:
   a) *Unestablished careers.*—Here there is no instance of an established period in the work history for job or for occupation. In some cases youth may be responsible and with more years established periods may develop; others display a highly sporadic succession of jobs or occupations.
   b) *Disestablished careers.*—These are cases of change to new activities after the respondent had developed an established period, but the present position or occupation is not established.
   c) *Multiple careers.*—During a work life, a respondent may change and develop more than one established career. His present position may or may not be established.

CAREER AND WORKPLACE

As expected, respondents changed workplaces (jobs) more frequently than they changed occupations, although a good deal of occupational change was manifest. A majority of the respondents (59.9 per cent) had pursued three or more occupations during their still uncompleted work lives.[9] No clear relationship was discovered between the number of organizations in which a respondent had worked and the number of occupations he had held.

STABILITY OF WORKPLACE IN THE WORK LIFE

The study supports the theory of the greater influence of occupational role as compared with form of enterprise in affecting stability of workplace. Table 2 presents the statistically significant associations between the stated variables when the *number* of jobs (workplaces) in the individual work history was computed. In a workplace history called "fluid" the respondent had worked in three or more organizations during his working life.

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF WORKPLACES IN WORK HISTORY AND OCCUPATIONAL ROLE-ENTERPRISE ATTRIBUTES*

	Occupation	Role	Enterprise	Occuption and Enterprise	Role and Enterprise
Fixed workplace‡....	P>T M>S P, M>S, T	n.s.	n.s.	M: C>L	I: C>L

* *Occupation:* P, professional; M, managerial; S, sales; T, trained labor; *occupational role:* D, determinate; I, indeterminate; *form of enterprise:* C, corporate; L, local.

All results are based on chi-square analysis of association and are significant at $p < .05$, except those marked n.s., not significant; and †, $p < .10$.

‡ *Three or fewer workplaces in work history.*

As Table 2 indicates, the professional and the managerial occupations had less fluid, more "fixed" workplace histories than did the sales and trained-labor categories. The professionals had the most "fixed" of the work histories: 20 per cent of them showed only *one* workplace in their work lives to date. The trained laborers were the most fluid, a reflection, probably, of the uniquely independent contracting character of the building trades in the American economy.

No significant differences were observed between corporate and local personnel or between determinate and indeterminate occupations in respect to number of jobs held during the work history. However, within specific occupations and occupational roles the form of enterprise did affect careers. Among the managerial group (which includes self-employed persons as well as em-

[9] A somewhat similar pattern was found in the life histories of 108 blue-collar workers and 39 white-collar workers in the Detroit area. Wilensky found an average of six jobs and three occupations in the work histories of this sample.

ployees) those now working for corporate enterprises were more likely to have had three or fewer jobs than were those now in local enterprises. When the total role samples were analyzed, it was only within the indeterminate roles (sales and management) that form of enterprise made a significant difference. The corporate personnel showed a less fluid pattern than did the local. In other words, the more determinate occupations (professions and trained labor) were less affected by the form of the enterprise than were the less determinate occupations.

The stability of the workplace can also be analyzed from the standpoint of the relation of present to earlier jobs. We compared the most stable job ever held by the respondent with his present job. In most cases these were the same, but in slightly more than one-third of the histories this was not so. Again, form of enterprise was not a significant variable: the present job was equally likely to be the most stable for corporate as for local personnel. Differences were found, however, between determinate and indeterminate roles. Among determinate occupations the present and the most stable jobs were more likely to be the same than was the case among the indeterminate occupations ($p < .05$). The sales workers were the most likely to follow a fluid pattern, in which the present job was not as yet the most stable one. Examining the effects of interaction showed that form of enterprise was only significant among the determinate occupations, but here the relationship was not that of corporate forms related to stability, but the opposite: the corporate professional or trained laborer was more likely to show a fluid pattern than was the local worker ($p < .05$).

WORKPLACE AND CAREER

Analysis of workplace and shape of career leads to the same conclusion as does analysis of workplace stability. It is not the form of enterprise but the occupational role which most affects career (Table 3).

Although professionals tend to display immediately established shapes of career more often than do those in other occupations, the differences between them and trained labor in shapes of directed careers was not at all statistically significant. Only in the effects of interaction of role and form of enterprise does a significant difference appear (Table 3, col. 5). Corporate forms, within the determinate role, are more likely to show directed shapes than are local forms within that occupational role. There is some tendency toward similar differences within the indeterminate role, but the results are not statistically significant. For the entire sample the differences in form of enterprise are in the same direction but not statistically significant ($p < .05$).

The findings on both stability and shape of career suggest that form of enterprise is not as influential as is occupational role in structuring patterns of workplace career. Form of enterprise operates within limits set by occupational roles. In this framework, corporate organization is associated with one development of fixed workplace patterns and directed shapes more often than is local enterprise.

TABLE 3

WORKPLACE CAREER SHAPE AND OCCUPATIONAL ROLE-ENTERPRISE ATTRIBUTES*

	Occupation	Role	Enterprise	Occupation and Enterprise	Role and Enterprise
Directed career‡	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	P: C>L† T: C>L†	D: C>L

*† For explanation of abbreviations see note to Table 2

‡ In immediate or gradual establishment.

CAREER AND OCCUPATION

STABILITY OF OCCUPATION

Increasing educational requirements and professional training suggest occupations with a lifetime commitment. Both in this study and in previous research, however, it is found that, more often than not, the individual pursues more than one occupation during his work history. Even among the professionals, who show the most frequent instances of early and stable commitment to an occupation, only 50 per cent had work histories with only one occupation in them, as of the time of collecting the data.

TABLE 4

NUMBER OF OCCUPATIONS IN WORK HISTORY AND OCCUPATIONAL ROLE-ENTERPRISE ATTRIBUTES*

	Occupation	Role	Enterprise	Occupation and Enterprise	Role and Enterprise
Fixed occupation‡....	P>T P>M, S, T	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

*† For explanation of abbreviations see note to Table 2.

‡ Two or fewer occupations in work history.

Among the findings on relation of occupational stability to forms of enterprise, occupation, and occupational role (Table 4), the difference between occupations is the most salient. The fixed nature of careers among the professionals is in great contrast to the more fluid nature of occupational commitment among the other groups. Although the trained laborers had histories with the largest average number of workplaces, they showed fewer occupations per man than did either the managers or the salesmen.

Contrary to expectation, those who at present were corporate employees had *more* occupations in their work histories than did those in local establishments. This association between corporate enterprise and fluidity of career, however, was not statistically significant ($p < .20$).

Analysis of the most stable occupation shows results very similar to the analysis of the most stable workplace. No differences were found between those at present in corporate or in local enterprises. However, those in determinate occupations displayed more fixed patterns (most stable occupation the same as the present occupation) than did those in indeterminate occupations ($p < .05$). No differences were found between professionals and trained laborers. As was the case with jobs, the salesmen had the most fluid patterns of stability: they were more likely than were managers to have a past occupation that had been more stable than the current one ($p < .05$). No differences between types of enterprise were found within the categories of occupational role.

OCCUPATION AND SHAPE OF CAREER

The limited function of organization in affecting career is most clearly seen in the data on occupation and shape of career. Here we are dealing with the sequence through which the worker has passed in reaching his present occupation.

Occupational careers are, as expected, less fluid than are job careers. Even so, the directed career was not by any means found in most cases. Although unskilled and clerical occupations were not included in the sample studied, 43.1 per cent of the work histories were classified as undirected. Of the total 195 work histories, 27.6 per cent were either unestablished or disestablished careers (Table 5).

As in the other findings, no relation between form of enterprise and shape of career was discovered. Occupational role was related, however: determinate occupations showed directed careers more often than did indeterminate ones. Only within the determinate role was form of enterprise

significant, again contrary to expectations of the stabilizing functions of corporate forms on career. Professionals and trained laborers now in corporate employment were less likely to have directed careers than were those in local enterprises.

Of the four occupational categories in the sample, the sales category was the least likely to display directed careers: in the sales group there was a tendency for corporate personnel to show directed careers more often than did local personnel, although the results are not statistically significant ($p < .20$). This was in contrast to the finding that within the managerial group, as within the determinate occupations, corporate enterprise was related to undirected careers.

The image of the corporate career as one which is quickly developed and pursued throughout the work life is not borne out by these data. The contrary image of a fluid, shifting career of jobs and occupations in the local market is also contradicted by the findings. In its place is presented a model of careers in which attachment to occupation is the central, determining fact and in which the fluidity and direction of the work life is influenced by organizational characteristics only within the limits of occupation and occupational roles. The manager and the professional, the salesman and the technician may be part of the same organization, but this should not hide the importance of occupational and professional differentiation in determining career.

Bureaucratization and organizational expansion have sometimes seemed synonymous. Peter Blau has written of the historical trend for many organizations to change from less to more bureaucratic forms of organizations.[10] William H. Whyte, in *The Organization Man*, has depicted the modern corporation as the central reference group, point of commitment, and determiner of the individual's life-style and career. The major point of our study is that this view of organizational dominance is highly overdrawn, at least as it applies to job and occupational careers. The occupation and the occupational role exert a more powerful influence on the career than does the form of organization. Stability and direction, usually thought of as aspects of career in bureaucratic organization, are more closely related to determinateness of occupation than to organization. The homogeneity implied in the concept of the organization man ignores the very significant differences between at least one aspect of occupations—their determinateness.

TABLE 5

OCCUPATIONAL CAREER SHAPE AND OCCUPATIONAL ROLE-ENTERPRISE ATTRIBUTES*

	Occupation	Role	Enterprise	Occupation and Enterprise	Role and Enterprise
Directed career‡.....	M>S	D>I	n.s.	M:L>C	D:L>C

*† For explanation of abbreviations see note to Table 2.
‡ In immediate or gradual establishment.

Several previous studies have documented some of this differentiation in describing the conflict among professionals arising from orientation toward organizational and toward professional reference groups. Gouldner's "cosmopolitans and locals" (in a college faculty); Marvick's "institutionalists and specialists" (in a federal agency); and Reissman's "functional and job bureaucrats" (in a state governmental bureau) provide social-psychological evidence supporting the view taken here.[11]

[10] Peter Blau, *Bureaucracy in Modern Society* (New York: Random House, 1956), p. 36.

[11] Alvin W. Gouldner, "Cosmopolitans and Locals," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, II (December, 1957), 281–306, and II (March, 1958), 444–

Solomon's conclusion to a study of corporation-employed chemists states a major source of divergent demands on the professional: "By definition, professionals and bureaucracies are incompatible. In principle, professional codes and bureaucratic organizational codes are mutually exclusive."[12]

The general trend of occupational life in modern society appears to lie in directions analogous to professionalization. Occupational determinacy is largely related, in its very definition, to the development of an organized system through which control over job and entry into occupation are removed from the workplace and primary group affiliations. In the sense that this replaces informal, traditional, and particularistic modes of control with formal, legal, and universalistic ones, it is part of the process of the bureaucratization of work. At a social-psychological level, as such processes support the development of work codes, of self-identification, and of reference-group behavior, they are crucial aspects of the growth of an occupational self, unattached to specific organizations. We have witnessed this in the studies of the professional discussed above. The same logic, our data suggest, might also hold for other determinate occupations, such as the skilled laborer.

The process of professionalization is, of course, not confined to the census category "professionals." It can go on, and has gon on, at any level of the socioeconomic hiei archy. Nelson Foote has pointed out tha unionization has been influential in sta bilizing the work life of the unskilled an semiskilled automobile worker so that th concept of career can now be used to de scribe it.[13] Appropriately, Foote refers t these developments as "the professionali zation of labor."

Our findings concerning occupationa role suggest that it is useful in occupationa sociology to turn attention away from or ganizational structure and toward the proc esses which are increasing or decreasin the determinacy of work activities. Whil technological factors increase demands fo greater specialization, they are by no mean the only, or the major, sources of occupa tional determinacy. The one occupatio most associated with the growth of large scale organization—managerial supervisio —remains one of the least specialized o organized of occupations. The demand fo its development into professional associa tion and training appears prompted by th needs of economic protection and socia status. As an occupation becomes determi nate, training or requirements of skill ca be substituted for diffuse systems of re cruitment. In this way control of the mar ket and of entry into the occupation shift to the occupational group and its agencie —the union, the school, the professiona association.[14] This is an important aspec of the process by which occupations devel op countervailing power against organiza tions.

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80; Dwaine Marvick, *Career Perspectives in a Bureaucratic Setting* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1954); Leonard Reissman, "A Study of Role Conception in a Bureaucracy," *Social Forces*, XXVII (1949), 305–10. Also see Raymond Mack, "Occupational Ideology and Determinate Role," *Social Forces*, XXXVI (October, 1957), 37–44.

[12] David Solomon, "Professional Persons in Bureaucratic Organizations," *Symposium on Preventive and Social Psychiatry* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1958), pp. 253–67.

[13] Nelson Foote, "The Professionalization o Labor in Detroit," *American Journal of Sociolog* LVIII (January, 1953), 371–80.

[14] Data on recruitment, drawn from the presen study, will be presented in a later report.

THE EVALUATION OF OCCUPATIONS BY WARSAW INHABITANTS[1]

ADAM SARAPATA AND WLODZIMIERZ WESOLOWSKI

ABSTRACT

Before World War II Poland was a non-industrial country with widespread urban and rural unemployment, a high rate of illiteracy, and strong and rigid stratification on the basis of material situation and style of life. Since 1939 the Polish people have gone through five years of occupation and war, rapid urbanization and industrialization, and nationalization of production; a new socialist ideology prevails. To assess the impact of these structural and ideological changes on the popular evaluation of occupations, Warsaw inhabitants were asked to rate occupations as to material rewards, job security, prestige, and desirability for their children. The greatest consensus is by sex and age; the least, by education and occupation. Prestige is strongly related to education, skill, and security. In comparison with the prewar situation, the social prestige of white-collar workers, army officers, and private entrepreneurs has decreased; that of skilled workers and nurses has increased. However, at the very top (e.g., doctors, professors, teachers, engineers) and the very bottom (unskilled labor and cleaning women) rankings are stable and similar to those in the West.

During the last twenty years the class, occupational, and educational structure of Poland has undergone a radical transformation, and geographical and social mobility have reached a high rate. Before World War II, Poland was one of the least industrialized countries in Europe: approximately 60 per cent of the whole population depended upon agriculture for a livelihood. Since then industrialization has been rapid. In 1931 the urban population amounted to 27 per cent, in 1946, 32 per cent, and in 1958, 40 per cent. In 1938 the number of manual workers outside agriculture amounted to 2,200,000; of these, about 830,000 worked in industry and mining. (See Tables 1 and 2.) In 1958 the number of manual workers was over 5 million, of whom nearly 3 million were in industry and mining. Employment of engineers in 1956 was more than five and one-half times higher, and of technicians more than four times higher, than it was in 1938. The number of university students has increased from fourteen to fifty-seven per ten thousand inhabitants between 1937 and 1957. There has also occurred a fundamental change in the structure of women's employment, as well as in the proportion of women in the total labor force. While in 1931 about 38 per cent of all working women were domestic servants, in 1958 these represented less than one per cent of all employed women.

Unfortunately, no studies in perception of social stratification were done in prewar Poland, and accurate statistics regarding many aspects of social differentiation of Polish society today are lacking. Also, there are only a few studies of the social stratification and situation of various classes and strata in Eastern Europe. The chief aim of this study, undertaken in December, 1958, was to ascertain the social evaluation of various occupations and jobs and thereby to study the popular perception of the social structure. Such a study is useful for examining the effects of economic and social changes during recent years in the mind of the people as well as for comparing the public image of stratification among several societies.

In order to obtain the evaluation of occupations and jobs by a sample of Warsaw residents, we employed the multidimensional rating method, described by Rossi and Inkeles, in preference to a single criterion of a summary nature, such as "general standing," "social standing," etc.[2] There-

[1] The authors are especially indebted to Reinhard Bendix, Seymour M. Lipset, William Kornhauser, Alex Inkeles, Peter Rossi, Harold Wilensky, Dave Olson, and Hanan Selvin for their suggestions and advice.

[2] Peter H. Rossi and Alex Inkeles, "Multidimensional Ratings of Occupations," *Sociometry*, Vol. XX (September, 1957).

fore, our schedule sought ratings of occupations along three dimensions, as follows:

Material rewards.—In your own opinion, what material rewards, in our country today, are given in each of the following occupations:

1. Very high material rewards?
2. High material rewards?
3. Average material rewards?
4. Small material rewards?
5. Very small material rewards?

Security.—A guaranty of having a stable job in the occupation: In your own opinion, which of the following occupations in our country today are:

1. Very secure?
2. Secure?
3. Fairly secure?
4. Relatively insecure?

Prestige.—So far you rated the occupations by material rewards and security. But occupations are judged also by social prestige, that is, the respect which the people give to the occupations. Thinking of their social prestige, how do you rate these occupations:

1. With very great prestige?
2. With great prestige?
3. With average prestige?
4. With low prestige?
5. With very low prestige?

The list to be rated consisted of thirty occupations chosen as representative of the social structure of the Polish society and which did not include jobs unfamiliar to the average man.[8] Later we found that the job of the city ward Communist Party secretary was not well known to a large number of the people interviewed, and thus we omitted it in this summary. This fact is easily understood because a party secretary has a strategic position in small towns, where he is very well known, but in Warsaw he is merely a minor functionary surrounded by many more important national officials. In addition we know that the list we used in our study (see Table 3) could be more comprehensive. An open-ended question added to the schedule was: What occupation would you choose for your son and your daughter, if it depended only on your wishes?

TABLE 1

POPULATION BY MAIN SOURCE OF MAINTENANCE IN POLAND, 1931 AND 1950*

Date	Population in Agriculture No. (In Millions)	Population in Agriculture Per Cent	Population outside Agriculture No. (In Millions)	Population outside Agriculture Per Cent	Total (In Millions)
1931	19.1	60.0	12.8	40.0	31.9†
1950	11.6	47.1	13.0	52.9	24.6‡

* Source: *Concise Statistical Year Book of the Polish People's Republic, 1959* (Warsaw), p. 22.
† 0.2 million persons.
‡ 0.4 million persons not considered.

TABLE 2

POPULATION EMPLOYED OUTSIDE AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY IN SOCIALIZED ECONOMY BY DIVISIONS*

(In Thousands)

	1949	1958
Industry and handicraft	1,670	2,921
Building	307	722
Transport and communications ..	449	650
Trade	322	662
Municipal services and housing ..	77	174
Social and cultural establishments	364	709
Administration	344	300
Total	3,533	6,138

* Source: *Concise Statistical Year Book of the Polish People's Republic, 1959* (Warsaw), p. 118.

[8] "Shopkeeper" here means small shopkeeper; "mechanical engineer" means an engineer with an academic degree; "agronomist" means engineer with agricultural academic education; "teacher in Polish nauczyciel"—this term is used for teachers in grammar schools, secondary schools, and colleges; there are some differences in material conditions and social prestige between teachers in various kinds of schools, but many teachers in the lowest and highest schools often have the same academic education; "typists" in Poland are almost always women; "nurse" means one with secondary education.

A quota sample of 352 men and 411 women was stratified by such factors as age and sex (Table 4), type of employment (i.e., manual and non-manual work), and education (Table 5). The answers were gathered by experienced interviewers of the Public Opinion Center of the Polish Radio. These interviewers are volunteers, chiefly from white-collar workers.

EVALUATION OF OCCUPATIONS

MATERIAL REWARDS

In our schedule we asked for an evaluation of "material rewards" because in Polish society people seem concerned with earnings, including fringe benefits, not only with wages and salaries. Secondly, we asked how these occupations were paid in comparison

TABLE 3

RANKS, SCORES, AND DISTRIBUTION OF RATINGS OF SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONS IN RELATION TO MATERIAL REWARDS

Rank	Occupation	Evaluation of Material Rewards (Percentage of Respondents): Very High	High	Average	Small	Very Small	Don't Know	Score*
1....	Minister of the national government	79.0	15.7	3.9	0.7	0.1	0.7	1.26
2....	Shopkeeper	47.5	37.7	12.6	1.2	0.3	0.7	1.68
3....	Lawyer, attorney	43 4	43.6	11.3	0 7	0.4	0.7	1.70
4....	Tailor with his own workshop	40.2	44.8	13.4	1.2	0.1	0 3	1.74
5....	Doctor	41.0	35.7	17.8	4.1	1.4	0 0	1.89
6....	Locksmith with his own workshop	25.0	48.5	23.5	1.7	0 3	1.1	2.02
7....	University professor	20.7	45.4	25.4	6.1	0.5	1 9	2.18
8....	Airplane pilot	16.2	49.1	29.3	3.1	...	2 3	2.19
9 ...	Journalist	17.8	44.0	32.0	3.6	....	2.7	2.21
10 ...	Skilled steel-mill worker	17.3	46.6	30.0	3.5	0.8	1.9	2.22
11....	Priest	27.8	32.9	25.6	8.8	2.9	2 0	2.24
12....	Mechanical engineer	16.3	43.8	31.5	6.0	0.9	1.5	2.30
13....	Machinist	14.2	43.3	37.6	3.1	1.1	0.8	2.32
14....	Army officer	7.4	36.5	49.8	4.8	0.3	1.2	2.53
15 ...	Small farmer	9.4	34.8	40.0	11.6	2.7	1.6	2 62
16....	Agronomist	8.5	32.1	44.2	10.6	1.3	3.2	2.62
17....	Factory foreman	4.2	35.1	50.6	8.5	0.8	0.8	2.66
18....	Office supervisor	4.4	32.4	49.1	11.3	1.1	1 7	2 71
19....	Accountant	4.4	28.3	51.1	13.5	0.8	1.9	2.77
20....	Sales clerk	8.9	17.9	32.0	34.4	6.0	0.8	3.10
21....	Policeman	2.9	15.5	47.5	29.2	4.4	0.5	3.12
22....	Teacher	4.8	7.6	34.4	42.8	9.8	0.7	3.45
23....	Unskilled construction laborer	1.7	11.3	33.7	36.9	14.8	1.5	3.52
24....	Office clerk	0.5	4.4	31.5	50.1	12.5	1.1	3.70
25....	Typist	...	4.4	34.0	47.0	13.3	1.3	3.70
26....	Railway conductor	0.4	3 7	26.0	53.5	15.3	1.1	3.80
27....	Nurse	0.5	5.7	21.5	43.4	28.3	0.5	3.93
28....	Unskilled farm laborer on state farm	0.1	2.7	17.4	40.1	38.1	1.6	4 15
29 ..	Cleaning woman	0.1	0.5	3.9	20.2	75.2	0 1	4.67

* Averages of the individual scores: 1.00, very high material rewards; 2.00, high; 3.00, average; 4.00, small; 5.00, very small.

TABLE 4

PLANNED SAMPLE AND REALIZATION BY SEX AND AGE (IN YEARS)

	Men: 18-24	25-29	30-39	40-49	50+	Women: 18-24	25-29	30-39	40-49	50+
Number of people chosen........	75	65	108	83	107	80	70	119	105	188
Number interviewed.......	59	51	84	70	78	63	62	92	70	124
Percentage of realization......	78.7	78.5	77.8	84.8	72.9	78.7	88 6	77.3	66.7	66.0

ith one another—not how these occupa-ons *should be* paid but how they *are* paid. ı spite of detailed instructions to the volun-er interviewers, the opinions we obtained e a mixture of the respondents' knowledge based upon their experience and of their stereotypes as to which occupations and jobs are judged as "overpaid" or "underpaid."

TABLE 5

ESPONDENTS' EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONS*

(Per Cent of Sample)

	Men	Women
rammar school (seven years or less)	32.4	29.5
:condary school (more than seven but less than twelve years)	36.3	41.2
:ademic school	28.9	26.7
o answer	2.4	2.4
Total	100.0	99.8

* Among the respondents there were 8 physicians, 51 engi-ers, 30 teachers, 138 white-collar workers, 187 skilled workers d artisans, and 26 students in academic schools.

Unfortunately, we have no "objective" income data which could be compared with the findings reported in Table 3. But it is our impression that the picture shown here comes quite close to the objective situation.

The score 1.00 means "very high material rewards," the score 2.00 means "high material rewards," and so on, so that Table 3 shows not only the rank order of occupations and jobs according to their material rewards but also how the jobs are rated. If we arbitrarily classify the rated occupations according to the scale, we may say that about one-fourth of the listed occupations

TABLE 6

RANKS, SCORES, AND DISTRIBUTION OF RATINGS OF SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONS IN RELATION TO JOB SECURITY

Rank	Occupation	Evaluation of Job Security (Percentage of Respondents): Very Secure	Secure	Fairly Secure	Relatively Insecure	Don't Know	Score*
....	Doctor	72.2	19.9	1.6	0.1	1.3	1.08
....	University professor	64.1	29.5	4.0	0.5	1.9	1.39
....	Skilled steel-mill worker	59.6	34.0	4.0	0.9	1.5	1.45
....	Teacher	59.4	32.4	5.8	0.5	1.9	1.46
....	Machinist	55.8	37.7	4.1	1.3	1.1	1.50
....	Priest	61.8	24.0	7.3	4.6	2.3	1.53
....	Lawyer, attorney	56.4	38.3	8.6	1.1	1.7	1.59
....	Mechanical engineer	41.3	47.5	8.1	0.9	2.1	1.87
....	Agronomist	38.8	46.6	11.3	0.5	2.8	1.72
....	Nurse	40.4	42.0	12.9	3.2	1.7	1.78
....	Journalist	24.2	42.0	27.0	4.6	2.3	2.12
....	Airplane pilot	25.6	43.8	17.8	10.7	2.0	2.13
....	Factory foreman	15.3	53.4	26.7	2.7	2.0	2.17
....	Small farmer	28.6	36.0	20.3	13.2	1.9	2.18
....	Accountant	8.9	52.5	28.9	7.5	2.1	2.22
....	Army officer	17.9	39.7	29.5	10.8	2.0	2.34
....	Railway conductor	10.5	49.9	30.5	7.0	2.0	2.34
....	Policeman	17.4	32.1	33.3	15.3	1.9	2.47
....	Tailor with his own workshop	16.5	36.9	26.8	18.2	1.7	2.47
....	Minister of the national government	28.2	16.7	17.9	36.1	2.1	2.63
....	Locksmith with his own workshop	12.1	29.2	30.4	26.0	2.1	2.71
....	Unskilled farm laborer on a state farm	13.5	27.2	29.1	28.0	2.1	2.73
....	Unskilled construction laborer	13.1	21.9	33.2	30.1	1.7	2.81
....	Office supervisor	4.5	23.8	44.9	24.6	2.3	2.91
....	Cleaning woman	7.8	21.9	29.1	39.3	1.9	3.01
....	Sales clerk	5.0	18.1	42.5	32.8	1.6	3.04
....	Shopkeeper	6.6	17.7	31.1	42.5	2.1	3.11
....	Office clerk	1.1	8.8	47.9	40.1	2.1	3.29
....	Typist	0.5	9.4	42.4	45.6	2.1	3.35

* Averages of the individual scores: 1.00, the job is very secure, 2.00, secure, 3.00, fairly secure; 4.00, relatively insecure

are considered highly or very highly paid and about one-fourth low or very low.

Some internal comparisons may be of interest: the material rewards of the skilled steel-mill worker (rank 10) are evaluated near but higher than those of the mechanical engineer (rank 12). The material rewards of the factory foreman (rank 17) are evaluated lower than those of the skilled workers (ranks 10, 13). The typist (rank 25) is higher than the nurse (rank 27). The teacher (rank 22) is lower than the sales clerk (rank 20). The unskilled construction laborer (rank 23) is higher than either the office clerk, the typist, the railway conductor, or the nurse.

Tables 3, 6, and 7 report the degree of consensus in ratings of specific occupations with respect to each dimension. Percentages serve as a measure of the degree of agreement. The number of "Don't know" answers in no case exceeds 3.2 per cent. Table 8 summarizes the scores on material rewards, security, and prestige by major occupational categories.

JOB SECURITY

Before World War II Poland had a very high rate of urban and rural unemployment and mass economic emigration. It has been estimated that between 30 and 50 per cent of the rural working population could be removed from the land without reducing the output. Many a prewar book objectively and precisely describes the miserable conditions of hundreds of thousands of long-unemployed job-seekers, both manual and non-manual, and landless peasants. In our

TABLE 7

RANKS, SCORES, AND DISTRIBUTION OF RATINGS OF SPECIFIC OCCUPATIONS IN RELATION TO SOCIAL PRESTIGE

		Evaluation of Social Prestige (Percentage of Respondents)						
Rank	Occupation	Very Great	Great	Average	Low	Very Low	Don't Know	Score*
1....	University professor	79.5	16.7	2.1	0.3	....	1.3	1.22
2....	Doctor	61.0	33.2	3.7	0.5	0.4	1.2	1.44
3....	Teacher	48.1	33.6	13.9	1.9	0.8	1.7	1.71
4....	Mechanical engineer	33.3	53.1	11.2	0.5	....	1.9	1.78
5....	Airplane pilot	35.6	44.9	15.9	1.3	0.1	2.1	1.83
6....	Lawyer, attorney	34.8	39.7	17.4	4.2	2.0	1.9	1.97
7....	Agronomist	25.4	51.4	18.7	1.9	0.3	2.4	1.97
8....	Minister of the national government	38.9	26.8	19.0	8.4	4.9	2.0	2.07
9....	Journalist	27.2	39.4	24.0	5.6	1.9	1.9	2.13
10....	Skilled steel-mill worker	23.5	39.0	29.9	5.0	0.7	1.9	2.18
11....	Priest	32.7	29.0	18.3	7.7	10.5	1.9	2.35
12....	Nurse	20.8	32.7	33.2	10.4	1.6	1.3	2.38
13....	Machinist	19.5	38.4	34.0	5.8	0.7	1.6	2.51
14....	Factory Foreman	7.7	42.1	40.1	7.2	0.8	2.1	2.53
15....	Small farmer	7.3	27.4	43.7	16.1	2.7	2.9	2.53
16....	Accountant	7.6	38.8	43.3	6.6	1.2	2.5	2.54
17....	Shopkeeper	6.4	21.2	43.6	19.1	7.8	1.9	2.64
18....	Tailor with his own workshop	7.3	28.2	50.9	10.1	1.7	1.9	2.70
19....	Locksmith with his own workshop	6.8	28.1	49.4	11.2	2.3	2.3	2.73
20....	Office supervisor	5.2	30.9	45.6	12.5	3.5	2.4	2.77
21....	Army officer	8.4	30.0	38.5	15.4	5.8	1.9	2.79
22....	Railway conductor	2.8	13.9	48.3	27.9	4.9	2.1	3.18
23....	Policeman	9.4	15.5	32.5	26.7	14.5	1.3	3.21
24....	Office clerk	0.8	9.4	44.6	32.3	10.6	2.3	3.43
25....	Typist	1.9	8.1	38.3	32.5	16.2	2.0	3.50
26....	Sales clerk	1.2	6.1	39.0	35.6	15.7	2.4	3.59
27....	Unskilled construction laborer	1.7	4.0	21.1	38.5	32.3	2.4	3.95
28....	Cleaning woman	1.6	5.3	16.9	28.7	45.9	1.6	4.08
29....	Unskilled farm laborer on a state farm	1.3	3.6	17.1	30.9	44.6	2.4	4.16

* Averages of individual scores: 1.00, very great prestige; 2.00, great; 3.00, average; 4.00, low; 5.00, very low.

study we wanted to describe the public image of occupational security in postwar Poland, where the new Constitution guarantees citizens the right to work. We were also interested in how the security of private enterprise and the private farmer is

TABLE 8

SUMMARY OF RANKS AND SCORES FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES ON THREE DIMENSIONS*

Rank	Category	Score
	Material Rewards	
1....	Private entrepreneurs	1.91
2....	White-collar jobs requiring university degree	2.35
3....	Skilled workers	2.44
4....	Farmers	2.61
5....	White-collar jobs not requiring university degree	3.32
6....	Unskilled workers	4.41
	Security	
1 ...	White-collar jobs requiring university degree	1.60
2....	Skilled workers	1.70
3....	Farmers	2.21
4....	Private entrepreneurs	2.49
5....	Unskilled workers	2.83
6....	White-collar jobs not requiring university degree	2.86
	Social Prestige	
1....	White-collar jobs requiring university degree	1.95
2....	Skilled workers	2.32
3....	Farmers	2.74
4....	Private entrepreneurs	2.81
5....	White-collar jobs not requiring university degree	3.02
6....	Unskilled workers	4.06

* Categories defined as follows: *white-collar jobs requiring university degree:* university professor, doctor, mechanical engineer, agronomist, journalist, teacher, lawyer; *white-collar jobs, not requiring university degree:* accountant, office supervisor, office clerk, typist, railway conductor, sales clerk; *skilled worker:* skilled steel-mill worker, machinist, factory foreman; *unskilled workers:* unskilled construction laborer, unskilled farm laborer on a state farm, cleaning woman; *private entrepreneurs:* shopkeeper, tailor with his own workshop, locksmith with his own workshop.

evaluated. The jobs rated as "most secure" tend to be those of skilled workers and non-manual workers with academic education (Tables 6, 8). Jobs rated lowest on security were non-manual occupations requiring a lower education, the private shopkeeper, and the unskilled workers. Note that office jobs such as typist, clerk, and office supervisor are rated lower than is the private artisan. In fact, only two jobs in the entire list—office clerk and typist—were judged as "relatively insecure." This may be due to the reorganization of the government bureaucracy in 1958.

SOCIAL PRESTIGE

In prewar Poland there existed a well-formed hierarchy of social prestige. At the top were the intelligentsia, the landowners, and the bourgeoisie. Non-manual jobs had different degrees of social prestige, but the most typical was the gap between non-manual and manual work which is to be explained by the tradition of the relatively numerous nobility (*szlachta*), who held the monopoly of power and wealth and created a very popular and durable ideology.

Among the workers as well as among the peasants there were some differences in prestige. The highest status was enjoyed by the so-called government or municipal workers (in postal services, railroads, alcohol, tobacco, matches, salt, armaments and munitions plants, streetcars, electrical plants, gas plants, etc.). They received higher salaries than did other categories of workers, sometimes higher than those of white-collar workers. They received monthly salaries, not weekly wages as other categories of workers. Their jobs were secure. In addition they had numerous benefits (in education, medical care, vacations, free uniforms, cheaper lodging, etc.). Similar to this category were both the status and standard of living of highly skilled workers employed in private enterprise. Both these categories of workers, mostly higher skilled, well paid, and well organized, constituted the so-called labor aristocracy whose life was different from that of other categories of workers.[4] Following the Catholic tradition in Poland the priest was highly esteemed, especially by peasants. The dream for sons from peasant homes was to enter either the priesthood or the teaching profession.

[4] See, e.g., Feliks Gross, *The Polish Worker: A Study of a Social Stratum* (New York: Roy Publishers, 1945), pp. 25–42.

These preceding remarks all refer to prewar Poland. During World War II the landowners lost their land. Very many non-manual workers were forced to do manual labor as the price of survival under the Nazi policy of extermination. Hundreds of thousands of peasants were shipped away to work for the Reich. All academic schools were closed, and the traditional education in the liberal arts was replaced by vocational schools in accordance with the Nazi labor program. In spite of the partial effectiveness of the Nazi policy of "divide and rule," the German occupation brought the various social strata nearer to each other and produced a more homogeneous society.

After World War II the new Constitution abolished those classes of society which lived by exploiting the workers and peasants. Some jobs which appeared in the prewar list of occupations no longer exist. The larger private enterprises have been nationalized. According to the official ideology, there is the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the worker is master of the factory. Free education on every level and privileges for children of worker or peasant origin give great opportunities for the working class and peasants. In addition, there are small differences between the salaries of many of the non-manual workers and the wages of the manual workers.

Working-class participation in the Communist Party and many organizations, in local people's councils and workers' self-governments (formerly workers' councils), workers having managerial positions, and so on—all these could have created a considerable change since 1939 in social prestige of strata and occupations in Poland. Hence the questions: What are the results of all this in the public image of the situation and prestige of various social strata? Do the workers' occupations now have the highest prestige? How are the traditional occupations now evaluated? Are private enterprise and the priest now downgraded? Or do all the occupations have the same prestige as a consequence of the interaction between the old tradition of the nobility and the new glorification of manual productive labor, together with the leveling impact of the war and the processes of industrialization?

For many of those interviewed even to answer questions on rating occupations according to social prestige seemed to imply undesirable social prejudices. Many answers included such remarks as "All men are equal," or "It is the man that has the prestige, not the profession." It is interesting to note that the full scale of ratings for evaluating the social prestige of particular occupations was applied more widely by the better-educated members of the sample; those less educated more often avoided using the extreme and negative values—reflecting, perhaps, their stronger egalitarian ideology.

The answers are presented in Table 7, the summary in Table 8. The highest prestige is enjoyed by the occupations traditionally belonging to the intelligentsia, representing knowledge confirmed by the academic degree (doctor, teacher, engineer, etc.). Two occupations, the purpose of which is the teaching and developing of science, and which represent the educational authority—the university professor and the teacher—occupy the first and the third places in the list.

The skilled workers (ranks 10, 13) occupy a relatively high place. Their prestige is higher than that of the skilled self-employed handicrafts workers (artisans) and of all white-collar workers, unskilled workers, and shopkeepers. Since this finding differs from results reported from non-socialist countries, it suggests a possible influence of the socialist value system. On the other hand, we note another interesting fact: the very low place in the hierarchy of the unskilled workers—similar to their status in Western countries. The unskilled construction laborer is the twenty-seventh on the list, the cleaning woman the twenty-eight, the unskilled farm laborer the twenty-ninth and last. The respondents clearly do not

have a homogeneous image of relatively high prestige for *all* manual occupations: the influence of socialist ideology is not strong enough to create a favorable view of the entire working class.

Some of the occupations—for instance, the minister of national government and the priest—occupy their relatively low places because of the extreme opinions of them given by a small number of respondents.

RATINGS AND RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE DIMENSIONS

Table 7 shows some differences among the hierarchies; Figure 1 illustrates the relation between social prestige and material rewards. We notice here three situations: in some cases there is agreement between prestige and pay ratings; in some other cases jobs are "overesteemed" or "underpaid" (e.g., teacher, nurse, university pro-

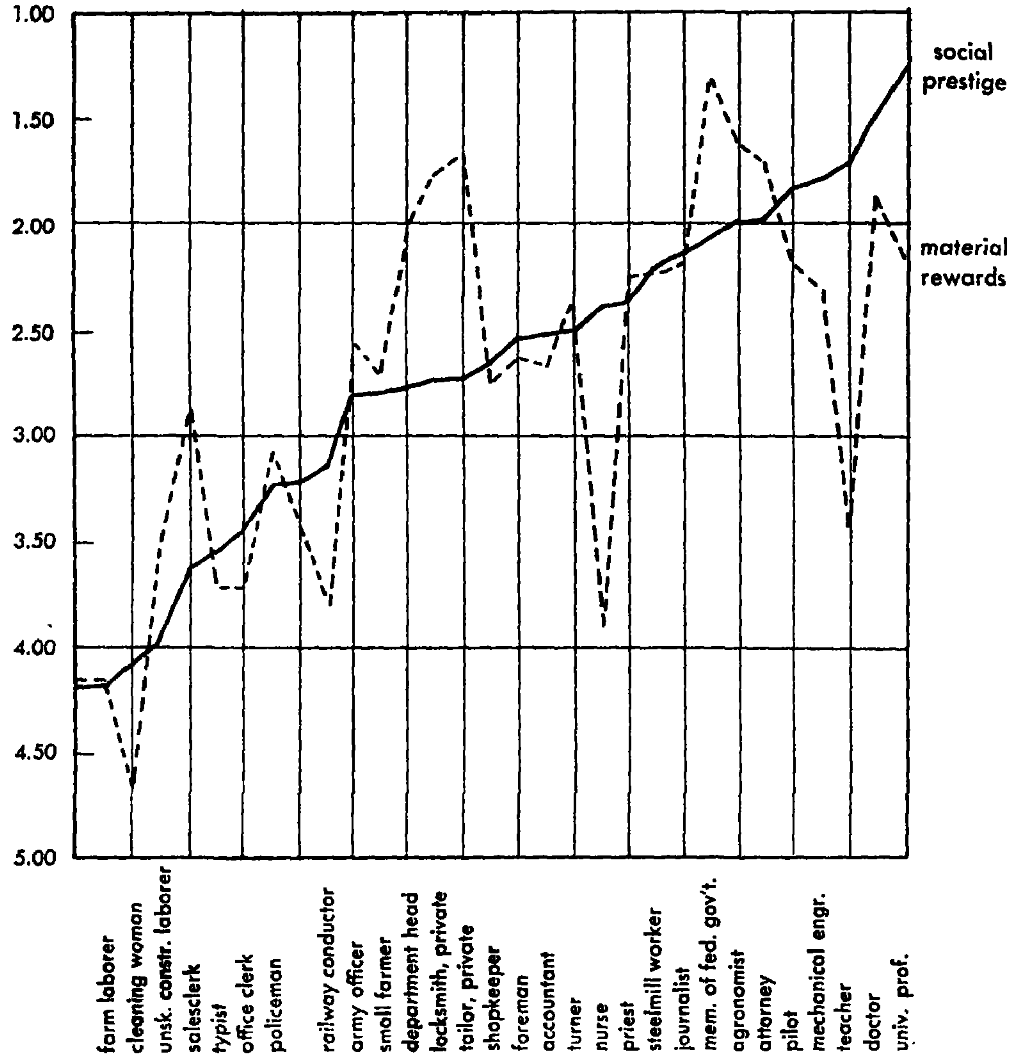


FIG. 1.—Evaluation of occupations by prestige and material rewards. Scores range from 1.00 (very high) to 5.00 (very low) and are averages of individual respondents' rankings.

fessor, railroad conductor); finally, some jobs are "underesteemed" or "overpaid" (e.g., tailor and the locksmith, each with his own workshop).

The coefficients of correlation of the three dimensions are:

Material rewards–security	0.34
Material rewards–social prestige	0.66
Social prestige–security	0.79

The data allow one to state that social prestige is strongly connected with education and skill and with security.

EVALUATION OF OCCUPATIONS BY RESPONDENTS' SEX, AGE, EDUCATION, AND OCCUPATION

Men and women agree in their rankings. Also there is a convergence among these interviewed of various ages.

A greater divergence in answers is found when they are related to the education of those interviewed. Generally, the less formal the respondent's education, the higher prestige given by him to the rated occupation and the narrower the range of answers.

The greatest divergence in answers is found when they are related to the occupation of the interviewees. The most favorable evaluation of all occupations is given by the private entrepreneurs, followed by the unskilled workers. The least favorable evaluation of all occupations comes from the students, engineers, and teachers. The evaluation of occupations given by white-collar workers with a secondary education is near the average of all the interviewed.

The most controversial judgments concern the priest (range of 1.34), the accountant (range of 1.30), the tailor with his own workshop, the locksmith, and the shopkeeper.

The private entrepreneurs evaluate their own jobs higher than do others; the skilled and unskilled workers about the same as do others; and the engineers, teachers, and office clerks lower than do others. On the basis of other studies of mechanical engineers in Warsaw, of the engineers and technicians in Silesian steel mills, and of Warsaw physicians, we can state that engineers and physicians tend to evaluate their own professions lower than do others because they feel that their profession is underesteemed by both the government and people.[5]

CHOICE OF OCCUPATION

Occupational aspirations also can serve as a good indicator of the perception of social stratification and changes in a society.

The answers presented in Table 9 and other data show that the white-collar occupation requiring academic education is the most popular among Warsaw inhabitants and among all categories of respondents. We note an interesting divergence between the high prestige, material rewards, and security of skilled workers' occupations and the aspirations projected for children. The models for desired occupational careers among the manual and non-manual workers are the engineer and doctor for boys and the doctor and teacher for girls; the tailor is also a model among the manual workers. The occupational aspirations differ according to the social status of the parents and the sex of the child for whom the job is chosen.

The studies conducted by the Institute of Agricultural Economics show that 26.4 per cent of peasant parents wished their children to be peasants and 26.8 per cent to have non-manual jobs, that is, engineer and doctor for boys and teacher for girls.[6]

PREWAR AND TODAY'S POLAND

On the basis of statistics and descriptions concerning the situation of various strata in prewar Poland, and today's partial data, we are confident that the public image

[5] These three studies were done by Adam Sarapata in 1959. In each of them the data were gathered from more than one thousand people. Some of the results were published in *Zycie Warszawy* (the *Warsaw Daily*), which organized and helped to do two of these studies; the third was sponsored by the Center of Culture and Education in Katowice.

[6] Michal Pohoski and Anna Sianko, "Wybor zawodu dla dzieci wiejskich," *Wies Wspolczesna*, Grudzien, 1958.

we obtained is close to reality. This image can serve as a basis for further studies and be a useful indicator of the changes in Polish society. The changes are the following:

Material rewards.—If such a study had been done before World War II, more occupations would probably have been judged as having high or very high material rewards. Another difference is found in the situation of the private small farmer, whose material situation is now better than it was before.

Job security.—Except for two occupations—typist and office clerk—all the occupations were evaluated as at least fairly secure. In the prewar period it seems that about seven of the occupations would have been judged less than fairly secure.

Social prestige.—The following occupations seem to have lost prestige since the war: white-collar worker with secondary education, the private entrepreneur, the railway conductor who previously belonged to the labor aristocracy,[7] the army officer, and the priest. The following occupations have gained prestige: skilled workers, the nurse, and the teacher.

TABLE 9

OCCUPATIONS CHOSEN FOR SONS AND FOR DAUGHTERS

Occupation Chosen for Sons	No. Responding	Per Cent
Engineer	285	37.8
Doctor	152	20.2
University professor	35	4.6
Journalist	20	2.7
Lawyer, attorney	20	2.7
Actor, musician, sculptor	22	2.9
Diplomat, politician	16	2 1
Other non-manual occupations	33	4.4
Non-manual occupations	583	77.4
Locksmith	34	4.5
Technician	19	2.5
Handicraft	34	4.5
Handicraft and worker occupations	87	11.5
Airman, officer, seaman	28	3.7
Shopkeeper	9	1 2
Other occupations	21	2.8
No answer	25	3.3
Total	753	99.9

Occupation Chosen for Daughters	No. Responding	Per Cent
Doctor	310	41.2
Teacher	70	9.3
Actress, musician, sculptor	68	9.0
Engineer	26	3.5
Lawyer, attorney	21	2.8
Journalist	21	2.8
Nurse	18	2.4
Other occupations requiring academic degree	51	6.7
Office clerk	18	2.4
Non-manual occupations	603	80.1
Tailor	44	5.9
Other handicraft and worker occupations	9	1.2
Handicraft and worker occupations	53	7.1
At home	11	1.5
Other occupations	21	2.8
No answer	65	8.9
Total	753	100.4

TABLE 10

SOCIAL PRESTIGE OF OCCUPATIONS IN POLAND AND IN GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC

Rank	German Federal Republic Occupation	Score
1	Big business, high executive	7.5
2	Intellectuals	10 4
3	White-collar workers A (accountant, draftsman)	15.5
4	Small business and handicraft	18.2
5	Skilled workers	20.3
6	White-collar workers B (railway conductor, sales clerk, post office clerk)	24 0
7	Semiskilled workers	24.5
8	Unskilled workers	33.5

Rank	Poland Occupation	Score
1	Intellectuals	1.74
2	Skilled workers	2.41
3	White-collar workers A (accountant, office supervisor)	2.64
4	Small private enterprise	2.69
5	White-collar workers B (railway conductor, office clerk, typist, sales clerk)	3.42
6	Unskilled workers	4.06

COMPARISON WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

To compare the evaluations of occupations studied in various countries, we employed the method described by Inkeles and

[7] Similar data were obtained in a large study done by Adam Sarapata among the workers in the Warsaw Streetcar Enterprise, 1957.

Rossi[8] and found that the coefficients of correlations between the opinions gathered in Polish society and those from other countries are relatively very high, for example:

Poland–United States	0.87
Poland–England	0.86
Poland–German Federal Republic ...	0.90[9]

But we think that these figures are not correct indicators of the public image in the compared countries. The wording, the method, and the list of compared occupations may have created some mistakes. This is to be seen when we look at the ratings of some categories in Poland and in the German Federal Republic, in spite of the high coefficient of correlation (Table 10). One must not overlook the absence of the category "big business" and the very high place of the skilled workers in the hierarchy of social prestige in Poland. These are the most evident differences between the public image among Warsaw inhabitants and that in other societies compared.

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[8] Alex Inkeles and Peter H. Rossi, "National Comparisons of Occupational Prestige," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXI (January, 1956), 329–39.

[9] Sources of the data used in the comparisons are: *United States:* National Opinion Research Center, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," in R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset (eds.), *Class, Status and Power* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953), pp. 411–26; *England:* D. V. Glass (ed.), *Social Mobility in Britain* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1954); *West Germany:* K. M. Bolte, *Sozialer Aufstieg und Abstieg* (Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1959), pp. 42, 50.

PATTERNS OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS[1]

JOAN W. MOORE

ABSTRACT

Women on upper-class hospital boards in Chicago belong to more, more prestigeful, and more metropolitan associations than do women on middle-class boards. They join their boards earlier, enjoy greater gratification, are more active, and are more committed to the board. The board role is linked to family and class responsibilities for the upper-class woman, whereas it is subordinate and supplementary to the domestic role for the middle-class woman.

Several studies indicate that it is common for the urban middle-class woman to join at least one voluntary association.[2] Others indicate that joining tends to occur at a particular stage in the family life-cycle, that is, when children have reached school age. Age patterns of women's participation in associations strikingly parallel their participation in the labor force, with low points in the late twenties and early thirties and a sharp rise in the late thirties.[3] We can infer that the middle-class woman's activity in the voluntary association depends closely on her familial responsibilities.

We know less about patterns of associational participation in the metropolitan upper class, but our knowledge of the social organization of this group suggests that they would differ substantially from those of the middle class. This paper reports data from a study of middle- and upper-class women's associations of a particular type—the metropolitan hospital board. A comparison of the experiences of women of the two class levels on their boards and in other associations shows that their associational participation serves different functions in the two classes.

HOSPITAL BOARDS IN CHICAGO

The women's boards of six hospitals in the Chicago area were studied.[4] Three were upper-class, and three predominantly middle-class boards.[5] There are hundreds of

[1] This research was supported in part by a grant from the Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago. I am indebted to W. Lloyd Warner, Peter M. Blau, and Peter H. Rossi for advice in the pilot phase of this project, to Jean Prebis for her work as research assistant, and to Bernice L. Neugarten for perceptive criticism.

[2] See Charles R. Wright and Herbert H. Hyman, "Voluntary Association Membership of American Adults," *American Sociological Review*, XXIII (June, 1958), 284–94. More than half the urban, college-educated, high-income respondents, both men and women, belonged to at least one association. In the absence of cross-tabulations of these data, it can only be assumed from other studies cited below that the national average of upper-middle-class urban dwellers is even higher.

[3] Paul C. Glick shows an increase of about 4 per cent in the proportion of wives in the labor force as women move from ages 25–34 to 35–44 (*American Families* [New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1957], p. 93). Herbert Goldhamer shows the average number of memberships of college-educated women aged 28–31 to be 1.97 and of the same type of woman aged 32–39 to be 2.74 ("Some Factors Affecting Participation in Voluntary Associations" [unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1942], p. 28). A study of Bennington, Vt., revealed the same patterns (see John C. Scott, Jr., "Membership and Participation in Voluntary Associations," *American Sociology Review*, XXII [June, 1957], 315–26).

[4] All hospitals were moderate to large in size, ranging from 220 to 820 beds.

[5] To ascertain the prestige of these boards and of other associations, society editors of three major Chicago newspapers were asked to grade sixty-two welfare (and many other) associations on a prestige scale ranging from 1 to 4. The three upper-class hospital boards included in the sample were among the four boards of highest prestige in the city. Nine other kinds of welfare groups equaled them in prestige, including two settlements and a broad range of traditionally upper-class philanthropies.

private health and welfare agencies in Chicago, from health foundations to settlement houses, to many of which auxiliary women's boards are attached. In this complex of associations the upper-class hospital board stands near the top of the hierarchy of prestige. Not only are hospitals among the largest welfare agencies to include women's boards, but the private hospitals of high status, founded by ancestors of present board members, originally granted substantial administrative authority to their women, authority which, though in most cases it has declined, has far from disappeared in the last seventy-five years. For example, the outpatient department of one of the hospitals was entirely under the control of the women's board, and in another the women's board budget committee set the salary schedules for the hospital. In addition, the more "feminine" matters, such as decorating and furnishing, supplying and regulating hospital linens, and making policy for the schools of nursing, are often still dominated by the small and socially exclusive women's boards. The upper-class hospital board is thus an association of unusual power and prestige.

The middle-class boards are quite different. Typically, they are very large, with a rotating governing body of about the same size as the average upper-class board. They are heterogeneous in class composition, including both women in the *Social Register* and wives of clerical workers. (On one board were several wives of skilled manual workers.) The middle-class board is primarily a fund-raising group with little power in the hospital, their activities being strictly subordinated to the authority of the hospital administrator and board of trustees.

A detailed case study, involving extensive interviewing, examination of board records, and a mailed questionnaire, was made of one middle- and one upper-class board.[6] A revised form of the mailed questionnaire was then sent to members of four other boards, following interviews with their presidents. In three cases only the governing bodies of the larger boards were surveyed.

The upper-class segment of the survey sample is large (Table 1); fifty-four (or 42 per cent) of the respondents were listed in the Chicago *Social Register*, and twenty-nine (or 22 per cent) were guests at the December Ball of 1956, an exclusive annual event closely analogous to the Philadelphia Assembly Hall.[7]

The mailed questionnaire was limited to questions about the women's board and relevant experiences and attitudes. A social data sheet was included. From the case studies and the questionnaires a comparison between middle- and upper-class boards will be made on the following topics: women's activities in other associations, recruitment and early experiences on the hospital board, circumstances affecting activity, commitment to the board, and satisfactions from participation.

TABLE 1

SIZES OF BOARDS AND SAMPLES

Boards	Total Board Members	Group Surveyed	No. of Returns
Upper-class:			
Alpha	62	62	35
Beta	42	42	15
Gamma	79	16*	10
Total	.....	...	60
Middle-class:			
Chi	1,100†	50*	25
Psi	400†	31*	12
Omega	306	200	33
Total	....	..	70

* Governing boards only.
† These figures are approximations.

MEMBERSHIP IN OTHER ASSOCIATIONS

Respondents listed their other memberships (at least partially) in response to the

[6] Reported in full in Joan W. Moore, "Stability and Instability in the Metropolitan Upper Class" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1959).

[7] For a description of this type of upper-class event, which serves to announce more or less publicly who is "in" and who is not, see E. Digby Baltzell, *Philadelphia Gentlemen* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958), p. 16.

question: "In what other civic, philanthropic, and cultural organization are you *now* active?" The average number of other memberships was surprisingly similar: members of upper-class boards belonged to a mean of 2.5, and members of middle-class boards to a mean of 2.3, other associations. This contradicts the findings of other studies, that associational memberships increase substantially with social class.[8] (It may be that upper-class women listed only those associations in which they were highly active, whereas middle-class women may have listed *all* memberships.)

TABLE 2

WOMEN HOLDING MEMBERSHIP IN VARIOUS TYPES OF ASSOCIATION, BY TYPE OF BOARD

Type of Association	Upper-Class Board (Per Cent)	Middle-Class Board (Per Cent)
Welfare:		
Other hospital boards	6	3
Junior League	27	11
Other health and welfare	73	39
Social*	35	48
Cultural†	40	32
Religious‡	13	35
Civic§	23	13
Political	6	8
Consequences of maternal role‖	6	11
Consequences of role as wife#	4	8
No other memberships**	7	4
Number of women	48	62

* Includes women's associations listed in the *Social Register*, garden clubs, alumnae clubs, and women's clubs.

† Ranges from the Symphony Board to local poetry societies.

‡ Includes a few local churches, and several metropolitan women's groups; e.g., one which has representatives of all women's church organizations of a particular denomination.

§ Includes a miscellany of community service associations, international relations programs, etc.

‖ For example, Girl and Boy Scouts, PTA.

\# Primarily doctors' wives associations.

** The proportion here is based on the total sample, of 60 and 70, respectively.

Women on upper-class boards belonged, on the average, to associations of much higher prestige than did those on middle-class boards. On a prestige scale ranging from 1 to 4,[9] associations to which the first group belonged average a score of 1.7, whereas the associations of middle-class boards average 2.3. This difference, of course, is a concomitant of the high proportion of upper-class women in the former group.

Most women on upper-class boards belonged to other health and welfare associations, with cultural and social associations trailing behind (Table 2). There is no such tendency among members of middle-class boards to specialize, although many belonged to social, welfare, and religious associations. Religious associations were most common among older board members, and social among the younger.

The differences between membership patterns are more striking when we ignore the purpose of the association and examine only its locus and scope. Associations were classified further as "local" or "metropolitan." "Local" means confined to the local community, for examples, a local woman's club or a local chapter of a metropolitan association. "Metropolitan" means that the association is either designed to cover the entire city or metropolitan area or is regional, national, or international. The "metropolitan" category thus includes a Chicago alumnae club (although not its suburban counterpart), membership on the Community Fund board (although not chairmanship of a local fund drive), the National Conference of Christians and Jews, etc. Associations of women on upper-class boards were strikingly metropolitan, and those of women on middle-class boards strikingly local (Table 3).

RECRUITMENT TO THE BOARD

Typically, the upper-class boards followed a highly selective procedure in recruiting, often with discussion and with voting on the nominee by the entire board,

[8] This association has been found in all previously cited studies of voluntary associations. Richard Coleman finds a similar association with specific reference to a metropolitan upper class ("Social Class in Kansas City" [unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Committee on Human Development, University of Chicago, 1959], p. 168).

[9] Procedure described in n. 4 above.

a few votes being sufficient for defeat. The middle-class board tended to pursue a policy of open membership, sometimes requiring little more than a request from a woman that she be admitted.

The median age of the recruit to an upper-class board was some ten years lower than that of the recruit to a middle-class board—the early thirties as compared to the early forties. Middle-class women are thus somewhat later in joining this metropolitan association than they are in joining local ones. But so, also, are the upper-class women relatively "old": they had, typically, been continuously active in associations from a very early age. Chicago's major debutante ball requires volunteering in a hospital, for example, and Junior League membership is still common. Upper-class boards prefer to wait to recruit a woman until her reputation for ability has been established in welfare associations of lower status or more restricted scope.

But this principle competes with another upper-class principle of recruiting—that of kinship. Women of "old Alpha hospital families" are recruited at very early ages, as in the case described by one respondent:

> There's a feeling of responsibility of some of the families towards Alpha. The youngest member—Jenny Smith—her mother was a Brown, and as soon as she got out of Vassar she was instantly elected, before some other board could snatch her up. There was a feeling that she belongs to us.

Approximately one-fourth of the upper-class board respondents had relatives, contemporary or dead, on the women's boards, as compared with only 3 per cent of the women on middle-class boards. And about 20 per cent of the women on upper-class, as compared with 8 per cent of the women on middle-class, boards were related to hospital trustees.

These differences were reflected in the response to the question: "How did you first become interested in the board?" About one-third of the women on upper-class, as compared with 13 per cent of those on middle-class, boards included "family interest" in their responses. For many upper-class women, joining the hospital board is part of a kinship role and responsibility. Board affairs are discussed at home, often by mother, father, and friends, as the girl is growing up. There is much preparation for the board role prior to actual assumption of membership, and social interaction about hospital affairs continues throughout adulthood among both family and friends.

ROLE OF THE NEW MEMBERS

Upper-class boards, with their small size and exclusive recruiting procedures, tend

TABLE 3

LOCAL AND METROPOLITAN MEMBERSHIPS, BY TYPE OF BOARD

Type of Association	Upper-Class Board Members (Per Cent)	Middle-Class Board Members (Per Cent)	No. of Memberships
Local	36	70	130
Metropolitan	64	29	108
Total number of mentions (=100 per cent)	100	129	238

to give the entrant a greater feeling of importance than do the large, open, middle-class boards. In the case study of a middle-class board, women repeatedly reported themselves "lost" at first:

> I groped around for five years; I don't know all about it yet—even the officers don't.

> The first year I didn't like it at all. I was all ready to resign right away. You come to a meeting with about two hundred people, and you hardly know anyone. And it's such a mixed board—with Lake Forest women, and the little women who sit and write in their little black notebooks. It's a conglomerate. It's awfully easy to get lost.

To the statement: "It is difficult for the new member to find her way around the board," only 9 per cent of the women on upper-class boards agreed, as compared with 22 per cent of the women on middle-class boards.

The smaller upper-class board, with its greater influence in the hospital, also gives the new member a better chance of being assigned to relatively interesting work. To the statement: "The new member normally has to wait some time for really satisfying work," 4 per cent of upper-class and 14 per cent of middle-class board members agreed. Differences in the accessibility of gratifying and responsible work continue throughout the board member's career. The member of a smaller board has, for example, a greater chance of becoming an officer: 63 per cent of the upper-class members, as compared with only 30 per cent of the middle-class members, had been officers. When it is recalled that it was only *governing* boards of two middle-class hospitals that were surveyed, this difference becomes more striking.

TABLE 4

TIME SPENT ON BOARD ACTIVITIES BY TYPE OF BOARD*

Time Spent (Hours per Month)	Upper-Class Boards (Per Cent)	Middle-Class Boards (Per Cent)	No. of Women
60 or more	28	9	21
12–60	52	43	53
Less than 12	20	48	38
Total number (= 100 per cent)	56	56	112

* Based on responses to the question "About how much time each month do you spend on Board activities?" Four upper-class and fourteen middle-class members did not reply to the question.

THE MEMBER'S ACTIVITY

On the average, upper-class boards commanded a significantly greater amount of their members' time than did middle-class boards (Table 4).

Motherhood was a greater deterrent to activity on middle-class than on upper-class boards. Although women with younger children were less likely on *both* types of board to devote sixty or more hours a month, only one of the five highly active middle-class members had children under sixteen years old, whereas six of the sixteen highly active upper-class members had children of this age. Husbands' interest in the hospital, as reported by the respondents, was completely independent of the level of activity in the middle-class boards, whereas on the upper-class boards it was women with the less enthusiastic husbands who were most active.

Commuting problems seemed less important to upper-class than to middle-class members. All upper-class hospitals were in Chicago, but nine of the sixteen very active women on these boards lived in suburbs twenty to thirty miles north of the city, whereas all but one of the highly active middle-class board members lived relatively close to their hospitals.

A high degree of activity on the middle-class board was thus associated with the lack of young children and with ease of access to the hospital. Length of service on the middle-class board was not associated with great activity, although there was such a relationship on upper-class boards. This suggests that commitment to the upper-class board overrides both the inconveniences of commuting and competing domestic demands.

COMMITMENT TO THE BOARD AND MOTIVATION

Women were asked which one of their associations they would retain if they had to give up all but one, and why. Significantly more members of upper-class than of middle-class boards chose the hospital in preference to others (76 per cent of the upper class and 53 per cent of the middle class). Considering the nature of membership as revealed above, this is hardly surprising.

Reasons for retention of all organizations—hospital as well as others—were pooled (Table 5). In all, the most popular reasons were the women's satisfaction in the work itself and the feeling that the association's purposes were meaningful. But it was primarily the upper-class members who gave priority to personal gratification. They also mentioned a sense of obligation to family or personal tradition significantly more of-

ten than did middle-class members, substantiating inferences made above about the differences in the meaning of associations to members from the two classes.

When we consider recruitment, initiation to the role, factors influencing amount of activity, and commitment to the association, relatively clear patterns emerge for the two class groups. Voluntary recruitment, followed by relatively anomic early experiences on the board, leads the member of the middle-class board to a relatively low level of commitment and permits family responsibilities and distance from the hospital to interfere with her activity on the board. The upper-class board's reputation for exclusiveness, along with the simultaneous application of both universalistic and particularistic criteria for membership, generate a high value on board membership at the very outset. This initiation, buttressed by the upper-class women's relatively greater access to gratifying work and integration of the role with other roles, produces a higher degree of commitment based on personal satisfaction. Neither family responsibilities nor the hospital's remoteness from the home seriously depress activity; long service on the board itself tends to raise it.

For both groups, then, experiences as a member reinforce the effect of the initial experience of recruitment; the middle-class member is offered few gratifications that seriously compete with those offered by the rest of her life—particularly family life—whereas the experiences of the upper-class member continuously enhance the initial value of her role on the board.

The hospital board is an atypical association for the middle-class woman because it is metropolitan in scope and instrumental in purpose.[10] Nevertheless, membership in it, as in local and expressive associations, hardly disturbs the woman in the performance of her major domestic role, and, at the same time, it permits her to occupy her newly released time in a meaningful way. It is a supplement to the family role, and rarely competitive—as a job may well be. As one respondent summed it up: "It is an organization which asks so

TABLE 5

REASONS FOR COMMITMENT, BY TYPE OF BOARD*

Reason	Upper-Class Members (Per Cent)	Middle-Class Members (Per Cent)	Total No.
Personal gratification from activity	71	39	48
Relative value of association's goals	40	52	41
Congeniality of fellow members	14	28	19
Obligation to family role or tradition	26	11	16
Personal convenience or avoidance of undesirable features†	5	15	9
Total number of women (=100 per cent)	42	46	88

* Women responded with more than one alternative: figures thus sum to more than 100 per cent.

† Included in this category were statements relating to the group's ease of access and those in which the group had comparatively fewer defects than did other groups, e.g., "No 'backbiting,' " "no 'social climbing.' "

[10] For a discussion of "instrumental" and "expressive" associations see C. Wayne Gordon and Nicholas Babchuk, "A Typology of Voluntary Associations," *American Sociological Review*, XXIV (February, 1959), 22–29, esp. pp. 27–29. This typology, like others reviewed, proved difficult to apply systematically in this research; e.g., it is notable that, in the reasons for retention of associations, the middle-class woman stresses priority of the association's goals, despite the fact that she belonged more often to "expressive" associations. The upper-class women, on the other hand, emphasized personal gratifications, although they belonged predominantly to "instrumental" associations. The distinction between the association's stated goals (or manifest functions) and its members' motives is made by Bernard Barber in "Mass Apathy and Voluntary Social Participation in the United States" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, 1958), pp. 32–33.

little of its members but does so much good."

Because so much is known about the constitution of the woman's role in the middle-class family, inference about the functions of participation in associations can draw upon a large body of theory and research. Very little, on the other hand, is known about the family role of the upper-class, and particularly the metropolitan upper-class, woman. From the data presented here it appears that the associational role is pivotal in the upper-class woman's life, a link with her family's and her class's past and future. It offers substantial personal gratification, is work she pursues throughout her life, and is part and parcel of her conception of herself as a member of the upper class (or the group of "best families," as she might prefer to phrase it). At the very least, it can be said with certainty that few restrictions and a very high value are placed on her active participation.

It is also clear that not only does participation serve for the upper class as a selector of mobile women[11] but, by assembling and sorting upper-class women of many ages and many lineages, it reaffirms the principles of deference.

Great activity requires not only approval of the wife-mother's absence from home but also a servant population to enable her to leave. Middle-aged upper-class respondents often pointed out the change in upper-class style of life within the past generation: in her home the woman has become less of an executive and more of an active housekeeper. In the decade between 1940 and 1950 the proportion of private household workers in the total labor force of Chicago's upper-class suburb with most prestige, Lake Forest, declined from .27 to .17, with relatively little change in other characteristics of the population. In some interviews with young suburban women the change was reflected in their admission of a certain amount of conflict between the associational and familial roles. For some women the solution appears to lie in concentration in local welfare associations until the children are older. Certainly, whatever the ultimate consequences for the upper class, we can, at the very least, anticipate an increasing difference between the associational patterns of suburban and metropolitan upper-class residents. That this is not already an important difference is probably attributable to the strong sense of family and class responsibility in the small upper-class population, symbolized by activity in a cluster of metropolitan associations.

Generalizing from data on one kind of voluntary association, it may be said that participation in associations is different and performs different functions in the middle and upper classes. For the middle class its functions are primarily to help adapt the woman herself to changes in the family life-cycle in a minimally disturbing way; for the upper class it plays a role of significance to the entire class.

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[11] Joan W. Moore, "A Mechanism of Selection in a Metropolitan Upper Class" (unpublished manuscript).

LEGISLATORS' SOCIAL STATUS AND THEIR VOTES[1]

DUNCAN MACRAE, JR., AND EDITH K. MACRAE

ABSTRACT

The houses in which Massachusetts state legislators lived in 1951, when rated according to Warner's models, showed differences as between their owners' political parties but only low associations with the voting record within each party. Socialization into the role of professional party politician reduced this association. Legislators in each party who were over 35 years old, and who had spent relatively little time in public office, tended more than others to "vote their houses."

Numerous studies of political elites have assumed, explicitly or implicitly, that the status or class position of elites in non-political life affects their political acts.[2] The extent to which this is actually true and the conditions under which it is true, however, have rarely been studied by systematic comparison of individual political decisions. In the course of a study of the Massachusetts House of Representatives[3] we gathered unusually accurate information on legislators' styles of life: ratings, according to Warner's procedures, of the houses in which they lived. Earlier analyses of these data revealed a fact that could also be shown by published biographical sketches: though legislators of the two parties differed in social status, the association between status and roll-call votes *within* each party was low. But further analysis of the data, with a more explicit notion of how political socialization occurs in the course of a politician's life, reveals certain types of legislators who did tend to "vote their houses" and suggests better explanations why the others did not.

Ratings of style of life have been part of the American tradition in measurement of social stratification,[4] and the variable thus measured corresponds to an important aspect of social status as defined by Weber.[5] Following this tradition, we visited the cities and towns of Massachusetts in 1951–52 and rated the homes of 232 then-incumbent members of the state House of Representatives. The scale used to assign ratings was as follows:

1. Large estates, with houses having over ten rooms and lawns a hundred feet or more wide, with trees and shrubbery. If in a city, houses of over ten rooms, kept with excellent care, in upper-class areas

[1] The initial study was made possible by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to the Laboratory of Social Relations, Harvard University. For stimulating suggestions for this reanalysis we are grateful to Vernon K. Dibble.

[2] E.g., *Hoover Institute Studies* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1951–56); and D. R. Matthews, *The Social Background of Political Decision-Makers* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1954).

[3] Other results of this study have been reported in D. MacRae, Jr., "The Relation between Roll Call Votes and Constituencies in the Massachusetts House of Representatives," *American Political Science Review*, XLVI (1952), 1046–55; "The Role of the State Legislator in Massachusetts," *American Sociological Review*, XIX (1954), 185–94; and "Roll Call Votes and Leadership," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XX (1956), 543–58.

[4] E.g., F. S. Chapin, *Contemporary American Institutions* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1935); W. H. Sewell, "The Construction and Standardization of a Scale for the Measurement of the Socio-economic Status of Oklahoma Farm Families" (Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station Technical Bulletin No. 9 [1940]); W. L. Warner, M. Meeker, and K. Eells, *Social Class in America* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949), pp. 143–50; J. A. Kahl, "Adolescent Ambition" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1952); and J. A. Davis, "Status Symbols and the Measurement of Status Perception," *Sociometry*, XIX (1956), 154–65. The scale given below is a modified version of one used by Kahl, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[5] Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 428.

2. Single-family houses of six to ten rooms on fairly large lots, about fifty feet from neighbors
3. Smaller single-family houses in excellent condition
4. Two-family dwellings in good condition or three-family dwellings in excellent condition and less than ten years old
5. Two-family dwellings, slightly deteriorated, or two-family dwellings over fifty years old, or crowded, with stores in same block, or three-family dwellings in fair condition
6. Two-family dwellings, poorly cared for, with business intrusions in the block, or a house above a store
7. Dilapidated buildings; slums

On these house ratings, legislators of the two parties differed clearly (as shown in Table 1 by the column totals for the two parties). Similar differences between the parties could be observed on the basis of the legislators' non-political occupations and correspond to what might be expected from the nature of their districts.[6] Since the parties clearly differed in their positions on issues such as those between labor and management, class and status differences were represented in the legislature.

If, however, the differences within each major party on labor-management issues are

TABLE 1

HOUSE RATING AND MASSACHUSETTS FEDERATION OF LABOR INDEX FOR STATE LEGISLATORS

Political Record	House Rating 1	2	3	4	5	6	Not Rated	Total
				Democrats				
MFL "bad" votes:								
0	..	11	20	19	17	3	3	73
1–3	..	4	8	5	7	1	1	26
4–12	..	3	3	9	2	..	..	17
Five or more absences	..	2	1	2	1	..	..	6
Dual nomination	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	2
Total	..	20	32	36	28	4	4	124
				Republicans				
MFL "good" votes:								
4–12	..	1	1	3	..	..	1	6
1–3	..	18	14	3	1	..	2	38
0	1	48	11	5	1	..	1	67
Five or more absences	..	.	..	1	..	..	..	1
Dual nomination	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	4
Total	1	67	28	14	2	..	4	116

Dwellings that did not fit these categories exactly (e.g., farms and apartment houses) were rated by judgments of equivalence, with allowance for circumstances such as age and care of the structure, rural or urban location, and the like. Intermediate ratings were also assigned, but for presentation here each is rounded to the numerically greater rating. For a subsample of sixty-two houses, independent ratings were made as a test of reliability; the correlation between ratings was .95. Over all, only one house of those that were rated was judged outside the range of categories 2–6.

examined, no such clear association with the legislator's house rating appears. An index prepared by the Massachusetts Federation of Labor (MFL), based on twelve selected roll-call votes for the 1951–52 session, may

[6] Data on the occupations of Massachusetts legislators have been published in V. O. Key, Jr., *American State Politics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1956), p. 262; party differences by type of district are shown in MacRae, "The Relation between Roll Call Votes and Constituencies . . . ," *op. cit.* We omit from further analysis the six representatives who received the nominations of both parties, since we cannot control party while including them.

be used for this purpose.[7] The relations between this index and house ratings, for both parties, are also shown in Table 1. The row totals for each party show that each distribution on the MFL index was highly skewed—for the Democrats, toward votes classified by the MFL as "good" votes and, for the Republicans, toward "bad" votes. A rank-correlation coefficient for each party shows that the association between house rating and MFL index was +.02 for the Democrats and +.27 for the Republicans, the positive sign being chosen to indicate the expected direction of association (low status with "good" votes). The figure for the Republicans is statistically significant at the .001 level; that for the Democrats is not significant.[8]

In spite of the fact that the association is significant for the Republicans, it seems small relative to other associations that have been observed between social status and political attitudes in the general population.[9] A problem therefore remains as to why the association is so low.

One way of approaching this problem is through a general notion of political socialization. Although most emphasis in this field has been on pre-adult socialization, the process can also occur in adult life, particularly in political roles.[10] A study of judgments rendered by the judiciary has shown that, the longer a judge has been on the bench, the more his judgments tend to diverge from those rendered by juries.[11] Presumably, this reflects the increasing importance of professional standards in the judge's decisions. Similarly, there is evidence that legislators learn better how to get along in a legislative body as their experience increases.[12]

This reasoning leads to the hypothesis that legislators who have had little previous experience in public office will "vote their houses" more than do those with greater political experience. This may be tested by dividing the legislators of each party according to their number of years in public office and examining the value of τ within each subgroup, as shown in the columns headed "all members" in Table 2. The data in this column do *not* bear out the hypothesis for either party.

Many of the deviant cases, however, were younger members of the legislature; these included young members of high status who cast more "good" votes than expected and, to a lesser extent, members of lower status who cast more "bad" votes. If members aged thirty-five or less at the 1950 election are omitted from the analysis the correlations between house rating and roll-call votes for the remaining (older) legislators resemble what the hypothesis would predict. Within each party the correlations tend to be greatest for the legislators with

[7] Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, "Official Labor Record of Senator and Representatives, 1951–52" (Boston, 1952). For the present analysis this index is superior to a Guttman scale constructed for this session in that it permits a more detailed breakdown within the Democratic Party.

[8] For definition and calculation of rank-correlation coefficients, see M. G. Kendall, *Rank Correlation Methods* (2d ed.; New York: Hafner Publishing Co., 1955), pp. 5, 35 ff., 55. All rank correlations presented here are corrected for ties (tau-beta) and are based on complete raw data rather than the condensed categories given in Table 1.

[9] See, e.g., R. Centers, *The Psychology of Social Classes* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1949); B. R. Berelson, P. F. Lazarsfeld, and W. N. McPhee, *Voting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954); and A. Campbell, P. E. Converse, W. E. Miller, and D. E. Stokes, *The American Voter* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1960), p. 358. The rank correlations between status and the vote for 1952, given in the last of these references, are higher than those in the present study and show age differences as well.

[10] A recent volume emphasizing pre-adult development is H. H. Hyman, *Political Socialization* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959).

[11] This is an unpublished finding from the University of Chicago Law School Jury Project, reported in a personal communication from Philip Ennis.

[12] Some important distinctions between senior and junior members of the United States Senate are brought out in D. R. Matthews, *U. S. Senators and Their World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960).

shortest length of service in public office, as shown in Table 2 by the columns headed "born in 1914 or earlier." In these columns there *is* a tendency for older legislators with few years in public office to "vote their houses." Or, looking across the rows in Table 2, one can see that omitting the younger legislators makes the correlations more positive for those groups with fewest years in public office. Owing to the small number of cases in each cell, tests of significance in individual cells lend little support to our argument; the interpretation must rest on the over-all configuration of correlations, and replications are naturally desirable.

the characteristic world of private life for a given level of status, the correlations for the older legislators suggest that it has occurred. The process seems to be more pronounced and more rapid among Democrats than it is among Republicans: the correlations for the Democrats drop nearly to zero for all categories with five or more years in public office. Among the Republicans the process is less pronounced at every level of political experience; presumably, conservatism is important not only in the party but also in private life and is a value more clearly associated with style of life than is loyalty to the organization.

But what about the younger legislators?

TABLE 2

RANK CORRELATIONS BETWEEN HOUSE RATING AND MASSACHUSETTS FEDERATION OF LABOR "GOOD" VOTES BY PARTY, AGE, AND YEARS IN PUBLIC OFFICE*

	Democrats				Republicans			
	All Members		Born in 1914 or Earlier		All Members		Born in 1914 or Earlier	
Correlation	r	N	r	N	r	N	r	N
Over all	+.02	112	.....	..	+.27	107	.....	.
By years in public office:								
2–4	−.09	37	+.27	18	+.25	13	+.47	7
5–9	−.05	28	−.05	19	+.19	24	+.41	18
10–14	+.06	25	+.03	22	+.30	30	+.27	28
15 or more	+.01	22	+.01	22	+.36	40	+.39	38

* Total years in public office, including the 1951–52 session of the Massachusetts legislature, are calculated from biographical data given in *Public Officers of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1951).

Although these correlations are small, they contribute to a picture of the parties in Massachusetts and of political socialization in adult life that finds support elsewhere. It has been noted in earlier papers on this legislature that legislators with longer service tended to become more professionalized; for any given length of service, Democrats tended to be more professionalized than Republicans were. Moreover, whereas ideological conservatism was important for advancement to leadership in the Republican party, organizational loyalty was more important among the Democrats.[13] Insofar, then, as "professionalization" means being drawn into a political world that is distinct from

Although a full understanding of why they voted as they did would require data covering a longer period of time,[14] it is still possible to suggest why they did *not* "vote their houses": social class may not have meant as much to them as it did to older representatives. In the life of the ordinary American citizen there seems to be a period that runs through the twenties and early thirties in which social ties are less than completely consistent, cross-pressures are

[13] These findings appear in MacRae, "The Role of the State Legislator in Massachusetts," *op. cit.*, and "Roll Call Votes and Leadership," *op. cit.*

[14] It would be necessary, at least, to examine two alternative hypotheses: (*a*) that the younger contingent elected in 1950 represented a generational phenomenon peculiar to a short period of time and (*b*) that the apparent disparity between their houses and their votes was due to inadequate appraisal of the political situation rather than to lack of integration among their various roles in private life.

prevalent, and the vote is labile.[15] If the same sort of interval exists in the lives of politicians, it may explain in part why young legislators' houses did not symbolize the consistent network of social relations that older legislators' houses seem to symbolize (for those who had had short service in public office).

One may thus suppose that the young legislator is not exclusively imbedded in a social world represented by the house he lives in. One may imagine also that the young legislator is closer to politics than is the older legislator of an equal length of service. To be nominated and elected at an early age, he may have had to draw on family connections for knowledge of politics and for influence.[16] Those who are older at entrance into politics may be expected to draw relatively more on occupational and community ties. To the extent that this difference exists, the young representative's socialization into the role of the professional politician may have started longer before he entered public office; our use of the number of years in office may lead one to underestimate the training he has received. Thus, in addition to experiencing possible cross-pressures in the social world of private life, the young legislator may be farther advanced in the political world than is his older colleague who has given equal time to the public service.

These findings and their explanation resulted from a concern with political socialization in adult life. This concern led to the identification of one group of legislators who are especially likely to bring attitudes related to their private styles of life as an "input" into the political system:[17] representatives who have lived through their middle thirties before entering the legislature and who are still early in their legislative service at the time when we observe their votes. These are the representatives who tend, more than others, to "vote their houses."

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[15] A suggestion of this nature is given in Berelson *et al., op. cit.*, p. 302; and subsequent research along these lines by W. N. McPhee and Robert B. Smith, using secondary analysis of survey data, also reveals the greater lability of the young adult's vote. (This analysis was reported in a paper presented in a session on the use of computers in the simulation of social processes at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association in Chicago, September 3, 1959.)

[16] The importance of kinship in leading people to become state legislators has been pointed out by H. Eulau, W. Buchanan, L. Ferguson, and J. C. Wahlke in "The Political Socialization of American State Legislators," *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, III (1959), 193. Similar influence has been reported by candidates for office in "Stackton," a midwestern city, in unpublished research conducted by Fred W. Gleeson, "Local Candidates and the Two-Party System" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Political Science, University of Chicago, 1960).

[17] The relevance of such transfer of attitudes into the political realm is pointed out by David Easton in "An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems," *World Politics*, IX (1957), 383-400.

THE PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYEE: A STUDY OF CONFLICT IN NURSING ROLES[1]

RONALD G. CORWIN

ABSTRACT

A study of the conflict between conceptions of role and discrepancies between the ideal perceptions of role and reality among 296 graduate and student nurses suggests that, at graduation, inherent conflicts between professional and bureaucratic principles of organization are most seriously encountered. Those who express strong allegiance to bureaucratic and professional roles, simultaneously, also sense the greatest discrepancies between ideal conceptions and perceived opportunity to fulfil them—which is interpreted as evidence of their incompatibility. But, because of greater independence of collegiate programs from hospital administration, bureaucratic principles are less relevant there, while professional principles are stressed more than in the diploma program. There is evidence that diploma and degree graduates organize the bureaucratic-professional roles differently and adjust to conflict of roles in systematically different ways.

A STUDY OF ROLE CONFLICTS IN NURSING

The career is a process of transformations in status. Of primary significance in the assumption of new status is the grasping of new conceptions, particularly of role, which create transformation in the relevant perceptions and beliefs. Most transformations are so mundane they go unnoticed, but occasionally an incident of great conceptual and personal significance is encountered. At these turning points fundamental terminological and status shifts occur, reclassifying and reassessing the job—indeed, the self.[2] Graduation from a vocational training program and the commencement of career is such a turning point. Contradictions inherent in the occupation are encountered with new relevance at graduation. These create pressures of work not fully imagined by the student from his perspective.

There are several reasons why contradictions within the structure of work are felt more intensely after graduation. Perhaps most obvious is the abstract nature of conceptions of role, themselves. At best, conceptions are images—in a sense, fantasies—which set the ideal; they cannot provide a totally realistic picture of the career. Largely because of the inevitable discrepancy between concept and experience, conceptions of role learned in training schools do not comprehend the full complexities of work experience. Consequently the refining and modifying of ideal standards of conduct is an almost inevitable adjunct to the career. In short, the transcendent character of language always distorts the full range of work demands.

For another reason, the initial job is often fraught with contradictions: Staffed by non-practicing specialists and teachers, training schools are at least partially removed from the occupation. Now, teaching, involving as it does the necessary justification of the teacher's own self-conception to her student audience, normally involves

[1] This investigation was supported by Research Grant GN-4647 from the National Institutes of Health, United States Public Health Service, Marvin J. Taves, principal investigator. The author is indebted to Professor Roy G. Francis for suggesting many of the ideas developed here and to Professor Taves for advising on the research.

[2] Everett C. Hughes some years ago emphasized that the career consists of a series of statuses and offices which tend to become fateful "turning points" in the person's career as the social structure becomes increasingly rigid ("Institutional Office and the Person," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIII [November, 1937], 404–9). Strauss makes extensive and systematic use of the concept of turning point, proposing that development of personality be viewed as a series of related transformations of concept (see Anselm Strauss, *Mirrors and Masks: The Search for Identity* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959], p. 92).

rhetorical persuasion and hence a certain amount of deception. Teachers, like parents, are easily tempted to project their fantasies, ideals, and aspirations upon their students. By stressing ideals, the teacher's hope for a better world lives on in the possibility of future implementation by students; their own aspirations may be attached to the careers of others. So those who teach may easily tend to fuse their conceptions of what ought to be with their conceptions of what exists. This is especially so when teachers are not practitioners. Probably no other occupational group works so consistently under the dominant influence of one institution as teachers do: teachers are unique in being practitioners who work in the same institutional setting in which they were trained from childhood.

Merton observes that medical schools act as guardians of values basic to the effective practice of medicine. Their job is enabling the medical man to live up to the expectations of the professional role long after he has left their sustaining environment. He concludes that "once they have entered upon their own practice some of these physicians will find themselves working under conditions which are far less conducive to ready conformity to these norms."[3] Hughes makes similar observations about nursing: "The nurses who educate nurses cherish the most consistent opinions as to who does and who should perform a given task. In the manner of teachers they are dogmatic. Removed to some degree from reality, they may preach an idealized version of hospital work."[4] Discrepancies between ideal and practice are systematically incorporated into the organization of work, full awareness accompanying the passage from the school's climate of values to that of work.[5]

[3] Robert K. Merton, "Some Preliminaries to a Sociology of Medical Education," *The Student Physician* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957), chap. i.

[4] Everett C. Hughes, "The Making of a Physician: A General Statement of Ideas and Problems," *Human Organization,* Winter, 1956, pp. 21–25.

Finally, sensitivity to occupation contradictions increases after graduation, which forces shifts in students' allegiances to school and hospital. Contradictions within nursing are in part a consequence of conflict of interests between the nursing faculty and hospital staff over control of the student's classroom and clinical experience. Teachers must share students' time and allegiance with hospital supervisors; justifications of the school and hospital are pronounced by each group; conflicting demands are made on the student. But the student is not neutral, for while he is in school his destiny is controlled by the teaching faculty. It is they who tend to command his loyalty just as it is the nursing principles stressed in school which hold his interest.

At the same time, the student is a transient who has little occasion or motive to develop immediate allegiance to the hospital. But with graduation he becomes one of its responsible office-holders. At this point, the conflicts between the teachers' versions of the occupation and those of practitioners gain new intensity: old loyalties are threatened and new are demanded as the graduate adapts to another power structure. It is in this setting that the inherent cross-pressures are encountered in full strength. The cross-pressure between school and hospital creates both conflict between alternative roles and discrepancies between ideal conceptions of the role and perception of the reality.

[5] See, e.g., Arnold M. Rose, "The Adequacy of Women's Expectations for Adult Roles," *Social Forces,* XXX (October, 1951), 69–77; and Mirra Komarovsky, "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles," *American Journal of Sociology,* LII (November, 1946), 184–89. Also, Ruth Benedict suggests several cultural discontinuities which are probably felt most severely by the adolescent upon graduation from high school ("Continuities and Discontinuities in Cultural Conditioning," pp. 522–31 in Clyde Kluckhohn, H. A. Murray, and D. M. Schneider [eds.], *Personality in Nature, Society and Culture* [2d rev. ed.; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1953]).

BUREAUCRATIC VERSUS PROFESSIONAL ORIENTATION

But what idealized version is preached in professional schools, and how does it differ from reality? It is apparent that there is not one but at least three dominant conceptions of nursing—an office, a profession, and a calling.[6] These provide alternative identities for the nurse who is at the same time a hospital employee (or a bureaucrat), a responsible, independent professional, and a public servant (when in a religious or humanitarian context). Each identity provides a different source of loyalty—to the local administration, to professional principles and associations that transcend the local place of employment, and to the patient. There is reason to believe that the three ideal conceptions of nursing involve incompatible demands. Potential conflict is particularly evident between the professional and the bureaucratic conceptions of role.

Because bureaucratization and professionalization constitute major trends which happen to be occurring concurrently, there is a common tendency to fuse their identity in analysis as well as history. But, precisely because of this, dilemmas are created. Therefore, they should be distinguished.[7] Bureaucracy and profession, as ideal types, seem to differ fundamentally in at least three characteristics: degree of standardization of tasks and procedures, degree of authority permitted, and relationship to organizational means and goals, that is, efficiency and standards. Each of the three may be visualized as a continuum progressing from the highly bureaucratic at one extreme to the highly professional at the other.

First, because the routine task is the basic standardizing unit, it assumes greater prominence in the bureaucratic than in the professional organization. The bureaucrat is specialized in some phase of administrative routine; the professional is primarily concerned with a vast and expanding body of knowledge, knowledge which may even occasionally challenge the fundamental assumptions of the practice. As a result, where the bureaucrat stresses the categorical and routine elements of his client's situation, the professional focuses on his unique problems. Standardization also makes for emphasis on files and records, thereby safeguarding continuity and stability; but the professional's stress on unique problems and decision ideally lends importance to variety and change.

Second, the bureaucrat has less authority than the professional has. Bureaucratic principles require elaboration of rules and sanctions in order to insure predictability, hence efficiency; but professional service to clients is guaranteed by the special capacity of the professional to solve problems.[8]

Finally, the professional's stress is on goals, while the bureaucrat is hired to carry out procedures. In the task-oriented environment, visible forms, such as recordkeeping, are convenient criteria for rewarding performance. But stress on bureaucratic efficiency is in contrast to the profession's central purpose, the maintenance of standards and values.

[6] A more extensive summary may be found in my unpublished Ph.D. thesis, "Role Conception and Mobility Aspiration: A Study in the Formation and Transformation of Nursing Identities" (University of Minnesota, 1960), chap. ii; and in my unpublished manuscript, "Role Conception and Mobility Aspiration: A Study of Identity in Nursing." Habenstein and Christ call three similar, though not identical, types of nurses the "professionalizer," the "traditionalizer," and the "utilizer" (Robert A. Habenstein and E. A. Christ, *Professionalizer, Traditionalizer and Utilizer* [Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1955]).

[7] F. Stuart Chapin, *Contemporary American Institutions* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1935), pp. 316, 311; also Roy G. Francis and Robert C. Stone, *Service and Procedure in Bureaucracy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956), chap. xi.

[8] Of course, the bureaucrat has authority to make decisions. But, in the sense that being a "good bureaucrat" means knowing the rules and enforcing them properly, the decision is often to interpret the rules literally when dealing with the public. In fact, because of the bureaucrat's emphasis on predictability, literal application of rules often seems to be an ethic of his work (see Robert K. Merton, "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality," in *Social Theory and Social Structure* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957], pp. 195 ff.).

Because the client's welfare is not necessarily equivalent to the welfare of the organization, professional and bureaucratic principles provide competing sources of loyalty. Professional standards are sometimes compromised for efficiency and the association's prestige.[9]

Of course, these ideal types do not exist in pure form; nor are the characteristics necessarily exclusive and contradictory. Nevertheless, there is the suggestion of potential conflict because of incompatible alternatives.

But this is not all. They not only conflict between themselves, but both bureaucratic and professional conceptions interfere as well with the traditional nursing values embodied in the conception of the service role. Professionalization has shifted attention and energy from the patient to a maze of technical duties and to a range of activities designed to raise professional standards, which include committee work, reading and contributing to professional journals, and attendance at meetings. Similarly, as nurses have become hospital employees with careers and identities inseparable from their office, they have been rewarded for such skill in administration as in the maintenance of charts and records and ordering. In this sense the professional and bureaucratic conceptions, requiring as they do duties which remove the nurse from contact with patients, are largely responsible for a basic dilemma of nursing: while nurses are supposed to want contact with the patient, they are rewarded for values and skills which do not require it.

In summary, these three ideal conceptions of nursing, referred to here as "bureaucratic," "professional," and "service," can be held simultaneously and in varying degrees by any one individual or group and often seem to prescribe conflicting programs of behavior.

[9] Nurses often complain that they are reprimanded for not giving patients equal time, thereby reducing the efficiency of their work routine. On the one hand, a professional ethic requires that special attention be given to patients with unique problems, but, on the other hand, the necessity of accomplishing a daily routine seems to require the use of "assembly-line" organization. Nurses who spend time with patients often feel they are considered to be loafing by their immediate superiors and some of their peers.

FROM SCHOOL TO WORK

The latent conflict among dominant conceptions of the nursing role arouses suspicion that the disparity between school and the "reality" of which Hughes speaks is, in this case, partially a disagreement between school and hospital over allegiance to professional and bureaucratic principles. For, while bureaucratic principles define the role of the graduate nurse within the hospital, they are probably less crucial in defining the role of the student in the educational institution, partially removed as it is from the hospital. Then, passage from school to hospital is a discontinuous turning point at which the professional ideals stressed in school are sometimes dramatically confronted with the bureaucratic principles which operate the hospital.

Theoretically, what seems to be involved is a change from student *status* within an educational institution to the *office* of nurse in the hospital bureaucracy.[10] While a status is a position which rests on institutional prestige, an "office" is a responsible position of authority within an association. It

[10] Of course, "office" has its functional orientation, and professional "status" has its bureaucratic aspects; the difference is one of relative emphasis. The distinction between "status" and "office," outlined by Kingsley Davis in *Human Society* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1949), pp. 88–89, rests on McIver's distinction between "institutions," which provide the principles of organization, and "association" of persons who are pursuing a common course regulated by the institutions (Robert McIver, *Society, Its Structure and Changes* [New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1936], pp. 15–16). Hughes outlines the connective between institutions and office: listing the two essential features of institutions as mores or formal rules and people acting collectively in offices, he points out that the first element represents consistency; the second, *concert* or *organization*. He insists that the dynamics of institutional processes may be best understood in terms of these two features (see Robert E. Park [ed.], *An Outline of the Principles of Sociology* [New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1939], pp. 283–88).

is the formal distribution of rights and obligations; the proportion of administrative duties assigned to an office varies directly with its rank. The student's status relationships with peers and supervisors are broadly defined, mainly by the educational and medical institutions, but the office of nurse is more narrowly prescribed in the specific organization as well. In the office the full array of administrative, professional, business, and other institutions which constitute the organizational principles converge and are compromised in the course of daily routine. Offices are thus stages for the drama of conflicts in roles.

While the institutions and associational norms usually supplement one another, it is, nevertheless, often apparent that the achievement of an *organization* is not equivalent to *institutional* success; in fact, the survival of an organization often requires that it compromise fundamental values under pressures from the outside.[11] It is in the office of nurse rather than in the status of student nurse that bureaucratic and professional principles converge and conflict most seriously.

The scope of the student's perspective of the nursing career is fundamentally different from that of the graduate staff nurse in several ways. In the first place, their perspectives on hospital routine may easily differ. The student, relatively unspecialized as yet, has direct contact with a variety of hospital situations, personnel, and supervisors, besides having the benefit of an overall perspective on the profession emphasized in many nursing programs. Contrast this with the routinization characteristic of the specialized graduate nurse, functioning not only as a surgical nurse but as a "rotating" or "scrub" surgical nurse; a perspective of her relationship to the total organization is not inherent in the office itself. Thus, the over-all aims and goals of the organization can easily become buried in a maze of specialized tasks. As Anderson states it: "The hours are not as lengthy, apparatus is more complicated, treatments are more time consuming, but nursing is still done largely on a job basis. It is strange that this should be so when nursing is such an intimate service."[12]

The emphasis on tasks also contrasts with the stress which schools normally place on the student. For, to the extent education implies changing personal attitudes, the personal opinions, independence, and individuality of the prospective nurse are emphasized in school. But in a large-scale organization personnel are not encouraged to express their opinions or personalities so much as to adjust themselves to a well-established policy. A dethronement of self-importance may easily result from full-scale encounter with this ideally depersonalized, task-oriented environment.

Consider also the amount of responsibility for decisions in the professional nursing role as defined by the school of nursing and hospital administration. In the nursing program the nurse's intellectual capacity as a decision-maker, her responsibility for patient welfare, and her leadership potential are emphasized. But on hospital stations much of the work may be even more standardized and the rules more arbitrarily constraining than expected.

As a net result, conflicts of loyalty between the nursing profession and the hospital easily emerge. The nurse is in part a daily record-keeper and follower and enforcer of the hospital rules and red tape which often seem irrelevant to her professional function. It may be difficult for the new graduate to understand what is professional about filling out six legal forms for each patient admitted and completing pages of detailed charts and reports each day; but the hospital requires a degree of conformity and loyalty to its rules and procedures to assure continuity and pre-

[11] This is an underlying theme in Philip Selznick's book, *Leadership in Administration* (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson & Co., 1957), chap. i.

[12] B. E. Anderson, "Some Paradoxes in Nursing," *Teachers College Record*, LIV (January, 1953), 211.

dictability.[13] On the other hand, the student has less responsibility for ordering, filling out forms, and filling them out properly. She encounters hospital regulations as a transient worker rather than a responsible office-holder; and, even when she does encounter the administrative bureaucracy, it is likely to be dismissed as an inconvenience unique to that school or hospital rather than an inherent part of nursing.[14]

Of course, students are not completely unaware of the bureaucracy, for they not only hear about it but sense it from their own experience. Even so, its influence is easily ignored wherever the integral functions of nursing are stressed. Briefly, *role-taking*, that is, anticipatory socialization, is always incomplete—the practical reality of bureaucracy is completely realized only as the graduate's career unfolds and she begins to play out her role.

But to assert that the bureaucratic conception is sanctioned most rigorously in the hospital is not to imply that all schools necessarily stress the professional role and play down the bureaucratic role to the same extent. The degree of conflict experienced at graduation will depend a great deal on the existing relationship between school and hospital.

There are two principal types of nursing education: "degree" and "diploma" programs. Teachers and administrators of the diploma program are normally practitioners on the hospital staff; the student's program and curriculum are often designed and regulated by the hospital administration. The diploma program is, in fact, *part* of the hospital. On the other hand, the degree program is a collegiate program, which, while it is affiliated with the hospital, maintains some independence from it in its separate administration and faculty. Curriculum and work programs, while often jointly designed with the hospital, are at least occasionally controlled by the school granting the degree, creating conflicts of interest for the time and loyalty of students. The bureaucratic conception is less appropriate in the collegiate program, while the professional conception flourishes there.

Hypothesis.—Not only because of the abstract nature of the conception of role learned in school, but also because of differences in value climates between training schools and the work experience, graduation constitutes a turning point in careers at which inherent occupational contradictions become manifest. The professional conception of role upheld by nursing schools is in principle opposed to crucial aspects of the hospital bureaucracy. Upon graduation, as the student's status merges with an administrative office, professional and bureaucratic principles converge, producing conflict in roles. Graduates of degree programs are especially vulnerable to the resulting conflict because of the program's independence of hospital administration.

The validity of the hypothesis seems to rest on answers to three questions underlying it: (1) Do bureaucratic and professional conceptions of role conflict? (2) Are there systematic differences in the organization of roles produced by diploma and degree programs? (3) Do discrepancies between ideal roles and perceptions of the reality increase after graduation?

For this study 201 staff nurses, 23 head nurses, and 71 junior and senior student nurses, all with either diploma or degree training, were selected from seven hospitals and four schools of nursing in a midwestern metropolis. They responded to questionnaires consisting of three Likert-type scales designed to assess bureaucratic, pro-

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Becker and Geer conclude from their study that medical students confine their disillusionment about medical ideals to cynicisms toward the school situation: they remain idealistic about their profession but become cynical about their school activities (Howard S. Becker and B. Geer, "The Fate of Idealism in Medical School," *American Sociological Review*, XXIII [February, 1958], 50–56).

fessional, and service role conceptions. Items representing the basic themes of each concept were stated as relevant hypothetical situations.[15] For example:

Some graduate nurses try to put their ideas about good nursing into practice even when it means breaking hospital rules and established procedures.

1. Responsible staff nurses *should* put their ideas into practice even if it means going against the rules.
2. At my hospital staff nurses *do* put their ideas into practice even when it means going against the rules.

The scale of the bureaucratic conception of the role consists of six items which include such characteristics as punctuality and strict following of rules. Eight items pertaining to the professional role include a commitment to knowledge as the basis of a profession and the ability to use judgment and power to make decisions about nursing procedures. The eight items pertaining to the service conception of role include the desire to do "bedside" nursing and to serve humanity. By checking one of the alternative responses ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree," respondents indicated the extent to which the situation *should* exist in nursing. The arithmetic sum of responses weighted from 5 (strongly agree) to 1 (strongly disagree), constitutes the total scale score for each of the role conceptions of each respondent.

Conceptual *modification* of the role is inferred from comparisons of mean scores on the role-conception scale of graduate and student nurses. Since these data were drawn from separate populations, they do not directly pertain to changes in individuals over time; but cross-sectional data will provide some insight into the process of disillusionment.

Role *discrepancy* is the extent to which an ideal conception of role is perceived to be impracticable. The discrepancy score is the difference between the respondent's statement of what *should be* the case (ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree") and his perception of what is *actually* the case for each statement in the same scale (also ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree"). The arithmetic sum of differences between weighted responses to normative and reality perceptions for each statement in the scale constitutes the respondent's mean discrepancy score for each scale.[16]

Role *organization* refers to the relative allegiance which an individual or group expresses to the bureaucratic and professional roles, considered jointly. The scores on the professional scale and those on the bureaucratic scale were divided at the midpoints of the respective distributions, and each respondent was classified as either "high" or "low" on both scales. A "high" scale score indicates a high degree of acceptance of the principles constituting the scale. Respondents were then classified into four groups on the basis of their combined professional and bureaucratic conceptions of role: (1) high professional–high bureaucratic, (2) high bureaucratic–low professional, (3) low bureaucratic–high professional, and (4) low bureaucratic–low professional.[17]

Do bureaucratic and professional role conceptions conflict?—If bureaucratic and

[15] Each item was pretested for internal consistency. Discriminatory power was measured for each item by computing critical ratios between upper and lower quartiles based on respondents' total scores for each scale. Only items reaching the 5 per cent level of significance were retained. Several items were also omitted on the basis of criticisms of respondents, who were given opportunity to criticize items for ambiguity and relevance.

[16] E.g., a "strongly agree" response to the normative part of a statement is given a weight of 5, while a "disagree" response to the descriptive part is given a weight of 2. The discrepancy score is 3.

[17] In another context, Reissman identified the four combinations of bureaucratic and professional conceptions dealt with here. He labeled them: (1) functional bureaucrat, (2) specialist bureaucrat, (3) service bureaucrat, and (4) job bureaucrat (Leonard Reissman, "A Study of Role Conceptions in Bureaucracy," *Social Forces*, XXVII [March, 1949], 305–10).

professional conceptions do prescribe opposing programs of action, then persons who subscribe strongly to both, simultaneously, should sense more discrepancy between their ideal conceptions and the actual opportunity to fulfil their roles in practice than do persons subscribing to one or both with less enthusiasm.

On the basis of this assumption, and considering the evidence, the question must be answered affirmatively. Bureaucratic and professional conceptions of role, jointly held, prevent adequate fulfilment of either role. For example, respondents who simultaneously hold high bureaucratic and high professional conceptions generally express greater discrepancy in the bureaucratic and professional roles than do those who have adopted other styles of role organization (Table 1, totals). Not only that, but the smallest discrepancies in role are consistently found among personnel who simultaneously hold low bureaucratic and low professional role conceptions. Similar patterns are found for all three roles among both student nurses and nurses when they are considered separately (although the pattern is not evident among head nurses).

A low bureaucratic–high professional style results in relatively greater professional discrepancy than do high bureaucratic-low professional conceptions of role (particularly among graduate nurses), while these two styles have contrary effects on bureaucratic discrepancy. Even a slight allegiance to the opposing role frustrates the dominant one.[18]

As also expected, strong allegiance to professional and bureaucratic roles retards fulfilment of the service conception of role, at least among graduates with high bureaucratic conception. Again, among graduates,

TABLE 1

BUREAUCRATIC-PROFESSIONAL ROLE ORGANIZATION AND MEAN BUREAUCRATIC AND PROFESSIONAL ROLE DISCREPANCY OF NURSING PERSONNEL

Role Discrepancy	Role Organization* HB–HP Mean	N	HB–LP Mean	N	LB–HP Mean	N	LB–LP Mean	N	F	d.f.
					Student Nurses					
Bureaucratic......	3.62	17	2.25	16	1.54	18	0.54	20	8.10†	3/70
Professional......	5.62	17	2.13	16	4.38	18	1.00	20	5.85†	3/70
Service........	4.46	17	3.75	16	4.62	18	2.46	20	0.99	3/70
					Graduate Staff Nurses					
Bureaucratic......	3.79	61	3.18	42	1.17	42	1.50	57	5.87†	3/201
Professional....	5.18	61	1.95	42	6.17	42	1.75	57	55.9‡	3/201
Service..........	2.57	61	2.05	42	1.74	42	0.83	57	2.74†	3/201
					Head Nurses					
Bureaucratic....	2.0	4	3.33	11	2.60	5	1.00	3	0.96	3/22
Professional......	5.75	4	2.83	11	6.20	5	4.00	3	3.20†	3/22
Service......	0.38	4	2.16	11	2.70	5	1.00	3	0.70	3/22
					Total Sample					
Bureaucratic......	3.45	82	3.00	69	2.43	65	1.15	80	7.7†	3/295
Professional.....	5.39	82	2.14	69	2.43	65	1.68	80	40.6‡	3/295
Service..........	2.71	82	2.44	69	2.76	65	1.38	80	2.42†	3/295

* HB–HP = high bureaucratic–high professional; HB–LP = high bureaucratic–low professional; LB–HP = low bureaucratic–high professional; LB–LP = low bureaucratic–low professional. High means indicate high role discrepancy.

† Significant at .05 level.

‡ Significant at .01 level.

[18] But in the case of head nurses it is significant that high professional conceptions have consistently high discrepancies regardless of bureaucratic allegiance. As personnel move up the administrative hierarchy, demands of the job itself may increasingly interfere with the professional role. Their personal conceptions of the bureaucratic role do not seriously modify the underlying conflict between their jobs and professional fulfilment.

simultaneously strong allegiance to both roles is the most depriving, while low conception of both roles is least depriving for the total sample as well as staff nurses.[19]

Are there systematic differences in the style of role organization produced by diploma and degree programs?—Since the way roles are organized affects deprivation in role and therefore, presumably, the intensity of conflict, knowledge of the conceptual organization characteristic of different training programs will provide a basis for speculating on the relative disillusionment encountered among their graduates.

Degree nurses maintain high professional conceptions more frequently than do diploma nurses (Table 2), combining them with either high or low bureaucratic conceptions. This simultaneous allegiance to both roles suggests the intensity of conflict they must encounter.

[19] Since the ideal score is a component of both the independent and the dependent variables, there is a theoretical possibility that the high professional discrepancy score for the high professional-high bureaucratic group could be explained by the high ideal score. If this were true, two conditions would exist. First, all groups would perceive the same reality. However, on an analysis of variance, the reality scorces between the groups are significantly different. This indicates that the role conception influences the perception of reality:

	Mean Scores					
	HB-HP	HB-LP	LB-HP	LB-LP	F	d.f
Professional reality	23.54	21.83	23 79	21 65	9 65	296/3
Bureaucratic reality	21 10	20 21	18 23	17.87	15 70	296/3

Second, the lincar correlations between the ideal professional and bureaucratic roles and the discrepancy score of each role, considered independently, showed their joint effects produced greater discrepancy in role than either role does independently. For example, a small proportion of the professional discrepancy score was explained by the professional ideal score than by the professional-bureaucratic score.

But the greatest differences appear in the mixed conceptions of role. Significantly enough, while degree nurses are unlikely to hold high bureaucratic–low professional conceptions, this is a popular choice among diploma nurses. On the other hand, degree nurses, more frequently than diploma nurses, combine low bureaucratic and high professional role conceptions.

On the other hand, conceptual organization of diploma and degree students does not differ (Table 3). It appears that degree and diploma nurses experience conflict in roles in different ways only *after* graduation as the influence of the bureaucratic role in nursing becomes more prominent.

In general, then, the professional conception retains more, the bureaucratic conception relatively less, prominence among degree than among diploma nurses. But, after graduation, degree nurses also frequently attempt to combine it with high bureaucratic conception, which probably increases the conflict. On the other hand, among diploma nurses the popularity of both low bureaucratic and low professional conceptions provides them with an escape. Degree, more than diploma, programs stress the professional more effectively than they do the bureaucratic conception, as expected.

Do discrepancies between ideal and real perceptions of role increase after graduation?—If the nursing faculty and the hospital staff uphold institutional and official ideals in different ways, then the discrepancy between ideals and the perception of reality is likely to be completely realized only after the passage from school to work. If so, the discrepancy in roles may increase after graduation. However, this is not necessarily the case because there is an alternative: the original ideals may be modified.

Diploma nurses express lower professional and service conceptions of role than diploma students do, suggesting that these

are modified after graduation while bureaucratic conceptions are apparently maintained (Table 4). On the other hand, among degree nurses the professional conception seems to be maintained after graduation, while an inconsistently held service conception declines; at the same time, the bureaucratic conception increases after graduation.

In short, the professional allegiance of diploma nurses declines after graduation, while their initial loyalty to the hospital is maintained; but the reverse is true for degree graduates who maintain professional conceptions while increasing their allegiance to the bureaucracy after employment.

Comparisons may be made between like

TABLE 2

TYPES OF BUREAUCRATIC-PROFESSIONAL ROLE ORGANIZATION ADOPTED BY DEGREE AND DIPLOMA NURSES*

	Role Organization								
	HB–HP		HB–LP		LB–HP		LB–LP		
Nurses' Training	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	Total No.
Degree	12	39	2	6	12	39	5	16	31
Diploma	53	27	51	26	35	18	55	28	194
Total	65	29	53	24	47	21	60	27	225

$\chi^2=12.6$ d.f.=3 $p<.01$

* For explanation of headings see n. to Table 1.

TABLE 3

TYPES OF BUREAUCRATIC-PROFESSIONAL ROLE ORGANIZATION ADOPTED BY DEGREE AND DIPLOMA STUDENT NURSES*

	Role Organization								
Student Nurses'	HB–HP		HB–LP		LB–HP		LB–HP		
Training	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	Total No.
Degree	5	26	3	16	4	21	7	37	19
Diploma	12	23	13	25	14	27	13	25	52
Total	17	24	16	23	18	25	20	28	71

$\chi^2=1.46$ d.f.=3 Not significant

* For explanation of headings see n. to Table 1.

TABLE 4

MEAN DIFFERENCES IN ROLE CONCEPTIONS* BETWEEN STUDENT AND GRADUATE STAFF NURSES WITH DIPLOMA OR DEGREE TRAINING

	Diploma Training				Degree Training			
Role Conception	Student Nurses	Graduate Nurses	Critical Ratio	F-ratio of Variance	Student Nurses	Graduate Nurses	Critical Ratio	F-ratio of Variance
Bureaucratic:								
Mean	21.88	21.63	0.50	.....	19.63	21.09	1.77†	....
Variance	9.26	10.85	....	1.17	12.36	7.71	....	1.60
Professional:								
Mean	28.44	26.71	2.39‡	.....	27.21	28.08	0.50	....
Variance	14.59	33.71	....	2.31†	1.44	31.99	...	2.22†
Service:								
Mean	28.30	26.74	4.56‡	.....	28.42	25.35	1.16	....
Variance	1.06	14.66	....	13.83‡	15.81	141.42	....	8.94‡

* High mean indicates high scores on the role-conception scale. High scores indicate strong allegiance to the conception. However, since there is an unequal number of items in the scales, the total score possible for the bureaucratic conception is 30; for the other two scales, 40.

† Significant at .05 (one tail).

‡ Significant at .01 (one tail).

cells in Table 4 and Table 5. Because the diploma nurses' professional conceptions of role are modified after graduation, the discrepancy does not increase; but, because modification does not occur among degree nurses, discrepancy increases among them. On the other hand, in spite of the fact that degree nurses have increased their allegiance to it, they still sense a discrepancy between their ideal bureaucratic conception and their perceived opportunity to fulfil it properly, while diploma personnel neither change their role nor sense a discrepancy after graduation. Thus, just as the formation of conceptions of role and their style of organization are influenced by the training program, so are the intensity and form of discrepancy.

TABLE 5

MEAN DIFFERENCES IN ROLE DISCREPANCY* BETWEEN NURSES AND STUDENT NURSES WITH DIPLOMA OR DEGREE TRAINING

Role Discrepancy	Diploma Training: Student Nurses	Diploma Training: Graduate Nurses	Diploma Training: Critical Ratio	F-ratio of Variance	Degree Training: Student Nurses	Degree Training: Graduate Nurses	Degree Training: Critical Ratio	F-ratio of Variance
Bureaucratic:								
Mean.......	2.13	2.64	1.04	....	2.26	3.41	1.67†	....
Variance....	8.71	8.98	....	1.00	10.94	10.44	....	1.00
Professional:								
Mean.......	4.85	4.99	0.24	....	4.05	7.64	2.49‡	....
Variance....	11.08	15.42	....	1.40	19.05	27.80	....	1.48
Service:								
Mean.......	2.88	2.31	−1.23	....	5.26	3.87	−1.19	....
Variance....	7.34	9.15	....	1.24	16.96	10.30	....	1.60

* High mean indicates high role discrepancy.

† Significant at .05 (one tail)

‡ Significant at .01 (one tail).

So, there is evidence that role conflicts and discrepancies are underlying career themes. This is a normal process, but only in the sense that certain ways of organizing work are normal. For conflict *is* a product of at least one fundamental characteristic of modern work—that is, the partial separation of training from career.

Precisely because conflict in roles is an inherent characteristic of the *structure* of work, the individual can, and does, make adjustments which modify its impact upon him. The capacity to organize roles is theoretically important, demonstrating as it does the fallacy in assuming a necessary connection between structural disorganization and personality conflict. While dilemmas of career confront those who simultaneously uphold divergent principles, individuals can reduce conflict and thereby maintain their security in what seem to be conflict-ridden situations by refusing to identify themselves with some or all of the alternative roles (though perhaps at the cost of the good opinion of coworkers and superiors who believe otherwise).

Strategically placed as he is in situations which may demand impossible alternatives, the plight of the professional employee skirts one of the curious puzzles of society—the fact that people do not always *do* what they believe they *should*. This is probably a normal result of an institutional conflict which forces a choice between highly regarded but conflicting principles. For, while it is quite possible to express belief in conflicting principles, the natural consequence of demands to conform to them simultaneously is their compromise.

It is hazardous to generalize about other types of professional employees from this small sample of nurses; for, while nursing is currently engaged in a drive to professionalize, it is not a mature profession, and

the fact that it is almost exclusively a woman's occupation further distorts its vocational uniqueness. Yet, one suspects that, as bureaucratization increases, similar problems will be encountered among the mature professions, with perhaps even more intense impact as well-established professional traditions are absorbed by large-scale organization.[20]

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

[20] The number of lawyers and doctors employed by government and business agencies and law "factories" seems generally to be on the increase. There is reason to believe that the conflict between bureaucratic and professional conceptions will increase. E.g., both Whyte and Friedsam observe that a conflict between loyalty to an organization and loyalty to an indirectly based individualism is already a popular literary theme (see William H. Whyte, *The Organization Man* [New York: Simon & Schuster, 1956], Part VI, pp. 243–67; and H. J. Friedsam, "Bureaucrats as Heroes," *Social Forces*, XXXII [March, 1954], 269–74).

ALFRED L. KROEBER

1876–1960

Alfred L. Kroeber was the dean not only of American anthropologists but of American social scientists generally. His active career spanned the whole of the present century to date, from before the completion of his Ph.D. work at Columbia in 1901 until his death last October. Indeed, his career after his retirement from the University of California at Berkeley in 1946 was almost more active than before it. It was symbolically appropriate that he died in full harness of a heart attack in Paris, when on his way back to California following his conducting of a seminar in anthropolgical linguistics in Vienna after the Paris meeting of the International Anthropological Association.

Kroeber was one of the earliest, and perhaps the most distinguished, of the students of Franz Boas, whose orientation set the main tone for his own intellectual life and for his lifelong career in teaching and research at Berkeley which, under his influence, became one of the few important centers of anthropological study and research in the world. With his famous essay on the "Superorganic," he helped to set the tone of the school of cultural anthropology, so prominent in the period. He was, however, also one of the leaders in technical ethnography, and did extensive field work among the Indians of California and elsewhere. He made important contributions to the technical analysis of kinship, particularly in his *Zuni Kin and Clan*.

At the same time, Kroeber ventured into fields and patterns of thought which were decidedly on the periphery of the conventional interests of anthropology. His well-known study of the cyclical development of fashions is an excellent example. He early became interested in psychoanalysis, underwent psychoanalytic training, and for a time practiced as a lay analyst—perhaps the first prominent social scientist to show this interest. Most notable of all, perhaps, was the highly original and penetrating comparative and historical study of developments of cultural innovation in the narrower sense which was published in his important *Configurations of Culture Growth*.

His main contribution, however, may have been the broadening and deepening of Boas' type of analysis of culture, as is particularly evidenced in the second edition of his *Anthropology* (1948). He was considerably more hospitable to evolutionary ideas than was Boas himself, or most of the other prominent followers of Boas. On two other and related fronts, however, it may even be said that he remained a little old-fashioned. First, in spite of his knowledge of psychoanalysis, he did not really succeed in advancing very much the integration of the cultural and social levels of behavior with the analysis of personality; he did, however, serve as a very important counterweight to the excesses of the "culture and personality" school. On the side of the relations between culture and social structure, similarly, in spite of his distinguished early contributions to the theory of kinship, he on the whole retained Boas' lack of sensitivity to the problems of social systems as such. There were, however, signs of change in his views in this field in his later years. I was particularly pleased to collaborate with him in a joint statement, undertaken at his suggestion, on the nature of the distinction between the conceptions of culture and of social system (*American Sociological Review,* XXIII [October, 1958], 582–83).

After his retirement from Berkeley,

Kroeber served as visiting professor at Harvard, Columbia, and Brandeis and also for a year as Fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, in addition to innumerable smaller lectureships and the like. He was the recipient of many honors, including honorary degrees from Yale, California, Harvard, and Columbia, the Viking Medal of the Wenner-Gren Foundation and the Huxley Medal of the Royal Anthropological Institute. He was president of the American Folklore Society and the American Anthropological Association, a member of the National Academy of Sciences and the American Philosophical Society, and a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

With due regard to his limitations—and who does not have them?—Kroeber will certainly go down as one of the most distinguished founders of the current and, still more, the coming phase of social science, not only in this country but in the world. And to many of us who were privileged to know him personally in his later years he became almost the ideal type of the elder statesman of the profession, continuing his productivity to an amazing degree to a very advanced age, wise, genial, and tolerant. What finer example could be set for his successors?

TALCOTT PARSONS

Harvard University

CLYDE KAY MABEN KLUCKHOHN

1905–1960

Clyde Kay Maben Kluckhohn died suddenly on July 28, 1960, at Santa Fe, New Mexico, in the region with which his work as an anthropologist was long and intimately connected and to which he was so deeply attached. To be deprived of such a man at any time would be a serious blow. Coming as it did when he was at the height of his powers and in the fulness of his maturity and wisdom, his death is a loss for us of the first magnitude.

In Clyde Kluckhohn's education we may find the early signs of that catholicity of interest and receptivity to new experiences and ideas which characterized his life. Born in Le Mars, Iowa, on January 11, 1905, he attended the Culver Military Academy before entering Princeton. He was forced to interrupt his schooling for reasons of health, and in this period he came to know the American Southwest. When he resumed his studies, it was at the University of Wisconsin. He earned his A.B. degree there, majoring in Greek. Intolerant of narrowness and premature specialization, he always advised young people planning to enter anthropology to major in classical studies, philosophy, or mathematics.

In 1930–31 Professor Kluckhohn was in Vienna, attending lectures at the University and undergoing psychoanalysis; he was one of the first social scientists to seek this experience. Initially quite skeptical about its relevance, he thereafter played a prominent role in bringing psychoanalytic thinking to bear on anthropology. As a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford, he acquired the M.A. degree and returned to the United States, where he served as assistant professor of anthropology at the University of New Mexico. In 1934 he came to Harvard and in 1936 received his Ph.D. in ethnology. He remained at Harvard for the rest of his career. At the time of his death he was chairman of the Department of Anthropology and senior anthropologist in the Department of Social Relations, which he had helped to found in 1946 in collaboration with Talcott Parsons, Henry Murray, and Gordon Allport.

The range of Clyde Kluckhohn's interests was extraordinary, including human biology and genetics, language and tech-

nical linguistics, primitive religions, child-rearing, the study of values, psychological warfare, Russian national character, and American culture—the last notably in collaboration with his wife, Florence R. Kluckhohn, whose sociological work is well known. He was, or soon became, technically competent in all the fields into which his interests led him, and in most he made a substantial contribution. He was one of the last of the Renaissance men in an era of increasingly medieval specialization.

Several aspects of Clyde Kluckhohn's work are of particular interest to sociologists. A leading exponent of structural-functional analysis, he not only made theoretical contributions but provided one of its most interesting applications in his study of *Navaho Witchcraft.* He was a strong proponent of more rigorous empirical field work in anthropology, of which his own research was a model, and in his teaching he stressed the importance of systematic observation and precise recording of behavior on the basis of objectively defined criteria. Yet his work never suffered from a desiccating empiricism. He never lost sight of the whole man in his natural setting, and he had a continuing interest in biography and the recording of life history. This was evidenced in his contribution to the Social Science Research Council's Bulletin, *The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology,* and in two books, *Children of the People* and *The Navaho,* written collaboratively with Dorothea Leighton.

His interest in culture and personality and his concern with bringing the insight of cultural anthropology to bear on public issues and policy were expressed in his wartime service with the Office of War Information, where he dealt particularly with problems concerning Japan. The same considerations influenced his decision to accept the directorship of the Russian Research Center when it was established at Harvard in 1948. Under his guidance for six years, the Center came to be widely acknowledged as one of the leading institutions of its kind in the world and a model for those wishing to study whole societies on an interdisciplinary basis. In addition to his great capacity as an administrator and his intellectual leadership, he showed in this role, as in all his others, an inexhaustible concern for the mind, spirit and welfare of others. This period yielded, among other things, *How the Soviet System Works,* the last of his books published during his lifetime.

Not only his university, his colleagues and his students, not only his discipline and others closely allied to it, but all social science and all those who would understand man are grievously deprived by the loss of Clyde Kluckhohn.

ALEX INKELES

Harvard University

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

"GRADUATE SCHOOLS AND THE PRODUCTIVITY OF THEIR GRADUATES"

November 24, 1960

To the Editor:

I should like to call attention to the following serious difficulties in Leland Axelson's "Graduate Schools and the Productivity of Their Graduates" (this *Journal*, LXVI [September, 1960], 171–75):

1. The exclusion of books published from the index of productivity is a glaring omission. One could not possibly expect to get a balanced picture of a scholar's contribution by noting journal articles but ignoring books.

2. Assigning one point for each paper published presupposes a reasonable closeness in quality of all papers. Anyone who reads the journals can testify to the fact that papers differ immensely in excellence and importance to the field. Some attempt ought to have been made to account for qualitative differences of articles in the construction of the index of productivity.

3. The assigning, in cases of dual authorship, of one-half point to each author regardless of the quality of the paper is arbitrary and distortive. A major paper (such as Davis and Moore's classic work on principles of stratification) is counted for the school from which an author received his Ph.D. as being half as great a contribution as any trivial paper he might have written independently.

4. The concept "Ph.D.-year" includes all the years from receipt of the Ph.D. degree to the present time as "time available for publication" and thus fails to take into account years during which a Ph.D. served in the armed forces or in some other non-academic position. The result may be that schools that turned out a large number of Ph.D.'s who served during World War II make a poorer showing than do schools that have turned out the bulk of their Ph.D.'s since the war.

5. The averaging of articles per Ph.D.-year for all Ph.D.'s from a given school to arrive at an index of the productivity of that school results in a decided disadvantage to schools that turn out many Ph.D.'s who do not go into academic work. Despite the fact that such departments may train many competent Ph.D.'s for government work, social welfare activities, industrial consulting, and other pursuits in which the main emphasis is not on publishing in sociological journals, the graduate school will fare badly on Axelson's index. This remains true even if the Ph.D.'s who do enter academic fields are frequent contributors to the journals.

6. The fact that Axelson notes the problems involved in excluding specialized journals from his study does not mitigate the seriousness of the exclusion. The most significant papers in an entire area of sociology (such as organizational theory or criminology) may be published principally in journals other than those used in Axelson's research.

7. Issue is taken with the belief "that the northeastern colleges and universities of the United States offer the best education." Contrary to Axelson's assertion, I do not believe the data disprove this belief. Excellence is generally attributed, not to

any college in the Northeast, but rather to the "Ivy League" schools of the area. Since no data are given for these schools specifically (nor is information given as to what schools were included in the samples of the various regions), even if the indexes used are valid no conclusions can be drawn about the so-called "prestige schools" of the Northeast.

HOWARD ELINSON

University of California, Los Angeles

REJOINDER

January 23, 1961

To the Editor:

If I interpret Mr. Elinson's comments correctly, he is disturbed that I did not return with the week's groceries when I set out to acquire only a loaf of bread. The purpose of the inquiry was to test the frequently stated assumption that there is a positive relationship between the size of graduate school attended and the amount of subsequent publication. Within the *defined* limits of the research design this supposition now seems to have some empirical support.

As to the "glaring omission" of books published, Bernard Meltzer (this *Journal*, LV [July, 1949], 25) equated each chapter of a book with an article, and Nicholls,[1] following the lead of Meltzer, utilized a similar index. Nicholls' discovery that the productivity "index" turns out to be a "reflection of the book index," rather than an index of total productivity, questions the feasibility and, perhaps, the possibility of an objective criterion for equating books and articles. These experiences precipitated the choice of a single criterion of productivity.

The "reasonable closeness" of the quality of the published articles and the so-called "arbitrary and distortive" use of a single-unit measure raise basic questions concerning construction of typologies. The classification of a phenomenon presents a most serious problem, and in the final analysis the resulting category is contingent on the defining attributes. The fact of publication was chosen as the most defensible criterion available and presupposes a reputable standard of professional attainment. I am sure that Elinson, like myself, would dislike being placed in the position of defending a list of recent publications labeled "classics," "sub-classics," and "also-rans." Work which is considered important today may eventually be relegated to a list of required readings for graduate students illustrating historical examples of false knowledge based upon false suppositions. We already have many of these.

I can see no justification for the assumption that a larger proportion of the graduates of any particular institution would be more likely to enter the armed forces than would graduates of some other. I have calculated the relative standings of the schools based upon the productivity of their graduates since 1946. With rare exceptions the higher placed schools maintained their favored position with respect to the other sixty-five institutions involved.

There is no question but that this index works a "decided disadvantage" to those institutions graduating a larger proportion of doctors not interested in an academic career. However, the research was primarily concerned with categories based upon size (as determined by average number of degrees awarded annually) rather than individual schools. From the volume of mail I have received, I would guess that the ranking used to illustrate that not all productive sociologists come from the larger

[1] William L. Nicholls II, "A Study To Determine Differences in the Publication of Significant Sociological Material between the Alumni of American Graduate Departments of Sociology" (unpublished honors thesis, Bucknell University, 1952).

institutions was not interpreted from this point of view. The question has been: Are we one of the top ten? As to how serious the exclusion of certain specialized journals is will depend on future research. The field is wide open, and I await the research of others in this area.

There was no attempt made or implied to "disprove" the belief in the excellence of the universities located in the northeastern part of the United States; rather, it was to take issue with the provincialism that assumes they "graduate the more productive sociologists." Of the individuals included in the Northeast in Table 3, 71 per cent received their doctorates from "Ivy League" schools, and the vast majority of the remaining graduated from such reputable colleges as Pennsylvania State, the New School for Social Research, New York University, and the University of Pittsburgh. The point is that the training of capable sociologists is not confined to a particular geographical region within the United States.

LELAND J. AXELSON

Washington State University

TWO NASATIRS

January 25, 1961

To the Editor:

I wish to call to your attention an improbable case of mistaken identity.

While both of us possess title to the same sur- and given names, the David Nasatir who coauthored the letter which appeared on page 366 of your January, 1961, issue and I are not the same person. That letter commented upon *A Basic Course in Sociological Statistics: A Textbook and Workbook Combined*, by Morris Zelditch, Jr.

E(UGENE) DAVID NASATIR

Columbia University

THE URBAN FACUILY

January 9, 1961

To the Editor:

I would like to use the Letters medium as a way to present a hypothesis about an emergent of urban society which may be stated so simply that it does not require the space of an article. But the hypothesis seems so likely to be accurate, and so central to our changing society, that it should, I believe, be stated in the journal literature.

Since the Chicago studies of the twenties, American sociologists have tended to assume (1) that limited opportunities for today's highly specialized occupations force the head of the urban family and his dependents to be spatially mobile and (2) that, as a consequence of the nuclear family's mobility, that an extended family system probably could not develop in urban society.

But is this sequence, in fact, inevitable? I doubt it. Today our gigantic urban areas and their environs—such as in Chicago, New York, and Los Angeles—contain almost every conceivable occupational specialty within the same small area. The modern urbanite can find positions fitting his specialty within the same urban complex in which he lives. One does not have to leave town to find an appropriate job. Moreover, today's urbanites are largely in the second or third generation of residence in the city. It takes only a few generations for marriage, children, and the childrens' marriages, etc., to link the individual tightly into a web of kinship. By now, a large proportion of the residents of large urban centers doubtless have many such links to

others in the same city, and these carry with them a complex set of mutual obligations—for evening and week-end visiting, family picnics, participation in the family church. A great many people, doubtless, find pleasure in fulfilling these obligations. Could it be that the job—once so central to the urbanite's whole being—serves now as an economic support for an enjoyable extended-family life? In a word, is there an emergent urban familism?

And, if urban familism exists to any large degree, is it important? Any sociologist knows that a widespread change in one sector of a social system has repercussions for other sectors. If a substantial degree of urban familism is developing, we can predict that: (1) urbanites will be less and less concerned with the job as a mode of self-expression and, therefore, less willing to sacrifice family life for success at work and, in turn, therefore, will experience less vertical mobility; (2) urbanites will be less amenable to direct influence by the mass media (because they will have less time to attend to the media and because they will not be willing to risk the family's disapproval by adopting new ideas); (3) urbanites will be more amenable to manipulation by influencing the leaders of opinion in the family; (4) urbanites will be more concerned with finding leisure activities which can involve large numbers of the family; (5) familistic cities and subsections of cities, over time, will develop distinctive styles of expressive culture, in language, folk architecture, religious patterns, etc. Other consequences could be hypothesized, but these seem to illustrate the point.

I know that this runs counter to much of our prevailing thought in America, and I know that there are countervailing forces, such as the schools and universities. But, if the hypothesis of urban familism is accurate, even the latter may be influenced by it, because they, too, may be increasingly staffed by the new family urbanites. If so, the faculties, too, will be less interested in activity which would compete with family life: general scholarly production will decrease, and local cultural orientation will increase.

In any case, the hypothesis of urban familism seems so plausible and so important, if valid, that it seems to call for exploratory research: first, to decide whether familism really exists in the city; second, to determine its extent; and, third, to assess its consequences. Let us hope that research already begun in the area by sociologists of the urban universities will be expanded in the near future.

A. O. Haller

Michigan State University

NEWS AND NOTES

University of Akron.—Norman F. Washburne has joined the department as associate professor of sociology. He will handle research methodology for the department and direct the general-education course called "Institutions in the United States."

Morris Freilich, instructor in anthropology and sociology, is preparing papers on cultural persistence and change among Chassidic Jews in America, on an operational definition of community based on community study among Mohawks, Trinidadians, and Chassidic Jews, and on a study of cultural change and the Negro family in Trinidad.

Samuel C. Newman served as a key man for census tracts in the Summit County area.

Charles C. Rogler continues to serve as head of the department. Other members of the department are: H. O. DeGraff, professor emeritus; Raymond Brown, Veron L. Odom, and Julia Saltman.

Boston University.—Seven fellowships of $2,000 each are being offered at the Human Relations Center, for the 1961–62 academic year, to candidates studying for advanced degrees. The fellowships will be available in degree programs in the fields of psychology, sociology, anthropology, theology, education, social work, philosophy, and other studies.

Applicants should write to Kenneth D. Benne, Boston University Human Relations Center, 270 Bay State Road, Boston 15, Massachusetts.

Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc.—At the recent annual meeting Robert T. Bower, W. Phillips Davison, and Frank Lorimer were re-elected as trustees for a two-year period. They serve together with Ellsworth Bunker, George Gallup, Paul Lazarsfeld and Herbert J. Miller, Jr.

Laure M. Sharp is currently engaged in a study of about 70,000 persons who graduated in 1958 from American colleges to determine how much they use their college training in their jobs. The sample includes graduates in all fields of study at the Bachelor's and Master's levels from all four-year colleges in the United States and recipients of medical, law, and other professional degrees. The research is supported by a grant from the National Science Foundation.

Albert D. Biderman of the Bureau staff and Edgar N. Schein of the School of Industrial Relations of Massachusetts Institute of Technology have begun work on an integration and evaluation of knowledge developed in studies of captivity from a comprehensive review of the literature on prisoners of war, concentration camp prisoners, and political prisoners.

University of Cambridge.—The University has established a postgraduate course in criminology, to be given by the Institute of Criminology. The first course will commence on October 1, 1961, and will be held during the three terms of the academic year ending in July, 1962.

A diploma in criminology will be awarded by the University to those who, at completion of the course, pass a written examination in five papers covering the subjects prescribed for the course.

The program of teaching will consist of lectures, seminars, and practical work: 105 lectures and 90 seminars will be given, dealing with all the major aspects of criminology, with particular reference to the development of criminological and penological thought and practice; the methodology of criminological research; the psychological and psychiatric context of criminal conduct; the sociology of crime; the principles of criminal law and procedure; the sentencing process and the effectiveness of punishment and other methods of treatment; the non-institutional and institutional treatment of juvenile, young adult, and adult offenders; and certain aspects of the prevention of crime. Practical work, during vacations as well as term time, will be undertaken by the students at penal and psychiatric institutions, probation and after-care centers, and other agencies concerned with

the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders.

Admission to the course will be open to those who already hold a university degree in any subject, not necessarily in law. In very exceptional circumstances candidates who do not hold a university degree may be considered for admission, if they have either made an important contribution to criminology by research or gained outstanding practical experience in administration. The number of admissions in any one year will be limited in order to maintain the highest possible standard. Those admitted to the course will be made members of the University and will be expected to seek admission to a college.

Application forms for admission are available from the Secretary, Institute of Criminology, 4 Scroope Terrace, Cambridge, England. The completed forms, together with evidence of necessary qualifications, should reach the Secretary by May 15, 1961, or soon after, for the course commencing in October, 1961.

University of Chicago.—Philip M. Hauser, chairman of the Department of Sociology, was elected president-elect of the American Statistical Association for 1961 and will assume office as president in 1962. He will present a paper on population problems of the United States at the Pacific Science Congress in Hawaii in late August.

Beverly Duncan, research associate, and Philip M. Hauser, director of the Population Center, are authors of *Housing a Metropolis: Chicago,* published in January.

Elihu Katz has been promoted to an associate professorship in the Department of Sociology.

A new training program in social psychology has been inaugurated under a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health. Fred Strodtbeck is director of the program and is assisted by Jack Sawyer, formerly a postdoctoral fellow in statistics at the University, and Mayer N. Zald, who received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Michigan. All three hold appointments in both sociology and psychology.

University of Colorado.—Edward Rose assumed the chairmanship of the Department of Sociology in July for a three-year term. Professor Rose is also serving as director of the Institute of Behavioral Science, which integrates much of the research activity of the social science departments.

Gordon H. Barker has been elected a vice-president of the American Society of Criminology and continues to serve on the Executive Board of the Colorado Conference of Social Welfare. In collaboration with W. Thomas Adams, sociologist of the Boy's Industrial School, Golden, Colorado, he is engaged in the research and rehabilitation program on the institutionalized delinquent.

Howard Higman continues as chairman of the World Affairs Conference, which annually in the spring brings approximately one hundred experts on world affairs to the campus for a week-long conference.

Blaine E. Mercer is the chairman of the General Social Science Program for the College of Arts and Sciences. His book on the sociology of American schools is to be published in June. He has been appointed to the Executive Committee of the Inter-University Seminar on Urbanization in the Missouri River Basin, which is sponsored by the Ford Foundation, and serves as vice-president of the Rocky Mountain Council on Family Relations.

Judson B. Pearson who has been newly appointed director of the Bureau of Sociological Research, is engaged in the preparation of a volume in statistics and research methods.

Alex Garber will conduct a student study tour to Yugoslavia, Hungary, and several central and southern European countries during the coming summer.

Robert C. Hanson has joined the department as assistant professor and research associate in the Institute of Behavioral Science. He has the assistance of a Russell Sage Foundation residency grant for research in medical sociology. He is associated with Lyle Saunders on a New Mexico Public Health research project and with Omer Stewart of the Department of Anthropology and Richard Jessor of the Department of Psychology on a "tri-ethnic community health project."

E. Merle Adams served as director of a Work-Study Program for Mental Health Interns during the summer of 1960, a program which, while limited to forty interns last summer, will be expanded for the coming summer. All inquiries should be addressed to the director.

Margaret Altmann has joined the University faculty as associate professor with a joint appointment in the Departments of Biology, Psychology, and Sociology. She continues her field studies in animal behavior under a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health.

Charles Gray, Jules Wanderer, and Gary G. Willoughby continue as part-time instructors in the department.

Carol Copp and Curtiss E. Frank, Jr., have joined the staff as part-time instructors.

Cornell University.—George McT. Kahin, professor of government, has been appointed director of the University's Southeast Asia Program and Southeast Asia Area and Language Center. He succeeds Lauriston Sharp, professor of anthropology, who has resigned the directorships to devote more time to teaching, writing, and research.

The new associate director, Frank H. Golay, is spending the current year in Malaya and the Philippines under a Guggenheim fellowship and grants from the American Council of Learned Societies and the Ford Foundation. He is continuing work on a comparative study of economic nationalism in those countries which he began in 1955 while studying in the Philippines under a Fulbright award.

A study of mental health in Nigeria, chosen as an area of drastic social change, is being undertaken this year. The program will be supported by grants of $90,000 from the National Institute of Mental Health and $25,000 from the Milbank Memorial Fund and is directed by Alexander H. Leighton. This study, called the Cornell Program in Social Psychiatry, is sponsored jointly by Cornell's Department of Sociology and Anthropology, by the Department of Psychiatry of the University Medical College, and also by the Ministry of Health of the Western Region of Nigeria. The Aro Mental Hospital near Abeokuta in the western region of Nigeria, the only mental hospital in the country, will be home base. Dr. T. A. Lambo, medical superintendent of the hospital, and his colleagues will work closely with the social scientists. It is expected that as many or more Nigerians as Americans will take part in the research. Of the latter, Alexander and Dorothea C. Leighton, psychiatrists, Charles C. Hughes and Jane M. Hughes, anthropologists, David B. Macklin, social psychologist, and Charles Savage of Woodside, California, and Raymond Price of Montreal are already in Nigeria for a three-month pilot study. The pilot study will inquire into the local symptoms of psychiatric disorder and the symptoms of change and disintegration to which the disorders can be linked.

Dartmouth College.—Robert A. Dentler has accepted a position as assistant professor of sociology, to begin September, 1961.

Encyclopedia of Social Sciences.—Three publishing firms—Macmillan Company, Collier's Encyclopedia, and the Free Press of Glencoe, Illinois—are combining resources to publish a major new encyclopedia of the social sciences, the first in its field in more than a quarter of a century. The Macmillan Company, an important publisher of trade and textbooks, published the original *Encyclopedia* in the early 1930's.

W. Allen Wallis, professor of economics and statistics and dean of the Graduate School of Business at the University of Chicago, has been appointed chairman of the editorial board. Serving on the advisory council are: Kenneth Boulding, Department of Economics, University of Michigan; Kingsley Davis, Department of Sociology, University of California; Fred Eggan, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago; Heinz Eulau, Department of Political Science, Stanford University; Oscar Handlin, Department of History, Harvard University; Bert F. Hoselitz, Division of Social Sciences, University of Chicago; Morris Janowitz, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan; Harold D. Lasswell, Law School, Yale University; Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Department of Sociology, Columbia University; Robert K. Merton, Department of Sociology, Columbia University; David C. McClelland, Department of Psychology, Harvard University; Frederick Mosteller, Department of Statistics, Harvard University; Ernest Nagel, Department of Philosophy, Columbia University; Talcott Parsons, Department of Social Relations, Harvard University; Edward A. Shils, Committee on Social Thought, University of Chicago; Herbert Simon, Graduate School of Industrial Management, Carnegie Institute of Technology and the Rand Corporation; George J. Stigler, director of the Walgreen Foundation

for the Study of American Institutions, University of Chicago; Ralph Tyler, director, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Palo Alto, California; and Jacob Viner, Department of Economics, Princeton University.

Goddard College.—Renewing its original grant, the Ford Foundation has awarded $37,000 to Jerome Himelhoch, professor of sociology and director of the Vermont Youth Study, to continue his research on the behavior problems and the potentialities for constructive behavior of rural and small-town youth in Vermont.

State University of Iowa.—Theodore R. Anderson, formerly of Yale, has joined the Department of Sociology as associate professor and acting chairman. He is also serving as director of the Iowa Urban Community Research Center.

Three new assistant professors in the department are Charles H. Hubbell, June Helm, and Marshall B. McKusick. Charles Hubbell is responsible for developing a small-group research program. June Helm, who was formerly of Carleton University, Canada, is handling courses in social anthropology. Marshall McKusick, who is in charge of the archeological program, is also serving as the state archeologist of Iowa and editor of the *Journal of the Iowa Archeological Society.*

Stanley Lieberson has been promoted to assistant professor. He continues to serve as associate director of the Iowa Urban Community Research Center.

Three new National Defense Fellows holding internships in the Community Research Center are Irving L. Allen, Jr., Jerrold L. Beurer, and Ronald W. Wilson. Second-year National Defense Fellows and interns in the Center are John W. Prehn, Kent P. Schwirian, and David L. Thomas.

David Gold, associate professor in the department, has received a half-time research appointment in the Center. He has been appointed an associate editor of the *American Sociological Review.*

The University of Kansas City.—Ernest Manheim, chairman, who is lecturing at the University of Teheran on a Fulbright fellowship, will be back at the University in time to teach during the second summer session.

Leon H. Warshay, acting chairman, is finishing a study of "neo-Nazis," that is, research into public reactions to a temple bombing in Kansas City with Ellen Biddle and Morton Goldman of the Department of Psychology. He also is studying breadth of perspective as related to intelligence and creativity.

Oscar R. Eggers, who joined the department at midyear replacing Raymond D. Zinser, is director of a project of the Laboratory for Experimentation in Family Life Education, which engages in research on the family, on interpersonal processes in small groups, and on teaching machines.

Carolyn C. Furr is studying organizational response to a threat to the community. She also is analyzing data of a study of the changing college students' attitudes toward parenthood.

Université Laval (Quebec).—Jean-C. Falardeau, who has been chairman of the *Département de Sociologie* over the last ten years, resigned his office in February, 1961, to devote himself exclusively to teaching and research activities. Fernand Dumont has been appointed as his successor. The present staff of the Department includes: Professors Dumont (chairman), Falardeau, M.-Adélard Tremblay, Gérald Fortin, and Yves Martin.

Professor Nathan Keyfitz (University of Toronto) has been visiting professor.

Loyola University (New Orleans).—Joseph H. Fichter is to be absent until the end of the current year, undertaking lecturing and research in Santiago, Chile.

McGill University.—William A. Westley, chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, has been promoted to a full professorship.

Merrill-Palmer Institute.—A workshop on "The Role of the Professional Person in the Racially Changing Neighborhood" will be held July 10–21, 1961, at the Institute. It will offer two hours' credit and will carry a tuition fee of $45.00. Room and board can be provided at the Institute for $60.00. Scholarships are available.

Applications for the workshop are currently being accepted. Interested persons should write immediately to Dr. Richard K. Kerckhoff, Workshop Leader, Merrill-Palmer Institute, 71 East Ferry Avenue, Detroit 2, Michigan.

University of Michigan.—The Survey Research Center will hold its annual summer Institute in Survey Research Techniques from June 26 to July 22 for the introductory session; the second session will be from July 24 to August 19. This program is designed to meet some of the educational and training needs of men and women engaged in business and governmental research or other statistical work and of graduate students and university instructors interested in quantitative research in the social sciences.

For further information or for application forms for admission write: Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

University of Munich.—The Institute of Sociology, whose director is E. K. Francis, has established a center of Max Weber studies, in charge of which is Johannes Winckelmann, editor of several annotated editions of Weber's writings which have appeared since the war. Its primary purpose is the collection of all available materials, either in the original or by way of photographic reproductions, pertaining to the work of Weber, whose position before his death in 1920 was that of professor of sociology, economics, and political science in this University. Weber's manuscripts, correspondence, and copies of his personal library with valuable marginal notes have been widely scattered, some being in the possession of persons now residing abroad. It is hoped that their attention will be drawn to this effort to provide a central collection.

Communications are to be addressed to: Max Weber-Archiv, Soziologisches Institut der Universität München, Munich (Germany), Theresienstrasse 3–5.

National Council on Family Relations.—An opening address on "Difference, Tolerance, and Co-operation" will set the stage for the annual meeting of the Council to be held August 23–25 at the University of Utah, Salt Lake City. There will be plenary sessions and also section meetings on early child development; family-life education in the schools, family-life education in the colleges, family-life education in the community, parent education, religion, counseling, and research.

For further information write Ruth Jewson, Executive Secretary, National Council on Family Relations, 1219 University Avenue, S.E., Minneapolis 14, Minnesota.

Universidad Nacional de Colombia.—In November, 1960, the Academic Council of the University promoted to the rank of *Facultad* the two-year-old Department of Sociology. Under the direction of Orlando Fals-Borda (Ph.D., Florida, 1955), the new *Facultad* enjoys all academic and administrative prerogatives. The University of Colombia is the first in Latin America to grant to sociology the highest academic rank; in six other Latin-American universities there are institutes or schools of sociology annexed to other organizations.

The *Facultad* is adding a new wing to its building on the University campus, in order to lodge the staff and about one hundred students who this year have indicated their desire to study sociology. The first *Licenciados* will receive their diplomas in 1962; and in 1963, after five years of training, the first nationally trained professional sociologists will graduate. Postgraduate studies will also be offered. The *Facultad* has received the assistance of the Rockefeller Foundation, UNESCO, and other bodies.

After almost two years as director-general of the Ministry of Agriculture, Dr. Fals-Borda resigned in September, 1960, to devote full time to the launching of the new *Facultad* and to continue his teaching and research. Besides him, the staff at present includes Virginia de Pineda and Roberto Pineda, previously Guggenheim Fellows who studied at Berkeley; Father Camilo Torres, a sociology graduate from the University of Louvain (Belgium); Andrew Pearse, an English sociologist who specializes in the Caribbean area; and Robert C. Williamson, who is on leave from Los Angeles City College with a Fulbright appointment.

The *Facultad* will appreciate the remittance of reprints and books for its library and wishes to thank those colleagues who have already done so. It also offers to exchange publica-

tions with its own monograph series (seven numbers to date). The address: Facultad de Sociología, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Ciudad Universitaria, Bogotá, Colombia.

National Institute of Mental Health.—Grants are available to social science departments (e.g., anthropology, sociology, and social psychology) in support of research training relevant to mental health. Applications for grants to begin July 1, 1962, must be submitted by September 1, 1961. Support may be requested for two types of training programs:

Training of social scientists for research in mental-health areas is a program oriented to the training of research personnel in the social sciences for research careers in the field of mental health. Support may be requested for teaching costs and for both predoctoral and postdoctoral traineeships.

Training of professional personnel from the mental-health disciplines in research methods of the social sciences is a program directed toward the training of mental-health personnel (e.g., psychiatrists and clinical psychologists) in the research techniques and skills of the social sciences. Support may be requested for teaching costs and for postdoctoral traineeships.

Training grants are not awarded to individuals, but to university departments which, in turn, administer the grant funds and select the trainees.

Additional information may be obtained from Clark E. Vincent, Training Specialist, Social Sciences, Training Branch, National Institute of Mental Health, Bethesda 14, Maryland.

National Science Foundation.—The Office of Social Sciences has been raised to divisional status. The new division will support basic research in the following: ethnology, archeology, linguistics, and physical anthropology; econometrics, economic and social geography, the economics of research and innovation, and general mathematical economics; demography, social psychology, psycholinguistics, and the sociology of science; and basic research in the history and philosophy of science.

National University of Mexico.—The 1961 Summer Session will be held from June 26 to August 4 in Mexico City.

University of North Dakota.—Max Burchard, formerly at Marietta College, and Robert White, of Florida State University, have joined the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

Northwestern University.—Richard D. Schwartz, formerly of Yale University, has been appointed associate professor of sociology.

Dennis C. McElrath and Donald G. McKinley have joined the department with the rank of visiting assistant professor. McElrath has just returned from a Fulbright research leave in Italy and Eastern Europe. He has received a research grant from the Graduate School for the analysis of data on the social areas of Rome as part of an ongoing study of international urbanization. McKinley comes from teaching at the University of Pennsylvania.

Raymond W. Mack, chairman of the department, has been elected vice-president of the Midwest Sociological Society. He gave the annual Stuckenberg Lecture, "Conflicts in American Values," at Gettysburg College this year.

Robert F. Winch has received a grant from the National Science Foundation to support research on the process of identification in the family.

John I. Kitsuse has been engaged in research on the definition of adolescent careers, supported by a grant from the Ford Foundation.

The Ford Foundation will sponsor leave next year for Scott Greer, who will study the impact of urban redevelopment programs in the United States.

Ernest R. Mowrer is continuing his research on the suburban family under a grant from Northwestern's Graduate Committee on Research.

Harold Guetzkow has been appointed to a new Committee on National and International Affairs of the American Psychological Association.

Paul J. Bohannan received the August Vollmer Research Award from the American Society of Criminology for his recent book, *African Homicide and Suicide.*

Kimball Young will give the Northwestern University Distinguished Professor Lecture on May 11, 1961, entitled "Alice's Contribution

to Psychoanalysis: From Lewis Carroll to Sigmund Freud."

Ohio State University.—The *Journal* learns with regret of the death on January 30, in St. Petersburg, Florida, of Cecil Clare North, at the age of eighty-three. Professor North had been an emeritus professor of sociology of the university since 1948, following thirty-two years of service. One of the early Ph.D.'s in sociology from the University of Chicago (1908), he taught first at Miami University, Ohio, then at De Pauw, which he left in 1916 for Ohio State.

In addition to numerous articles in professional journals, Dr. North was the author of four books. *Sociological Implications of Ricardo's Economics* appeared in 1915; *Social Differentiation* in 1926; *The Community and Social Welfare* in 1931; and *Social Problems and Social Planning* in 1932. This last volume enjoyed wide popularity as a textbook in American colleges and universities for a decade following its publication.

During World War I he helped organize recreational and social activities in various communities where army training camps had been established. He participated in many social and welfare organizations and movements in Columbus, such as the Urban League. He was a member of the Ohio Valley Sociological Society and of the American Sociological Association, in which he served a term on the executive committee.

Roosevelt University.—The Sociology Department introduced its graduate program, leading to a master's degree, in the fall of 1960.

St. Clair Drake returned in the spring semester, after two and a half years at University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana, where he was chairman of the Sociology Department. He also continued his research on mass communication, which he began five years ago, under a Ford Foundation grant.

S. Kirson Weinberg replaces Drake at the University of Ghana in the current spring semester. After his return he will complete his research leave to continue studies on friendship among peer groups. He published two books last year: *Social Problems*, and one on the culture of the mental institution in collaboration with H. W. Dunham.

Arthur Hillman returned to the department to teach half-time, retiring from the deanship of the College of Arts and Sciences. He is also director of the Training Center at Hull House, a new program of the National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers. His report on a survey conducted for that organization in 1958-59 was published in May, 1960. He was joint author with T. E. Eliot of *Norway's Families*.

Robert E. T. Roberts received a faculty research grant to continue his studies on interracial marriage.

Rose Hum Lee's new book, *The Chinese in the United States of America*, was published by the Hong Kong University Press and is being distributed by Oxford University Press.

Bernard Baum, who has become director of organizational analysis with the Continental Casualty Company, Chicago, retains his ties with the Department. His doctoral dissertation was selected by the Ford Foundation and will be published by Prentice-Hall, Inc., during the spring of 1961.

The new part-time staff includes: S. Kobrin, F. Kolegar, Helena Z. Lopata, R. Renck, and E. Selmanoff.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute.—The 1961 session of the Southern Regional Graduate Summer Session in Statistics will be held at the Institute from June 15 to July 22, 1961. The Institute, Oklahoma State University, North Carolina State College, and the University of Florida are operating a continuing program of graduate summer sessions in statistics to be held at each institution in rotation. The session will last six weeks.

The program is intended to serve teachers of statistics and mathematics and a variety of professional workers who want formal training in modern statistics, prospective candidates for graduate degrees in statistics, and graduate students in other fields who desire work in statistics.

A limited number of fellowships will be available for applicants from certain specialized areas. Requests for application blanks for the summer session and for fellowships should be addressed to: Boyd Harshbarger, Department of Statistics, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Virginia.

BOOK REVIEWS

Social Change in the Industrial Revolution: An Application of Theory to the British Cotton Industry, 1770–1840. By Neil J. Smelser. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959. Pp. xii+440. $6.00.

This is an important book from one point of view. It would have been more accurately subtitled, "An Application of a System of Analysis to . . . ," but it is in the mode to refer to all systems of analysis as though they were systems of theory. Professor Smelser is apparently more interested in testing the theories, or system of analysis, developed by Talcott Parsons and himself in their volume, *Economy and Society,* than in a study of the British cotton industry for its own sake. No one interested in sociology as a science can quarrel with that. The book stands or falls on two grounds: one, its "theory," the other, the relevance of that "theory" to the economic history of the cotton industry. From the former point of view I find it bad; from the latter, others who have a competence in economic history which I lack find major parts of the work good and useful, even if not spectacular and not enhanced by the "theory." I am most concerned with its "theory."

With the unfairness of brevity I would specify only a few of the possible criticisms:

1. There is virtually systematic commission of the fallacy of reification: Parsons' famous fourfold distinction, *A, G, I,* and *L,* cannot be used one minute as a set of analytic distinctions (i.e., aspects of any systems) and in the next as referring to the social organizations or systems themselves.

2. Some statements are treated with the respect apparently due to theories, but they are mostly true by definition. If they are not true by definition, there is real question as to whether they are tenable. For example, see pages 22 and 42, where goals are discussed, and p. 28, where the specialization of apparently all households everywhere in space and time is asserted.

3. There are some peculiar definitions, especially as they focus on the concept of equilibrium, for example, the first paragraph on page 10: "all systems of action are governed by the principle of equilibrium." (This statement may also be added to the second criticism above.) The analysis may be in part saved (?) by the statement that equilibria may be divided into stable, partial, and unstable. The last of the three categories either robs the initial statement on equilibrium of any meaning or, if it means something very precise, as it sometimes does in economics or physics, puts all changing situations in which no equilibrium has been restored at least temporarily outside the realm of systems of action altogether.

4. "In order to" or "to" statements are often misused, as, for example, on page 19: "by which they interact with each other in order to maintain the system in equilibrium. . . ." It is absolutely essential that social scientists recognize either that all such statements are flat examples of the scientific fallacy of teleology or that they imply that the action concerned was a conscious attempt at rational planning by specific actors. The tenability of the latter is by no means always obvious, though the problem of the former should be.

5. There are many examples of the pathetic fallacy in social science. Here organizations of all sorts "act" and "interact." One of the early advantages of the actor-situation scheme of analysis was that it did not confuse actors with the concrete structures (or membership units) in terms of which they sometimes (or always) acted. The term "actor," when used to cover both John Doe and the United States government, begs the unintended pathetic fallacy (see p. 10, where units "perform or contribute" and "sanction"; and elsewhere throughout).

6. Curious attitudes toward terminology are displayed, for example, simplification. On pages 10–11 we first learn: "At the more concrete levels the units of the social system are three: *a.* sets of activities; *b.* roles; and *c.* organizations or collectivities composed of sub roles. . . . For purposes of verbal economy

[*sic*], the term 'role' hereafter will characterize the concrete units. . . . it refers to all three types of units."

7. The book contains some curious assumptions, for example, one boundary exchange per boundary in the realm of boxes (p. 17). This ties in closely with the next criticism.

8. A model (or paradigm?) primarily suited to a very special sort of society, that is, to modern industrial societies with the heavy emphasis in those on specializations, etc., is consistently treated as though it applied with equal fruitfulness to all other cases.

9. Apparently, values are not social structures and perhaps are not even parts of social structure. For example, on page 16 we learn that "values generally change more slowly than social structure; this implication underlies our analysis."

10. On pages 52, 53, and elsewhere there is an amusing variation on what one philosopher of science has referred to as attempting to improve the rigor of presentation by presenting materials in the form: "A man (M) walks down a street (S). . . ." This we have on page 52 with "production (C_L)." On page 53 the variant, "An M (man) walks down an S (street) . . . ," is done with C_L and C_G. See for yourself. This variation continues interspersed with sentences and even paragraphs in which the reader is inexplicably denied such aids to interpretation.

11. The word "naturally" crops up continually, as it does in so much social science. It is always either redundant or signals a tendency to beg the question by assuming that something which is by no means obvious is obvious. If it means the opposite of "artificially," the problem is even greater.

12. As systems of action are defined in this work (p. 10), the cotton industry may be a system of action in the sense that any two social units interrelated in any way may be considered a system, but there are problems here as to cutting-off points. If one adds the qualification about the primacy of concern with cotton production (pp. 22–23), there are still other problems of cutting-off points. In neither case do those points seem to be adequately dealt with.

Fortunately, Smelser is a steady scholar. Lack of critical facility in systems of analysis and theory has not markedly dimmed a real talent for précis and elaboration of existing economic history. In this judgment some economic historians concur, whatever their attitudes toward the "theoretical" trimmings. Smelser thinks those trimmings are very important, and so do I despite our very real differences about them. As it stands I think those trimmings constitute a very bad system of analysis built on some very good ideas, very carelessly used. The general feeling in some quarters of economic history that something has been added to existing treatments is testimony to the effect that almost any systematically and explicitly worked-out system of analysis—despite very serious faults—has something to add to even a group of careful scholarly presentations, if those materials have been assembled on a largely implicit basis at the presumably descriptive level.

The staff of the University of Chicago Press should be spanked for shoddy book-making, if my copy is a representative sample of their craft.

MARION J. LEVY, JR.

Princeton University

Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs. By RICHARD A. CLOWARD and LLOYD E. OHLIN. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. Pp. xi+220. $4.00.

Delinquency and Opportunity is a stimulating and suggestive essay. It is a synthesis of Merton's theory of social structure and anomie with Sutherland's theory of differential association and is an attempt to apply the synthesis to the problem of juvenile delinquency. Cloward and Ohlin have presented us with a cogent, if speculative, theory of delinquent subcultures.

Opportunity, meaning a differential access throughout the social structure, is the basic variable used by the authors to account for a set of experiences they consider indispensable to the onset of sustained patterns of delinquent conduct. First, general pressures toward deviance result from "marked discrepancies" between culturally induced aspirations and opportunities of achieving them by legitimate means. Second, alienation from the system, which may or may not emerge from these pressures, depends on the availability of models which assign blame or fault to the social system rather than to the individual. Third, the translation of generalized aliena-

on to specifically delinquent patterns de-ends on access to delinquent models. Fourth, ıe specific mode of delinquency pursued, criminalistic," "conflict," or "retreatist," de-ends on opportunities, this time illegitimate,) attach oneself to adult practitioners of or-anized crime. Whatever criticisms can be di-ected at the essay, one is forced to respect s considerable parsimony. Furthermore, one , tempted to conclude that the systematic ex-loration of the implications and consequences f one variable, differential opportunity, per-aps throws as much light on the problem of elinquency as does the torturous pursuit of ıultifactor theories.

The lack of opportunity for legitimate ad-ancement and the dire effects thereof have een a recurrent theme of sociological theory nd research. It would not be unfair to say ıat restriction of social mobility is the *bête oire* of American sociology, particularly when ıese are coupled with an ideology that in-okes high aspirations. Cloward and Ohlin re-ıark that "many lower class male adolescents xperience desperation born of the certainty ıat their position in the economic structure , relatively fixed and immutable—a despera-on made all the more poignant by their ex-osure to a cultural ideology in which failure) orient oneself upward is regarded as a ıoral defect and failure to become mobile is roof of it." Now, there are certainly restric-ons on mobility in the American class sys-:m, and these are probably magnified in the :hnic sections of the lower class that typical-, experience the highest rates of delinquen-y. But what is the magnitude of these re-:rictions? Is the system so rigidly stratified s to result in a "desperation born of the :rtainty" that there shall be virtually no mo-ility? Certainly, the studies by Bendix and ipset of social mobility do not indicate it. ; seems important to investigate the relation etween the delinquent's implicit model of the gitimate system of opportunities—a closed ystem—and the realities of social mobility in hat many sociologists characterize as ap-roximating an open system.

This is not to say that there are not serious :strictions on mobility in American life. ather, it is to ask two questions. First, from 'hat angle of vision in American life is the ıodel of a closed system a realistic approxi-ıation of observable facts? Is it in the lower lass, in general, that this model jibes with readily observable facts? Probably not, given the considerable mobility that seems to be characteristic of the industrial working classes. And, although the perception of a closed system is somewhat more understandable in the ethnic enclaves within the American lower class, it is most in tune with reality and most likely to occur in delinquent coteries within the ethnic enclaves. Delinquent boys can be quite vocal and unusually articulate regarding the lack of opportunities afforded them, and their behavior and attitudes (particularly in reference to the school system) are virtually guaranteed to confirm their expectations. It is surely important to stress this perception. To concur in it, however, is to join the delinquent in what is for him a useful distortion of reality; moreover, it is to confuse the lower class, generally given to middle-class pursuits and its own brand of "working-class morality," with the bands of delinquents who live in their midst.

If legitimate opportunities do exist in the slum milieu, how are they discounted—if at all? What are the tactics by which some lower-class youngsters avail themselves of these limited opportunities, and what are those by which others forfeit them? It is not that these questions are not answered in this book; rather, it is that they can hardly be asked, since the authors do not seriously consider the actual range of legitimate opportunities in lower-class life.

The most novel aspect of the authors' theory of delinquency pertains to the restrictions on access to "illegitimate opportunity structures." Here, the authors have in mind the difficulties encountered in gaining entry to the relatively stable world of organized adult crime. They argue that opportunity to enter these "structures" is not equally available to all who may aspire to them. There is, no doubt, considerable truth here. But, just as legitimate opportunities are perhaps more abundant than the authors seem willing to grant, so it may be that entry into the world of adult crime is hardly as difficult as they claim. It would indeed be difficult if one concurred in the authors' implicit view that the organized rackets virtually exhaust available stable criminal endeavors. But must one really be an "organization man" in crime, too? Do not the great majority of criminals take the path of entrepreneurial petty crime?

Delinquency and Opportunity, like many of

the recent stimulating essays about delinquency, suffers from a lack of data. This is no fault of the authors; they are simply not yet available. However, their essay represents an indispensable theoretical guide to the sorts of data that must be sought if we are to arrive at a consistent and convincing explanation of delinquency.

DAVID MATZA

University of California, Berkeley

Social Systems: Essays on Their Persistence and Change. By CHARLES P. LOOMIS. Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1960. Pp. viii+349.

In this series of essays Loomis develops and illustrates a device he calls a "research model" designed both to assist the processes of empirical study and to systematize the data derived therefrom. Actually, as he tells us in his Preface, the model itself had its origin some fifteen years ago in a course on contemporary social systems given at Michigan State University—possibly, he believes, the first course to have "social system" in its title. The first chapter exhibits the nature of the model in detail and explains the mutual relationships of processes, structural-functional categories, and elements. The process of cognitive mapping and validation, for example, corresponds with the category of knowing and the element of belief; the process of tension management, with feeling and sentiment; the process of boundary maintenance, with institutionalization and social control. These, however, are only three examples of the more than nine (counting subdivisions) processes that are represented much more clearly in a table and in the end papers than they can be in the main text. There are, in addition, the conditions of social action—territoriality, size, and time—which complete the model.

To one who asks about the use of this model, the remaining six chapters in the book (two of them written in collaboration with Zona K. Loomis) provide an answer. The model supplies the structure, as it were, in terms of which various kinds of social systems are treated: the division of labor, disaster systems, religious systems, the "old-order" Amish, educational systems, health social systems, and so on. It must be conceded that the author's observations about them do fit into the categories of the model and that the problem of the organization of the materials is thus solved in a consistent, orderly, and comprehensive manner. The model supplies the pigeonholes, and the author, like a man diligently sorting the mail, puts all his materials neatly into the proper boxes.

Unquestionably, in short, Loomis has succeeded in doing what he set out to do—and has succeeded very well. One may still ask, of course, whether it was worth doing and whether, if so, it was necessary to give so much new ammunition to the enemies of sociology as the author has in using expressions like "status-role," "societal social systems," "norming"—as if "to norm" were a verb—and the name of his model, "The Processually Articulated Structural Model," which he calls "PASM" for short. Finally, it is perhaps not inappropriate to remark that, with erroneous ease, a careless reader might mistake a taxonomic device for a set of sociological principles.

ROBERT BIERSTEDT

New York University

Evolution and Culture. By THOMAS G. HARDING, DAVID KAPLAN, MARSHALL D. SAHLINS, and ELMAN R. SERVICE. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960. Pp. xii+131. $3.75.

The curious case of the disappearance of evolutionary approaches from the mainstream of theory in American sociology and anthropology is reopened for serious consideration by the five essays in this small book. The authors, former students of Leslie White, together present intriguing outlines of a somewhat novel approach to cultural development.

White's view of cultures as "energy-capturing systems" (*The Evolution of Culture*, 1959) is taken as the starting point. Thus, cultures are viewed as functioning basically to transform physical resources into socially utilizable commodities, and technological effectiveness is held (with many qualifications) to be the primary criterion and determinant of cultural evolution.

The central problem, to the authors, is how theoretically to reconcile a universal conception of cultural evolution, attributing a unidi-

rectional tendency to human culture in its entirety, with the enormous diversity of historically known cultures and their manifold courses of development. The novelty is their explicit distinction between two interconnected levels of evolutionary analysis, referred to as the "general" and the "specific." The former is concerned with the over-all cultural development of humanity, while the latter seeks to account for the historical development of particular cultures; the case is made that the two, often regarded as antithetical, are in fact complementary and mutually interdependent. At the same time it is argued that distinct and partly opposing explanatory principles are required on each level.

On the general level, cultural advancement is equated with improved technological effectiveness and adaptability. Human culture is said to exhibit a continuing tendency toward such advancement through the survival of the fittest, as superior forms supplant inferior ones. Social institutions and systems of belief are successively reorganized in the process, as in Ogburn's view. This much has been said before many times.

However, the authors take pains to insist that such a universal evolutionary tendency does not at all imply uniform, unilinear advancement in the specific evolution of particular societies. Rather (following leads from Tylor, Veblen, Keller, and others), they argue that each society develops through a process of specialized adaptation to its habitat and neighboring societies. Variations in environment and historical contacts lead to cultural diversification. Moreover, to the extent that a society is successful in its specific adaptation, external conditions remaining the same, the first tendency is to consolidate its gains and resist further change.

General advancement is attributed crucially to intersocietal competition between technological superiors (*S*) and inferiors (*I*) in a field of contact at a given point in time. Diffusion of superior traits from *S* to *I* is the principal mechanism of evolution, whether stimulated by conquest, trade, proselytizing, or espionage. It is further contended (in line with Trotsky's analysis of the "privilege of backwardness") that under favorable conditions *I* rather than *S* will forge ahead to the next evolutionary stage, lacking the impediment of vested interests which limit *S*'s advancement. Thus, general evolution is portrayed as typically involving a discontinuous leapfrogging from one society to another, in which the front-runner of one era is likely to be surpassed by its underdeveloped competitors. Thus, China may soon overtake the West.

The book presents only the early blueprints of a theory, fresh from the drafting board. The exposition is informal and theoretically provocative, richly spiced with anecdotal illustrations, and uninhibited by such encumbrances as careful definitions of basic terms, rigorous formulation of testable hypotheses, or systematic concern over evidence. The argument carries largely by the method of enthusiasm.

Still, the book passes the first test of any new theoretical formulation: it provides a novel and rewarding perspective on cultural development through a new organization and weighting of familiar ideas. The "split-level" evolutionary approach, taking account of diversification as well as unidirectional advance and basing evolution squarely on cross-cultural diffusion, avoids many basic criticisms of earlier evolutionary attempts. (For example, here is one evolutionary scheme that one can criticize for placing too little emphasis on "independent invention." It seems most promising as a way of accounting for differentials in rates and directions of technological developments in societies. It remains an open question how far it can account for variations in other aspects of cultures—a question deserving open-minded and more empirical answers.

MARTIN U. MARTEL
University of Iowa

John Millar of Glasgow, 1735–1801: His Life and Thought and His Contributions to Sociological Analysis. By WILLIAM C. LEHMANN. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1960. Pp. xvi+430. $10.00.

John Millar held the Crown Chair of Civil Law in the University of Glasgow from 1761 until his death in 1801. He was a pupil, and later a close friend and colleague, of Adam Smith and a contemporary of Adam Ferguson. R. M. MacIver, in the Foreword to the present volume, lists Millar as "one of the remarkable men of this period" in the intellectual history of Scotland and commends

Lehmann for "bringing John Millar out of obscurity."

Lehmann's reasons for preparing this book include not only the contribution that it might make to a better knowledge and appreciation of the richness and productivity of this period (approximately the eighteenth century) in Scottish intellectual history but also his contention that John Millar may be regarded as one of the pioneers of sociology. This contention is fairly well supported by the evidence brought together in the present volume, in which the author has included the entire text of Millar's *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks: or, An Enquiry into the Circumstances Which Give Rise to Influence and Authority in the Different Members of Society* as well as selections from his other writings.

There was, of course, no such field of study as "sociology" recognized during Millar's lifetime; the word itself was proposed by Auguste Comte for the first time in 1839. Lehmann correctly points out that Millar's approach to topics which latter-day sociologists would recognize as falling within their field of inquiry, though manifesting an unmistakable idea of natural causation in human affairs, was primarily historical and evolutionary. Nevertheless, there appears to be adequate ground for naming him among those who played a part in the emergence of the "new science" of sociology. It does not seem that his published writings exercised a great deal of influence upon later generations of students, but, through his classroom lectures and private conferences with young men studying at the University of Glasgow during forty years at the close of the eighteenth century, he had a great deal of influence upon social thought and social reform during his lifetime and for some decades thereafter.

This book belongs in the tradition of the author's *Adam Ferguson and the Beginnings of Modern Sociology* (1930) and Gladys Bryson's *Man and Society: The Scottish Inquiry of the Eighteenth Century* (1945). Such works may serve as a needed corrective to overemphasis on the French and German origins and early development of sociological thought. They show that there was a great deal of sociology in the making in Scotland long before Herbert Spencer—or John Stuart Mill, who, as Lehmann indicates, deserves to be numbered among the early sociologists. Lehmann is able to show a definite connection between Millar and both the Mills, father and son.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

University of Virginia

The Effects of Mass Communication. By JOSEPH T. KLAPPER. ("Foundations of Communications Research," Vol. III.) Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. Pp. xviii+302. $5.00.

This book integrates the findings of some two hundred and seventy studies, essays and reports dealing with the effects of mass communication, but it excludes from reference research on the use of the mass media in formal pedagogy, on the effects of international communication, and on the mass media's effects on consumers' behavior. The survey, therefore, omits three fields in which an enormous amount of research has been expended to produce "effective" mass communications.

In spite of the restricted nature of the survey, the book provides a useful guide to current thought on the effects of the mass media. The main finding of a quarter-century of research appears to be that their impact is mitigated by a host of influences which work in the main to reinforce the predispositions which people bring to the mass media in the first place. Thus, persuasive mass communication more often reinforces than changes existing opinion. Minor change in attitude, moreover, is a more probable effect than is conversion, but it is less probable than reinforcement.

The author notes that occasionally the media are found to be capable of converting and that this may occur either when the mediating influences lose their importance or when the "converted" are, to begin with, favorably disposed toward change. Both reinforcement and conversion, therefore, are effects which can be explained by the extra-communication factors which intervene in the process. The important mediators identified to date are summarized in the text; they include pre-existing attitudes and opinions, group membership and norms, leaders of opinion, and the interpersonal transmission of the content of communication.

The second half of the book summarizes what has been learned about the effects of

mass media in specific areas of popular concern. The effects of crime and violence in the media are found to be so little understood that even the most immediate emotional reactions of an audience cannot be assessed, let alone the long-term effects. There is, similarly, a paucity of objective data bearing on the effects of adult television fare on children. In the section on "escapist" materials—perhaps the most valuable single section of the book—the author reports that the available evidence shows that escapist fare "is not a prime cause of any particular way of life, but rather serves the psychological needs and reinforces the ways of life already characteristic of its audience." The author also concludes that existing research has not substantiated the notion that the mass media induce passivity in their audiences.

The author calls for a continuing effort at identifying influences which mediate the impact of the mass media, for inquiries into the duration of the effects thus far identified, and for investigations of the incidence in the population of conditions known to be related to particular uses of the mass media.

The most fruitful approach to the further study of the effects of the mass media is felt by the author to be the "phenomenistic"—"that which begins with an existing phenomenon—an observed change of opinion, for example—and which attempts to assess the roles of the several influences which produced it."

JOHN JOHNSTONE

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

The Informed Heart: Autonomy in a Mass Age. By BRUNO BETTELHEIM. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. Pp. viii+309. $5.00.

This is an insightful, often brilliant, and frequently uneven book. It divides naturally into certain logical sections. The first is an analysis of the uses of orthodox psychoanalytic concepts when applied to the behavior of prisoners in German concentration camps during the last war. Bettelheim discovered that "the ego was by no means just a weak servant of the id or the superego." He found the environment more effective than psychoanalysis is in changing personality and concludes that "we should never again be satisfied to see personality change as proceeding independent from the social context." However, "I shall probably always," he says, "to some degree, remain under the spell of the psychoanalytic models." This first section, then, seems to include an open invitation to sociologists to make their contribution to a chain of viable concepts linking the interdependent dynamisms of self and society.

The second part of the book will probably be of least interest to readers of this *Journal*. It mirrors the thoughts and attitudes of Eric Fromm about autonomy and spontaneity without drawing sustenance either from the existential psychoanalysts, or such students of society as Dorothy Lee and Helen Lynd. No use is made, either, of the voluminous evidence in Freud's work pointing toward a volitional trend in individual behavior.

The hard core of this book is based largely on Bettelheim's experiences in German concentration camps at Dachau and Buchenwald during 1938 and 1939. It analyzes the coercive social structure on the one hand and the system of social and psychological defenses available to the prisoners on the other. Non-political middle-class prisoners were least able to withstand the initial shock of the concentration camp. The social system of the camp dehumanized the prison population by first reducing them to the status of children and then to a state of passive withdrawal from any kind of social stimulus. Among the group known as the *Musselmänner* the process had been entirely successful. In the end this group stopped "even looking about on their own," and they soon died.

The reader watches the total environment gradually undermining and eroding the most impressive defenses until at length the "old prisoner" is totally adapted to the camp and totally unfit for life in the outside world. Both the sociological and psychological analyses are perceptive and thorough. It would have improved things, however, if Bettelheim could have worked with the concept of social structure more explicitly. This would have avoided the necessity of implying almost incredible (if depraved) intelligence to the *Schutzstaffel* in devising such an effective system of dehumanization, and it would have reduced the direct personal impact of some of the statements about the characteristics of the "old prisoners."

The last section of the book extends the analysis of the prison camps to the wider

population of Germany. The mechanisms of surrender observed in the camp were also effective in the population at large. The philosophy of "business as usual" resulted in unrealistic decisions and gradual surrender.

Bettelheim shows that the Machine Age presents some of the problems for autonomy found in the prison camp and the German population. For one thing, he points to the dangers of concentrating on pride in professional skill, irrespective of moral implications: "Auschwitz is gone, but as long as this attitude remains with us we shall not be safe from the indifference to life at its core." The fit between such a sentiment and the literature of *anomie* is obvious. Bettelheim emphasizes the necessity of exercising one's freedom through acts, if possible, and, in any event, through the determination to decide one's own attitude. The solution is "to realize the dangers [of mass society] and meet them with conscious action based on personal decision."

Yet the book ends on a point of hope that relies on a *deus ex machina:* "after some delay man will once again develop the . . . greater ability to achieve inner integration that must go with our new conditions of life." This conclusion with a "reassuring thought" is, perhaps, unfortunate, since it tends to neutralize the clarion call to arms in earlier sections. Yet, it is one of the virtues of this book that it does not emphasize conceptual or even propositional consistency. Its very openness is a source of its stimulation. Many sociologists may come away from it with three propositions for analysis: the relevance for sociological theory and research of the growing literature of "autonomy"; the importance of cultural factors in reinforcing the individual's confidence in his meaning as a person; and the function of important alters not only in relating an individual to a role but in maintaining the individual's responsibility to continue those courses of action in terms of which he has become defined as a person.

BARTLETT H. STOODLEY

Wellesley College

Personality and Social Encounter: Selected Essays. By GORDON W. ALLPORT. Boston: Beacon Press, 1960. Pp. x+386. $7.50.

In this collection Allport has assembled twenty-one of his essays on the study of personality and of social relations, all of which have previously appeared in other publications. Five were reprinted in his 1950 collection, *The Nature of Personality.* This new book makes available in convenient form works that were scattered or out of print. It also contains a complete bibliography of the author's writings.

The essays concerning social relations include Allport's well-known treatments of prejudice, rumor, war, and religion. They are most valuable for their presentation of relevant psychic mechanisms but are less developed in their appreciation of the relevant social structures. Among the essays is a new paper, "Prejudice in Modern Perspective," delivered in Durban, South Africa, in 1956. In its blend of passion, charity, and scholarship it embodies the strengths of the man and the drama of the moment. The real news appears in the thirteen essays on personality. They document the rise of new efforts at synthesis from Allport's earlier foundation of critical work.

From the beginning three theses have recurred in his studies of personality: the importance and mystery of personal uniqueness, the delicate but potent interplay of expressive behavior in interaction, and the ordered thrust of individuals toward a more perfect definition and actualization of their major values. The antithesis of each thesis has also preoccupied Allport. He has fought the cruder forms of behaviorism, trait psychology, and social determinism because each overvalued the shared, standardized aspects of conduct and each was inadequate to deal with individuality. He opposed all those gross positivisms which imply that individuals comprehend only the bare and unrelated externals of one another's behavior. He deplored the psychoanalytic trend toward explaining behavior as an endless recapitulation of life's first few months with little attention to problems of the present or to the individual's awareness of the opening future.

The early Allport was open to the charge of eclecticism. He seemed to move from topic to topic without a single framework or point of view to guide his work. His concern with the units of personality study (Essay 7) and traits (Essay 8), or with the wholeness of personality (Essay 1), were not systematical-

ly interrelated. Even his book on *Personality* was seen as the thorough treatment of topics that remained theoretically disparate.

The present collection leads to a different interpretation. It now seems fair to say that Allport has constantly sought a formulation which would encompass all that was known of the individual's organization. He found his greatest immediate task in providing a conceptual statement and empirical support for the reality, pervasiveness, and potency of values, the communication of personality through expressive behavior, and the special meanings for particular individuals of religion, rumor, and other social experiences. Now, in his discussion of personality as a system (Essay 2), as an open system (Essay 3), and as a system with normal and abnormal states (Essay 10), and in his book *Becoming,* appear fresh efforts to provide a framework for organizing knowledge. To date, he can offer only the specifications for that framework and some of its significant parts. His new work will not satisfy readers who seek formal and final systems: it will gratify those who share Allport's belief that life is not aided by systems that deny its protean variety.

GUY E. SWANSON

University of Michigan

Education and Manpower. Edited by HENRY DAVID. New York: Columbia University Press, 1960. Pp. xvi+326. $5.00.

This book is a collection of articles and sections from books previously published by the National Manpower Council, selected and edited by Henry David, its executive director. The selection is skilfully made so as to present in a systematic fashion the results of thinking and writing about manpower aspects of education, on the part of the Manpower Council during the decade just closed. The Introduction contains essays by Henry David and Eli Ginzberg, previously published in 1958 and 1956 and dealing broadly with the subject of manpower and education. Then come sections on secondary education, vocational guidance, and higher education.

The National Manpower Council, founded at Columbia University in 1951, has devoted a decade to studies of manpower needs and utilization in the United States. The chairman, Erwin D. Canham, points out that almost half of the recommendations made by the Council with an eye to enhancing the quality of manpower resources deal in one fashion or another with education, training, and guidance. The book will be useful to readers who want easy access to the point of view taken toward education—a "manpower approach." It is broad and humane, as followed by this particular group. They have been concerned with the development of the nation's man- and woman-power for all the varied needs of a modern democratic society, not merely for specialists in equipping the nation for competition with Russia.

Since the chapters and essays that make up the book were all published between 1953 and 1958, they are somewhat dated, although an attempt has been made to bring them up to date with a set of footnotes at the end that refer mainly to the most recent data. The section on secondary education seems more adequate to the present situation than does the section on higher education, undoubtedly because the facts about secondary education in relation to manpower remained relatively constant between 1950 and 1960, while higher education was expanding so rapidly that data of that period are seldom true of 1960.

The decade of the 1950's may properly be called "the manpower decade" in the history of American education, since it combined the manpower needs of the postwar economic boom and the manpower scarcity of young adults caused by the low birth rates of the 1930's. This forced attention on the problem of the most effective use of young people entering the labor force as a major task for educational and social policy. But the decade of the 1960's sees the security of young adults being shaken by what may become a bumper harvest of young adults in consequence of the postwar bulge in birth rates.

For this reason the treatises on manpower and education will probably take another character during the years ahead. This book will be more a record of the past than a prophecy of what is to come. We shall look with interest to the future writings and the concerns of the students of manpower and education.

ROBERT J. HAVIGHURST

University of Chicago

Origins of Alcoholism. By William McCord and Joan McCord, with Jon Gudeman. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1960. Pp. xi+193. $4.75.

Apart from considerations of quality, this book is of interest because it reports the only longitudinal study available in the alcoholism field. Dozens of theoretical structures have been built upon the shaky foundation of data taken from observations of the already developed alcoholic.

The work is an analysis of selected factors in the childhood environments and personalities of twenty-nine alcoholics who, as boys, were among two hundred and fifty-five members of the Treatment Group of the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Project (see E. Powers and H. Witmer, *An Experiment in the Prevention of Delinquency: The Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1951]). Two decades after treatment began, they "had either been arrested two or more times for drunkenness, joined Alcoholics Anonymous, or had come into contact with a social agency or mental hospital charged with the treatment of alcoholism" (p. 20).

Approximately one hundred hypotheses related to the causes of alcoholism are tested. First, current theories of alcoholism are set up and knocked down, by data obtained from Cambridge-Somerville records. An example is the treatment of metabolic theories of the causation of alcoholism: "The contentions of Williams and his group might be summarized in the following hypothesis: A significantly greater proportion of people who, as children, exhibit signs of nutritional deficiency and metabolic dysfunction will, as adults, become alcoholic" (p. 25). There follows a table showing that, according to six judges who scanned the records and who agreed unanimously, boys suffering from nutritional deficiencies at the time of physical examinations did not contribute more than their share of cases to the alcoholic group. Only a few sociological findings survive the tests.

The authors then turn their attention to individual and familial characteristics associated with later alcoholism. Such factors as "intense parental conflict," "maternal alternation between active affection and rejection," and "lack of supervision of the child" are examples of items found reliably among the alcoholic-to-be. Included in the factors studied is one which this reviewer believes to be the McCords' central thesis, described as follows: "What kind of anxiety is so overpowering that it causes the person to become alcoholic? We believe that anxiety which results from an internal conflict between a strong 'dependency' need and an equally strong desire for independence is one basic source of the disorder" (pp. 54–55).

In the final chapter an attempt is made to relate the findings to a theoretical position. No data on adult drinking, other than the finding of alcoholism, are offered. The assumption is that alcohol and its cultural context in the United States is such that it provides an excellent means for solution of the conflict of dependency.

The most difficult problem faced by the authors was translating theoretical positions and clinical entities into hypotheses testable with the data available. One may expect that many theoreticians and clinicians will be unhappy with the results of "operationalizing" their material. Nevertheless, future researchers in the alcoholism field will certainly find occasion to refer to *Origins of Alcoholism* and will have to take its findings into account.

Albert D. Ullman

Tufts University

Decisions, Values and Groups, Vol. I: *Reports from the First Interdisciplinary Conference in the Behavioral Sciences Division Held at the University of New Mexico Sponsored by the Air Force Office of Scientific Research*. Edited by Dorothy Willner. New York: Pergamon Press, 1960. Pp. xxix+348. $12.50.

In this volume is presented a series of reports of a conference of the Air Force Office of Scientific Research, designed "to stimulate thinking and research with respect to fundamental concepts transcending disciplinary boundaries." The publication of the reports was intended to serve the same purpose, that is, "to indicate the areas in which interdisciplinary research can be fruitful and to explore techniques for such research." Nineteen reports are presented: four grouped under the heading "Decision Processes"; four under "Research in Values"; five under "Small

Groups"; four under "Psychodynamic Patterns"; and two concerned with "Special Military Problems."

For the most part, the interdisciplinary character of the research lies between the reports rather than within them, with some exceptions. Any psychological research on decision-making based on the widely known economic concepts of utility and probability is fair interdisciplinary game, and, as such, the reports under "Decision Processes" fulfil the purposes of the conference. In the experiment reported by Scodel, Ratoosh, and Minas it was demonstrated that probability preferences, not a new phenomenon, are related to certain personality variables, notably need achievement. The demonstration was not completely definitive, nor was it claimed to be, but it could easily serve as stimulus for future experimentation on personality variables as determinants of apparently "non-rational" decisions. Rapoport, Hays, and Birch investigated the formation of hypotheses in solving problems and, though the experimental conditions were not successfully differentiated in subjects' behavior, the authors' statement of problems and their methods of investigation not only should serve as heuristic but should also generate more widespread interest in the processes underlying the formation of hypotheses.

W. and Joan McCord made the most ambitious attempt at interdisciplinary research in "A Tentative Theory of the Structure of Conscience," in which they utilized both sociological and psychoanalytic concepts. Freud required two levels, the conscious and unconscious, for his theory of conscience; the McCords postulate five levels as a minimum to explain the same phenomenon. Data secured from responses to questionnaires are presented as partial support of the theoretical framework. This particular union of sociological and psychoanalytic concepts seems unlikely to produce any children, that is, testable hypotheses, and thus would seem to be heading for a divorce.

Another sociopsychoanalytic report is the Westley and Epstein study of the psychosocial organization of the family. Whatever conclusions have been or will be drawn are always subject to the criticism, despite the extensive testing and clinical interviewing, that the data are collected from only nine family groups.

The section on small groups is generally good. It is no more interdisciplinary than is any other such research, but almost all of it is interesting, well written, well designed, and should provoke additional investigation. This is especially true of Maclay's and Newman's report on "Two Variables Affecting the Message in Communication." The sections on "Small Groups" and "Decision Processes" are the most valuable in the book.

If it was in her domain, the editor deserves criticism for allowing misspellings, typographical errors, and reports with uncompleted analyses to be included in the final printing.

SELWYN W. BECKER

University of Chicago

Contemporary Japan: The Individual and the Group. By YOSHIHARU SCOTT MATSUMOTO. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1960. Pp. 75. $2.00.

A number of Japanese studies have been published in the course of the last few years (for an American bibliography see Takao Sofue's article in *American Anthropologist,* LXII [April, 1960], 306–17). To the Western reader Matsumoto's book offers two interesting features: it is the work of a Japanese, and it is based entirely upon the findings of quantitative sociological and opinion studies.

It is also a survey with a problem: since Western industrial civilization is characterized by its individualism, did postwar Japan, traditionally described by the depreciation of the self and submission to authority, in changing from an agrarian to an urban-industrial economy, witness any rise in individualism? In considering attitudes toward family, occupation and labor, village life, and political leadership, the author comes to the conclusion that there has been none—but, rather, a shift in basic orientation and values from one type of collective orientation to another.

For instance, the Tokugawa government had established a rigid occupational status. Individuals were denied choice of occupation. Strong collective orientation was expressed in the ideas of indebtedness to one's master and of self-effacement. Labor relations are now expressed in terms of a simulated familial structure. Similarly, democracy has been formally established, but in the village voting is

usually considered a duty owed to the hamlet rather than an individual privilege.

Still, opinion polls have shown a positive relationship between the amount of schooling and attitudes unfavorable to traditional thinking. Matsumoto's study was written in 1957; his data seldom go beyond the year 1955. With the passing of years and the coming of a generation subjected to an entirely new educational philosophy, it may very well be that more drastic changes of attitudes will soon be registered in Japan.

JEAN STOETZEL

University of Paris

Gegenstand und Methode des Gruppendiskussionsverfahrens: Aus der Arbeit des Instituts für Sozialforschung ("Subject and Method of the Procedure of Group Discussion"). By WERNER MANGOLD. ("Frankfurter Beiträge zur Soziologie.") Frankfurt am Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt. Pp. 176.

For the last ten years the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research has conducted experiments in the assessment of group opinion as it takes form through the discussion of persons who face common problems and share a common network of communication. These studies relate themselves to the group interview developed in the United States primarily as a tool of market research. The Frankfurt Institute expanded the scope of this research: One hundred and twenty-one group discussions were held in informal gatherings in widely scattered locations in West Germany, and the present publication is an evaluation of them.

The rationale of the experiments rests on the assumption that opinion forms in social situations. The influences and controls to which the individual is subject in an interacting group cannot be regarded as a source of bias which distorts his "true" opinion: opinion is a variable of the given network through which the individual communicates and is, in turn, affected by the utterances of others. Although his share in a group discussion does not reflect his "real" opinion any more than does the private interview, group discussions have two advantages over the personal interview in that they create an air of spontaneity in which depth phenomena are revealed and that they more nearly reconstruct the give and take of daily life, in which opinions about public issues crystallize.

The sessions were held with mine workers and foremen, middle- and upper-middle-class groups, refugees from East Germany, evacuees from bombed cities, and farmers. The discussion groups of eight to sixteen persons were selected with a view to easy and uninhibited interchange. The leader would present an initial stimulus, using newspaper excerpts on controversial subjects or the letter of an American sergeant, describing his impressions of Germany. Once a discussion began, the leader would confine his share in it to the drawing of passive members into the conversation and the sharpening of issues.

The sessions seem to have brought significant feelings, grievances, and emphases of varying intensity into the open. Farmers compared the present decline of their economic position with their prosperity under the Nazi regime Mine workers showed apprehension over both the changing technology which disrupts the solidarity of the team and the employment of refugees whose competition weakens the miners' status and long-term security Lower middle-class groups voiced pessimism over the democratic process which benefits the powerful pressure groups and disregards the interests of the little man. Upper-middle class groups lamented the subservience of the present policy-makers to class interests and the lack of an independent and unselfish political elite.

Unquestionably, sufficient numbers of such studies can disclose social pressures and group sentiments which responses to questionnaires will not readily show. To illustrate the difference between anonymously revealed private opinions and group opinions expressed under the bandwagon influence of an assumed majority, the author refers to a labor dispute in the mining industries in 1950. In a mass meeting 90 per cent of the workers advocated strike, if necessary to protect their interests while in the anonymous situation of the interview the approvals approached a minority opinion. The author offers some words of caution, however: Because of the large proportion of non-co-operators and the large number of persons ineligible for participation group discussions, the groups' composition d not approximate a representative sample any segment of the population. Nor is group discussion a tool for ascertaining the "p

vate" opinions of the participants or predicting their behavior. While the author does suggest a series of refinements, he does not envisage a more formalized method which would make the group discussion a valid tool for measuring opinion.

ERNEST MANHEIM

University of Kansas City

Leisure in America: A Social Inquiry. By MAX KAPLAN. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1960. Pp. xii+350. $7.50.

There are various ways of cutting up the pie of sociology, but "sociology of leisure" is too big and caloric a slice to digest easily. Once cut, it leaves only "work," and, since a full discussion of leisure requires a discussion of work, one may find one's self confronted with the prospect of holding forth on sociology in general, using leisure activities as illustrations. Although Professor Kaplan's book avoids this to some extent, it does attempt to bring us a sociological treatment of an enormous variety of problems of leisure. In the light of the ambitiousness of the attempt, it delivers too little. It reads primarily like a textbook, but, alternately, like a theoretical treatise, a research report, an inspirational sermon on human potentialities for the creative use of leisure; and it is fully satisfactory for none of these purposes.

Nevertheless, parts of the book are worth careful attention. It is the only book I know of which formally attempts to construct an ideal type of the concept of leisure and follows it with a sixfold typology of leisure activities, using as criteria the types of social relationships which control them: sociability, association, game (sport), art, movement (travel), and immobility (watching, reading, etc.). Each is discussed in a separate chapter and in relation to the sociological variables (family, subculture, community, class, etc.) which condition it. The organization of the book in this respect is admirable. Further, it brings together a great deal of statistical information not readily available in one place. Similarly, it summarizes much of the prominent research and theorizing (I hesitate to call it theory) in the field, and, incidentally, there is an interesting chapter on leisure and religion.

But there is a certain ingenuousness, a certain naïveté about the more formal, abstract sections. The seven carefully stated properties which define Kaplan's ideal type show little promise of being able to order some of the most interesting data on leisure. If, for example, leisure is characterized by a "minimum of social role obligations" (what less theoretically oriented students might call "free time"), then the door of the category is locked against those "leisure" activities which their participants themselves frequently define primarily as "social obligations": giving parties and teas, going to PTA meetings, and so on. Or, if leisure is an "antithesis to work as economic function," shall we rest content to leave out of the category the behavior of those thousands of mobile individuals who use their leisure to purchase the skills, training, and symbols they feel they need to gain entrance to longed-for areas of experience? Moreover, Kaplan offers no logic for choosing the criteria he uses to distinguish his six types of leisure. He grants that there are others—indeed he cites several—but offers no explanation of his choices.

Naïveté is also evident in Kaplan's totally eclectic search for general "theoretical" statements by "authorities" on which to hang his own specific assertions about leisure. Does he need a typology of personality? Quote Znaniecki. Is a typology of needs relevant here? Use Maslow; quote Fromm. Toennies is always at hand with a typology of communities, and, if "primary" and "secondary" relations are not precisely adequate, bring in E. T. Hiller's "intrinsic" and "extrinsic" relations. But nowhere in all the welter of quotations is there any consideration of the problem of whether the "authorities" he uses are consistent with one another.

However, the book was not written primarily for sociologists; the main function of its theoretical equipment is to permit the author, despite his protestations to the contrary, to make judgments and suggestions regarding the constructive and creative potential of leisure in pursuing the good life. His recommendations are, for the most part, eminently sensible, and recreation workers, group workers, planners, and counselors will profit from giving them their attention. He was a leading figure in the organization of a Community Arts Project in a midwestern university town, and his description of its activities

is a model for such an enterprise. But, in drawing his "fundamental conclusion" from this experience, he writes (his italics) that

> *leisure patterns are in part a projection of past traditions and actions, in part a consequence of technological or other forces outside the community's immediate control, and in part the result of the strength of leadership directing itself to goals and dedicated to a philosophy.*

Sociologists are likely to find this less than illuminating.

The author's occasional ameliorative rhetoric sometimes leads him into defensive and rather petulant sniping at sociologists who "quantify" too much, who avoid evaluative judgments in the name of objectivity, who think that social class is an important concept in spite of the blurring of status lines, and at sociological "aristocrats" who disdain the tastes of the masses. Finally—though one hates to quibble with details—someone erred badly along the editorial way: Professor Cantril's name is Hadley, not Henry; Daniel Bell's work is credited to Donald Bell; it is I. A. Richards, not A. I.; and Bishop Oxnam's first initial is G., not I. Mary McInerny is continually referred to as McIllnery, and Professor Merton will be interested to know he has again been confused with the Trappist monk.

BENNETT M. BERGER

University of Illinois

American Higher Education in the 1960's. By ROBERT J. HAVIGHURST. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1960. Pp. xiii+99. $2.50.

Despite the title, Professor Havighurst does not deal with the demand, or the need for, or the supply of, graduate education. Rather, his essay broadly summarizes some of the data on which the demand for college education is based and extrapolates its size for the next ten years. The demographic assumptions are explicit and specific; the economic estimates are reasonable, if too broad; the ideological assumptions are so sketchy they amount but to vague suggestions.

The author compares the demand for and supply of college education with the demand for college graduates. He finds, I think correctly, that beginning in the early 1960's the supply of college graduates is likely to exceed the demand for the college-educated. Useful and important as it is, this finding would be still more useful if the author had made at least a few major distinctions: demands for teachers, chemists, physicians, and business executives need not rise and fall together.

Nor has the author attempted to distinguish what part of the economic demand for college graduates represents demand for the college degree and what part represents demand for the knowledge acquired in college. Investment in college education yields high returns to individuals, but not to society, if the degree matters only as an entree to well-paid jobs barred to those bereft of it, without any relation to the tasks to be performed. When this is the case, the social return may well be negative. On the other hand, if the college education is actually utilized in the tasks performed, it tends to yield high social as well as individual returns. Obviously, the proportion in which one or the other is the case ought to be of major importance in the formulation of social policies. Unfortunately, the author paints with so broad a brush as to be of little help here; nor is any consideration given to non-economic negative returns from higher education, although they are implicit in the forecasts. The distinction he correctly makes between education as a consumer and as a capital good is insufficiently analyzed and blurred by introducing "general liberal education" as a separate category, although it clearly is a collective capital or consumer good—unless it be waste.

Surprisingly, although the ideological factors affecting the demand for college education are recognized, they are not critically analyzed. Yet policy decisions would have to be based on an analysis of them and their relation to the economic ones mentioned above.

Such defects should not lead us to overlook the major virtue of this essay: it reminds us once more in a reasonable and factual manner of the danger of a probable glut of college graduates. This is unfashionable and, therefore, the more important. Though *American Higher Education in the 1960's* is too sketchy to constitute a contribution to knowledge (and was not meant to, as far as I can see), it could be a useful book for this reason. Unfortunately, the presentation does not seem interesting enough to attract the wide popular audience that might be interested. For, though

clear and simple, it is far from lively and occasionally a little pompous.

One may hope, nevertheless, that the book will appeal to those involved in education who are not professional students of its quantitative and social aspects. They may well absorb important material through it, and perhaps it will stimulate them to more critical thought.

ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG

New York University
and
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U.S. Senators and Their World. By DONALD R. MATTHEWS. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960. Pp. xvi+303. $6.00.

This study lucidly combines statistical and qualitative descriptions of the people who served in the Senate between 1947 and 1957. The author spent about ten months on Capitol Hill and conducted some one hundred interviews with senators, staff members, lobbyists, and journalists. He also gleaned biographical information on the senators from many books, directories, and newspapers, among other sources. The findings are presented in sixty-two tables, thirty-one figures, and numerous quotations from published and unpublished statements of senators and other participants in senatorial politics.

Although it lacks any explicit theoretical scheme, the central organizing principle of *U.S. Senators and Their World* appears to be the concept of career. Thus, each chapter can be viewed as describing a set of the senators' career contingencies: how social origins, education, and occupation shape political life chances (chap. ii); types of political careers distinguished on the basis of social status and political activity (chap. iii); problems of maintaining the home base while becoming absorbed in the world of Washington (chap. iv); problems of reconciling the often conflicting demands of the Senate's norms and prior personal expectations, presidential ambitions, and the interests of the constituency (chap. v); how assuming or following party leadership in the Senate is related to political careers (chap. vi); the role of Senate committee assignments in political careers (chap. vii); problems posed by relations with lobbyists (chap. viii), reporters (chap. ix), and constituents (chap. x). Viewed in this manner, the study is a contribution to the sociology of work as well as to political sociology.

U.S. Senators and Their World might have been an even better book if the author had given his work a more theoretical cast. Some theoretical guides would have pointed to the kinds of historical and comparative studies needed to place the findings in broader perspective. The author himself has provided such guides in an earlier work, *The Social Background of Political Decision-makers*, but, unfortunately, there is little carry-over to this study.

A former United States Senator is quoted on the dust jacket of the book as stating that "this profile of the Senate is sharp, perceptive, instructive and entertaining." This reviewer fully concurs in President John F. Kennedy's assessment.

WILLIAM KORNHAUSER

University of California, Berkeley

Pressure Group Politics: The Case of the British Medical Association. By HARRY ECKSTEIN. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1960. Pp. 168. $3.75.

This excellent study by the author of *The English Health Service* is an analysis of the relations between the British Medical Association (BMA) and the Ministry of Health since the inception of the National Health Service. The central theoretical interest is to delineate the determinants of pressure-group politics. The analysis is rigorously organized around three aspects of pressure-group politics and three sets of determinants: the pattern of public policy, the structure of decision-making both in government and in the pressure group, and the political culture of the society. Each affects the form (channels and means), intensity and scope, and effectiveness of pressure-group politics, although in different degrees. The structure of decision-making is stressed as a determinant of the form of pressure-group politics, and the pattern of public policy is considered especially important in shaping its scope and intensity. This emphasis is an important corrective to cer-

tain tendencies within political science and sociology to treat political arrangements only as passive or dependent factors in the social process. All three determinants have the effect of concentrating pressure-group activities on the administrative departments in Britain. For this reason the study is primarily devoted to the relations between the Association and the Ministry of Health.

One of the most interesting findings of this study is the great extent to which the BMA and the Ministry have come to constitute a joint system of regulation of the National Health Service. Each requires the other, and even comes to resemble the other. Such a development need not imply collusion of the bureaucrats and professionals against the public interest. Rather, it appears to be a stable accommodation of highly interdependent interests. The Ministry and the BMA are allowed considerable freedom to work out their accommodation primarily because of the wide public agreement on medical policy. When serious disagreements do occur, other groups become involved, such as the Treasury and the Royal Colleges, and the dispute is brought to public attention. In this manner, an apparently effective balance between the publicity needed for democratic politics and the privacy required for administration is achieved.

A general implication of the findings of this study is that under certain conditions pressure groups help to support governmental authority. However, one need only mention the American counterpart of the BMA to suggest the variable role of private groups in this respect. A comparative study of the American Medical Association using Eckstein's conceptual scheme would help to determine the circumstances and limits of the contributions pressure groups make to effective government. By analyzing how the pressure group's activity is shaped, this study also illuminates its functions in the political system.

WILLIAM KORNHAUSER

University of California, Berkeley

The Ineffective Soldier: Lessons for Management and the Nation, Vol. I: *The Lost Divisions*. By ELI GINZBERG, JAMES K. ANDERSON, SOL W. GINSBURG, M.D., and JOHN L. HERMA. Foreword by HOWARD McC. SNYDER. Pp. xx+225. $6.00. Vol. II: *Breakdown and Recovery*. By ELI GINZBERG, JOHN B. MINER, JAMES K. ANDERSON, SOL W. GINSBURG, M.D., and JOHN L. HERMA. Foreword by HOWARD McC. SNYDER. Pp. xvii+284. $6.00. Vol. III: *Patterns of Performance*. By ELI GINZBERG, JAMES K. ANDERSON, SOL W. GINSBURG, M.D., and JOHN L. HERMA. Assisted by DOUGLAS W. BRAY, WILLIAM A. JORDAN, and FRANCIS J. RYAN. Foreword by HOWARD McC. SNYDER. Pp. xix+340. $6.00. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.

These volumes are the outcome of a monumental eight-year study, the Conservation of Human Resources Project, a re-evaluation of military manpower policies of World War II undertaken not merely, or even primarily, to guide future military policy but to provide fundamental principles for the better management of men in all large-scale organizational enterprises. One need not be as ready as the authors to generalize from the wartime Army to less coercive organizations to appreciate the importance and value of this careful examination of the soldiers who were, became, or were treated as "ineffective," that is, unfit for service for reasons of mental or emotional defect. With an unprecedented degree of co-operation from the armed services, Eli Ginzberg and his associates have been able to assemble incomparable data with which, for the most part, they have dealt with wisdom and finesse.

Volume I is an analysis of mass statistics, derived from official military and Selective Service records, in which the data furnish the underpinnings of a short but substantial history, review, and evaluation of military manpower policies in World War II. Bringing together the most comprehensive body of data on the subject thus far assembled for general consumption, the authors succeed in tracing the many shifts and reversals in Army draft and discharge policy and their impact upon the efficiency with which manpower was used. Briefly, the Army began on the assumption of unlimited manpower resources and a fixed insistence on the administratively simpler and faster procedure of treating men as interchangeable ciphers. The first appeared to permit, while the second required, both maximal preinduction screening and liberal postinduc-

tion discharges *in order* to eliminate men not *fit for combat assignments.* Close to half of *The Lost Divisions* is a sober review of the utter failure of preinduction educational and *psychiatric screening, for,* despite rejection thereby of three in every ten men *examined,* later rates of ineffectiveness were high—perhaps even not appreciably lower than they would have been without much screening, while potentially useful men were lost to the services. The remainder of this volume documents the fluctuating course of postinduction discharges, as the never-completely-abandoned doctrine of interchangeability confronted the realities of a less than inexhaustible manpower pool.

Volume II presents case histories of seventy-nine soldiers who broke down in service but recovered to reasonably effective levels of performance after return to civilian life, as a means of vivifying a formal and more generalized exposition of the conceptual system here used in the analysis of individual performance. This scheme, already discussed in Volume I and the basis of the systematic empirical analysis of Volume III, essentially consists of adding to the two traditionally distinguished behavioral determinants of the psychological (i.e., the individual with his potentialities, abilities, motives, values and emotions, etc.) and the environmental (i.e., the opportunities provided and limits imposed by the individual's situation) a third dimension, labeled the "managerial," defined as the leadership and policies of the large organizations which absorb and structure so much of an individual's life. By differentiating the managerial from the environmental, under which it can logically be subsumed, the authors emphasize the special, if not pre-eminent, influence on behavior they attribute to it; indeed, with reference to the military situation, at least, it is clearly asserted to be the primary determinant: "ineffectiveness is not solely or even primarily a function of the qualities that characterize a man nor of the order of stress with which he is faced . . ." (I, 84).

Volume III is based on a correlational analysis of a small sample (depending on the source of data, 534 or fewer) of the ineffectives who emerged from the cohort of men inducted into service in the last four months of 1942. By bringing together Army records, Veterans' Administration records, and a follow-up mailed questionnaire where needed, the authors are able to discuss life patterns of performance—the relation of premilitary to military to postmilitary performance and adjustment, as well as the more static relations of individual, situation, and managerial factors to performance. Two large orders of conclusions may be mentioned: *First,* a reconfirmation by other means of Volume I's major conclusions that the screening did not adequately prevent admission to service of obvious ineffectives, while Army rigidities created ineffectives of men who might have been salvaged by more flexible policies of training and assignment. Second, and more broadly, they demonstrate the important role of social deprivation—most notably, lack of educational opportunities—in inadequate performance and a tendency toward continuity and consistency in life patterns of performance.

A brief review cannot do justice either to the wide range of sociological interests to which this work is highly relevant or to its undoubted strengths and occasional weaknesses. Addressed as it is to managers of men, it is, for one thing, often repetitious and frequently moralizing. But even here the volumes may be read, if one wishes, as a chapter in the diffusion of sociological ideas into policy fields, the essentially sociological points about large organization being perhaps not so self-evidently acceptable to the intended audience as to us. Similarly, one may quarrel here and there with the theory, conclusions, and some of the details of the work. Volume III, for instance, which is the most interesting substantively, is also technically the most exasperating: the authors tend to ignore considerations of sampling errors, present their data in a form which makes it impossible for the reader to do his own estimates of error, and started with a sample too small to permit full cross-tabulational analysis of the complex interaction among the variables in performance. One need neither ignore occasional shortcomings nor completely agree with its conclusions and recommendations to recognize these volumes as a substantial contribution.

SHIRLEY A. STAR

Chicago, Illinois

Men Who Manage: Fusions of Feeling and Theory in Administration. By MELVILLE DALTON. New York: John Wiley & Sons. 1959. Pp. x+318. $6.75.

This book further documents the gap between popular attitudes toward bureaucracy and the attitudes of social scientists working in the field of formal organization. Where the public often sees in bureaucracy a sinister power threatening to devour individuality, creativity, and democratic values through an imperious and impersonal rationality, the specialist sees an all-too-human apparatus, compromising itself out of persistent dilemmas—inefficient and clumsy, yes; sinister, no. *Men Who Manage* is a significant contribution to this latter view.

It is Dalton's accomplishment to show for large companies that the "political process" rather than the orderly unfolding of rule-oriented behavior is the appropriate model of analysis. This is not a new point of view, of course, as Dalton himself indicates in a luxuriantly footnoted and *sotto voce* commentary on previous work. But this is one of the few monographic studies which gets inside the day-to-day and crisis-to-crisis operations of a large industrial firm to illuminate the full range of personal sorties, clique tactics, and departmental assaults which together comprise the incessant warfare between officials and the rules of the game and among the officials themselves.

If anything, Dalton leans so much toward a "power struggle" view of organization that it is puzzling to figure out how the firm ever makes a profit, sells its product, and keeps out of trouble with the quality-regulating agencies of the government.

This perspective is a consequence, in part, of his method, which is in the best tradition of anthropological field work—participant observation within the company, sensitive avoidance of "official" designations of problems and explanations, and extensive use of informants marginal to formal and informal structures. The result, first of all, is that the success bias comes to operate; smooth working routines and conflicts ending in few casualties are probably underreported. Second, Dalton has been socialized by his participation (if not preselected) into the competitive, power frame of reference. This is an obvious danger of participant observation, and, on occasion, he loses his balance. For example, he ends an insightful, if overdrawn, analysis of the functional utility for executives of a college career blending good grades and campus politics with the following belligerent footnote: "Those who cringe at the activities of this alert student were obviously never campus 'wheels' and will not be executives" (p. 165). I didn't cringe, but neither was I fully convinced.

The power view is also accentuated because Dalton has focused on precisely those organizational problems that resist stable bureaucratic solution. These are top-level pressures for economy, staff-line coöperation, local union-management interpretations of high-level collective-bargaining contracts, the career paths of middle and top management, rewarding differential contributions, and the personal adjustment of executives caught within a tangle of conflicting loyalties.

And, finally, these problems were studied mainly through critical incidents, a technique which naturally reveals a more conflict-ridden organizational life than might ordinarily be expected. If, therefore, we cannot judge the normal level of political machination in the firm, we still have a valuable picture of the genesis, course of development, and consequences of struggles to resolve current bureaucratic problems.

Four large firms (three factories and a department store), with a range of from 400 to 20,000 employees, were the scene of the study. The company described in most detail was a manufacturing plant of 8,000 employees with an executive force of over 200. Dalton apparently had a cover assignment in this firm which gave him legitimate access to all levels of employees and allowed him to know and to talk about almost any problem.

In providing his richly detailed picture of organizational life on such a large canvas, the author presses older conceptualizations about bureaucracy to the limit. The distinction between formal and informal behavior, for example, he shows to be not a hard and fast line but, rather, an ambiguous zone of considerable width. To illustrate: The content and boundaries of official action are often so unclear that there is disagreement among the managers as to what constitutes unofficial and/or illegitimate behavior. Actions that stem from unmistakably official policy are shaped into tools of personal struggle to an extent that they become, for some, unofficial. Well-known informal cliques become part of official policy—or, at least, are noted in calculation of official policy. Dalton's description of five types of cliques is an important, though admittedly tentative, step in the elab-

oration of the theory of formal-informal organization.

A second major pressure on bureaucratic theory lies in the revealed tension between the concept of office as a "career" on the one hand and the separation of "means of administration" from the person on the other. In Dalton's factory the imperatives of the first lead inevitably to the deterioration of the second.

A third example is the concept of "latent identity," those attributes of the person external to the formal requirements of office. To date they have been considered statically as fixed and accidental appendages to formal characteristics of status. Dalton shows not only the *patterned* and unequal distribution of latent identities in the firm (especially in the chapter on the staff versus the line) but also their dynamic envelopment into formal identities (chap. ix, sketchily; chap. vi, in detail).

There is one classic story here which should join Whyte's "spindle" in the restaurant study, Blau's efficiency ratings in the civil service agency, Gouldner's gypsum-plant manager, and the ubiquitous bank wiremen. This is the life history of the Field Work Department (an innovation in maintenance organization) whose origins and demise revealed the managers from top to bottom (chap. iii).

The book presents one residual dilemma for the development of the theory of formal organization. What is the relation between the empirically voluptuous but questionably generalizable *Men Who Manage* and the bare-boned but "validated" propositions of March and Simon's *Organizations?*

PHILIP H. ENNIS

University of Chicago

Social Status and Leadership: The Case of the School Executive. By MELVIN SEEMAN. Columbus: Bureau of Educational Research and Service, Ohio State University, 1960. (Educational Research Monograph, No. 35.) Pp. xiv+156. $4.00 (cloth); $3.00 (paper).

This book examines a set of hypotheses linked to the proposition: "Leadership behavior and ideologies are, in significant part, functions of status considerations which stem from the community and culture surrounding the given organizations." In exploring this problem area, Seeman makes important contributions to the sociological analysis of leadership.

The data used to examine conceptions of variables of social status and the ideology and behavior of leadership were primarily derived from instruments completed by school administrators (superintendents, secondary- and elementary-school principals) in twenty-six randomly selected Ohio communities with populations of from 4,000 to 50,000. Interviews were also held with twenty of the school superintendents who participated in the study.

The investigator found that a slightly greater proportion of teachers with non-equalitarian "general status" attitudes held a directive type of leadership ideology than did "the equalitarians," although the large majority of both groups favored a non-directive type of leadership. Seeman interprets this as raising serious doubts about the generality of attitudes. General attitudes of teachers on status were not related to any facets of the behavior of leaders, but administrators with high-status attitudes tended to describe it as deficient in responsibility, authority, and delegation. Contrary to the author's expectation, the findings suggest that high leader status (self-assigned) and the administrator's conception of a wide gap between the status of the teacher and administrator are associated with low separatism, high communication, and receptivity to change. The degree of association between most of the status and leadership variables is quite low, and a number of the statistically significant relationships disappear or vary greatly when an effort is made to hold constant the factors of community and level of leadership. Other problem areas examined include types of and reactions to conflict in roles, correlates of ambivalence, and effectiveness of leadership.

Many issues of method and design can be raised about the study, and Seeman recognizes some, such as the halo effect hovering over many of the findings (e.g., the relationship between teachers' evaluation of the status and effectiveness of their administrators). One would have greater confidence in the relationships uncovered between teachers' conceptions of social status and leaders' ideology and behavior if the possible influence of sex and age on the findings had been examined. Further, it is unclear why no analysis is of-

fered of the relationship between the general status attitudes of school administrators and their ideology of leadership.

These and other limitations of research, however, are more than offset by the theoretical contributions of the study. Seeman clearly demonstrates the largely unrecognized potentialities of concepts such as alienation, inauthenticity, and status equilibrium to shed light on the phenomena of leadership. His work indicates the usefulness of applying basic assumptions of the literature on social stratification to the analysis of leadership. His incisive interpretation of his negative findings suggest that many assumptions about the generality of attitudes and the consequences of social status require re-examination. His discussion of the possible consequences of his research for the training of leaders is also instructive. This is a stimulating book.

NEAL GROSS

Harvard University

Boards, Management, and Company Success. By ELEANOR POWELL GODFREY and FRED E. FIEDLER. In collaboration with D. M. HALL. (Project on Social Perception and Group Effectiveness, Technical Report No. 13.) Danville, Ill.: Interstate Printers & Publishers, 1958. Pp. 134. $3.00.

Professor Fiedler and his colleagues conclude a remarkable series of studies with the publication of this monograph. From 1951 through 1957 they sought the limits of generality for the hypothesis that the psychological distance between a leader and his co-workers is related to a group's performance. Their search began with basketball teams, continued through surveying teams, military crews, and steel shop foremen, and culminates now with a report on thirty-two farm-supply co-operatives.

Their early work had established the utility of a test they had constructed to measure psychological distance, the test being known as "ASo" ("assumed similarity between opposites"). It indicates whether a respondent describes preferred and non-preferred co-workers with the same (high ASo) or different (low ASo) adjectives. The leaders of the most productive groups in their previous studies generally tended to have low scores, to be sociometrically indorsed, and to be ready to reject mediocre subordinates.

Two positions in the farm co-operatives emerge as strategic. The general manager in the efficient company has a low ASo score and is indorsed by his superior, the informal leader of the board of directors. However, this director tends to have a high ASo score and generally appears to be more permissive, receptive, and approachable than does his stricter and more discriminating general manager.

The authors interpret these and related findings primarily in individual terms. They conclude with several prescriptions for selecting board members and managers in which they specify the attributes to be sought when appointments are made. Because so much of their analysis turns on the characteristics of relations between individuals rather than on the individual attributes themselves, their conclusions permit the inference that future studies might adopt the relation as the unit of analysis.

Investigators seeking to explain organizational performance or styles of leadership are the clearest beneficiaries of this work. Students of careers may be intrigued by a possible discontinuity between the position of general manager and its sequel, leader of the board. Does the attribute (low ASo score) which facilitates success in a general manager have the opposite effect if the manager becomes the board leader (high ASo score)? This hypothesis, though it depends upon untested assumptions, is a provocative by-product.

The entire series of studies leaves an impressive residue of findings. Whatever reservations might be expressed about any one study must reckon with the repeated confirmations which Fiedler and his associates have reported. They have approached, perhaps as closely as is possible through one narrow vein, the ideal of cumulation of a modest body of knowledge.

ROBERT W. AVERY

University of Pittsburgh

Leadership and Culture Change in Palau. By ROLAND W. FORCE. Chicago: Chicago Natural History Museum, 1960. Pp. 211. $5.00.

In the last few years American anthropologists have intensified their interest in questions of leadership and political organization. This is promising for the understanding of political behavior, since, if nothing else, an increasing body of descriptions of political systems and political behavior will become available in more and more various situations and contexts.

Roland Force, curator of Oceanic archeology and ethnology at the Chicago Natural History Museum, provides an excellent example of what anthropologists have to offer. In *Leadership and Culture Change in Palau* he provides a meticulous description of an indigenous political system existing cheek by jowl with an imposed "modern" system. He dissects the two systems carefully, showing where the systems reinforce each other and where they come into conflict, without losing sight of the functioning of the political structure which is a product of the two. At the same time he continually brings out the influence of the underlying Palauan culture, with particular emphasis on some of its central values.

Theoretically, Force's position is that of a well-informed eclectic. He draws judiciously on most of the important work on acculturation and, despite some tendency to transform turkeys into peacocks, the result is a happy one. The main criticism is that his theoretical concern is too much slanted toward problems of acculturation in the broadest sense and not enough toward specific issues of political behavior. But the extreme rudimentariness of general, behavioral political theory affords little guidance to those who would use it in analyzing the subtleties of a rich case such as that presented by Force.

Far from being limited in its appeal to such esoteric groups as students of Micronesia or even anthropologists, this book will prove useful to everyone interested in political behavior.

MARC J. SWARTZ

University of Chicago

The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite. By ROBERT VAN NIEL. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1960. Pp. vii+314. $6.75.

In his Foreword the author states his main interest in this work to be methodological. "Traditional colonial history has failed to meet a need of our time and has understandably fallen upon evil days. The historian has reacted by abdicating the function of explaining change in colonial society to the behavioral scientists whose concepts and methods of analysis do not equip him to function as a historian. As a result no new colonial history has emerged. This work is an attempt to fill that gap." The author's statement may be expanded by noting that the shortcomings of most prewar colonial historians lay in their preoccupation with colonial history as an appendage of European history.

Van Niel does well in avoiding the Europe-centered approach of those earlier writers. The influence of change in Dutch society and politics, and in the European sector of society in the Dutch East Indies, receives thorough consideration, but in terms of interaction with changes developing in the indigenous sector. These sectors, in their historical development, are thus seen as both partially interdependent and independent.

The author meets the challenge he sets himself first by focusing his inquiry directly upon his subject. Chronologically, it covers the first quarter of the twentieth century, the period, he assumes, during which cumulative changes in Indonesian society reached a critical stage for the crystallization of a self-consciously modern, more or less Western-oriented aggregate at the top of the indigenous hierarchy.

Further, he assumes that the arena for this development was Java, especially the metropolitan society of the larger Javanese cities, and he confines his historical treatment of the indigenous society largely to that island. These limits seem valid, although they do force bypassing important contributory developments among the Minangkabau of western Sumatra and in the plantation society on the east coast of Sumatra.

He makes no effort to cover the period comprehensively but selects just those historical aspects he feels bear significantly upon his subject. His selection is judicious and broadly ranging: the structural positions of the Dutch, Chinese, Arabic, and indigenous Indonesian sectors and their internal differentiation; the economic interests of the diverse sectors; educational policy and practice toward Indonesians; the development of Netherlands poli-

tics as it affected the Dutch East Indies; the dominant philosophies among the Europeans and Indonesians concerning intercommunal relations in Indies society; the personalities, treated idiosyncratically, of the major figures in the Dutch colonial administration and in the emergent nationalist movement; and, most thoroughly treated, the histories of the main organizations in the Indonesian nationalist movement. Through a series of chronological steps the author gathers together these diverse strands of history with considerable narrative skill, grouping his material consistently at each step.

In his conceptual apparatus the author reveals both the advantages and deficiencies of the historian's approach to social change. His theoretical argument remains simple and unspecialized. His analysis and interpretation clarify the specific historical process descriptively for its own sake rather than provide directly useful comparative data. In interrelating his selected historical factors, he relies upon functional arguments, which, however, are left implicit in the concrete material. Idiosyncratic factors, especially particular personalities, are prominent in the explanation of historical sequences. In short, his analytical method is not likely to convince more theoretically oriented social scientists of the historian's superior ability to fulfil the "function of explaining change." On the other hand, it will impress them with his discipline's ability to order in the first instance scattered historical materials into a unified, descriptively sufficient form. This is the primary task most historians set for themselves, and in doing this well the author has been true to the best in his discipline.

Van Niel's interpretive position, which he nowhere sums up, is interestingly at variance with previous work on the subject. He downgrades the importance of the early political organizations in the Indonesian nationalist movement as direct sources of leadership for the "modern Indonesian elite" (which he loosely defines as the modern professional class of Indonesians). Instead, he sees these organizations and their successors as symptoms as much as stimulators of intellectual ferment. He argues that most modern Indonesian leaders were emerging from the "functional elite" (the occupationally active Indonesian upper class, which he distinguishes from the "political elite," the politically active segment) and that this latter class withdrew its active interest from political organizations after an initial enthusiasm during and shortly after World War I. The political parties during the twenties and thirties were becoming less rather than more potent as sources of orientation toward the modern scene for both the Indonesian elite and the masses. This was consequent, he continues, upon the growing acceptance among Europeans and Indonesians alike of the "dualist" policy, which slowly triumphed over the "ethical movement" during this period. "The group left standing outside the door throughout this entire process [of dualism] was the non-cooperating, politically-inclined Indonesians. The new [dualist] policy pushed them and their movement into the background and during the 1930's they were diminishing in significance. It was the Japanese invasion in 1942 which gave them a new lease on life." This is certainly a debatable position, and one this reviewer feels gives too much processual reality to the "dualist" policy, yet it is carefully argued and likely to invigorate investigation in a field the author believes neglected.

There are other, minor points that could be raised for criticism. For example, in his reconstruction of village society and its position in the wider Javanese society, the author relies upon secondary sources such as Boeke —a weak reed, indeed, on this subject—rather than upon available, though admittedly scanty, primary material. The historical picture he presents is accordingly the old familiar, but distorted, stereotype of the villager striving to remain within his "closed communal world." But the work on the whole is an admirable and skilful effort to focus a broad medley of history effectively and provocatively upon a single problem and is one of much interest to students of other newly emerging states than Indonesia.

ROBERT R. JAY

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A Polish Factory: A Case Study of Workers' Participation in Decision-making. By JIRI KOLAJA. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1960. Pp. xviii+157. $5.00.

It is a rare occasion when a sociologist familiar with American techniques of field study

has an opportunity to study a factory behind the Iron Curtain. Mr. Kolaja, a Czechoslovakian trained both at Marsaryk University and Cornell, visited Poland in the summer of 1957 as an American citizen. Favored by the liberal atmosphere of the October, 1956, Polish revolution, he obtained permission to study productivity in a large textile factory in Lodz. Assisted by a Polish sociologist, he spent eight weeks in the factory.

Influenced by the human-relations approach to industry, he first attempted to compare the productivity of two small work groups. He gradually abandoned this plan when he realized that "organizations existing on the factory-wide basis were of greater relevance to the problems of productivity than small group factors." These groups were management, the labor union, the party, and a Workers' Council recently required by state law to increase workers' participation in management.

Kolaja raises these questions: Has conflict between labor and management disappeared as Marx predicted, and, if not, why not? What mechanisms are used to mitigate conflict? What further might be done to reduce conflict? He finds that Marx was "overoptimistic": conflict is still there. Management is interested in production, workers in income. The most important reason for this, he concludes, is a lack of "communication" between the two. The groups which should promote it—the union, party, and Council—have ill-defined and overlapping functions and are dominated by management. He feels that relations could be improved if management changed its attitude toward workers and increased communication. However, he stresses that workers themselves lacked the motivation and ability to participate in decision-making, even if the structure functioned as intended.

Most of the data come from interviews with members in two small work groups and from observation of some minor events. This amply conveys the drab reality and depressing fictions of a "workers' factory" and demonstrates the failure of the new Council to be other than a tool of management. But much of the analysis is unsophisticated and tedious. In emphasizing communication, workers' attitudes, and style of leadership, the author provides scant illumination of the distinctive features of such an organization, such as the goals, functions, power, and interrelation of three key control groups: management, union, and party. Nevertheless, the study provides a glimpse into a world not often accessible to Western social scientists.

CHARLES PERROW

University of Michigan

Industrialism and Industrial Man: The Problems of Labor and Management in Economic Growth. By CLARK KERR, JOHN T. DUNLOP, FREDERICK H. HARBISON, and CHARLES A. MYERS. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960. Pp. 331. $6.00.

Two major weaknesses of industrial sociology as a discipline have been its failure to make use of the comparative method and its ignoring of historical development. Industrial sociology has too often dealt with industrialism as if there were only one possible form of it. Yet, in the background is a lingering awareness of the fact that in other societies industrialism was proceeding under different auspices, at different tempos, and within different cultural traditions and exotic ideologies. Even where these cases have been considered, they have often been viewed as more or less temporary deviations from the "pure" type of industrialism. It is possible, of course, that this assumption is essentially valid, but it is not one that sociologists can take for granted.

The book reviewed here strikes directly at these two weaknesses, particularly the weakness in comparative treatment. The authors, four labor economists, have written a most ambitious book, which seeks to set forth the outlines of a scheme for analyzing and predicting the course of development of all the major movements of industrialism in the modern world. Several forces, according to them, determine the nature of industrialism: the inherent logic of industrialism, true, but also the stage of development of industrialism, the cultural inheritance, and the types of elites which are directing the process of industrialism. The combinations and permutations of these variables give to the industrialism of each country its peculiar stamp.

Of the four factors the weakest, by all odds, is the cultural inheritance, which poses no insuperable bars to a really determined industrial drive—a point of view which will find no

favor with cultural determinists but which is, nonetheless, probably accurate. Most powerful, in the long run, is the inherent logic of industrialism: Industrialism everywhere tends to create a similar technology and to foster the development of a science which is one science; it tends to create similar bureaucracies, staffed by managers whose functions and outlooks come to resemble each other and working classes which follow similar occupations, practice similar skills, and have similar relations to each other. It necessarily tends to create similar "webs of rules" which govern the economic relationships between management and workers and relationships at the place of work and, finally, similar forms of society: a particular form of education, a particular form of the state, a particular form of the community.

But this is in the long run. At the present time there are striking differences between various industrialisms and industrial societies, some of which may be attributed to differences in the stage of development of industry in various countries. But even more important are the differences in the directing elites, of which the authors distinguish five types: the dynastic, the middle-class, the revolutionary-intellectual, the colonial administrator, and the nationalist leader. Each elite acts in terms of "strategic concepts." The strategy of the dynastic elite is dictated by the need for the preservation of the traditional society; the middle-class elite, by the need for individual self-advancement; the revolutionary-intellectual elite, by the drive toward forced-draft industrialization; the colonial elite, by the need for servicing the home country; and the nationalist elite, by the drive toward national independence and progress. These various strategies account for variations in the source of capital, priorities in production, the "web of rules" governing the relationships between management and the worker, the recruitment of the working force, the nature of workers' organizations, the types of industrial communities and their institutional structure, and much else besides.

The substantive content of the book is not to be regarded as unconditionally valid; nor do the authors claim that it is. The industrial phenomena examined are too complex, too mutable, too lacking in sharp distinctions, to be contained within a set even of sophisticated categories. Consequently, the authors are hard put at times to retain their original outline; they must constantly call attention to mixed types and marginal cases. Nor can their forecast of the future development of industrial societies be taken as the only possible outcome of the forces which they see at work in the world today. However, this is less important than the demonstration they provide of the need for a comparative industrial sociology.

EUGENE V. SCHNEIDER

Bryn Mawr College

De Amerikaanse Arbeidsmarkt: Een Onderzoek naar Arbeidsmobiliteit in de Verenigde Staten ("The American Labor Market: A Study of Labor Mobility in the United States"). By J. G. LULOFS. Meppel: J. A. Boom & Son, 1960. Pp. 264.

Since about the time of World War I the American labor force has been a subject of increasing importance for various types of analysts. Several demographers have developed the patterns implicit in census data (e.g., Bogue and Jaffe); a larger number of economists have studied labor migrations and related these actual movements to those assumed in economic theory (Gordon, Lester, and Slichter, among others); and a few sociologists interested in social mobility have investigated how this is associated with job-to-job moves (in particular, Lipset and Hatt). This common concern, however, has not yet led to a common perspective: many researchers seem unaware of the men working at their side.

The greatest value of this work is that it offers a preliminary integration. After the introductory first chapter, the second describes the labor force, its composition, and its relative change over the past several decades. As a European, Dr. Lulofs was most struck by the greater flexibility of the American labor force, the consequence principally of its larger number of women. Chapter iii, on the structuring of the labor market, divides the relevant factors into three classes: institutional (in particular, trade unions), subjective (the motives operating in the choice of occupation, geographical area, etc.), and the networks of communication relative to job openings. A considerable body of information is

thus presented in an orderly and easily assimilable form. Sometimes the material is out of date (e.g., in the discussion of race discrimination there is no mention of the fair-employment-practices laws now enforced by a number of state or municipal commissions); but in general a good balance is maintained between historical background and current trends.

The next two chapters analyze the related processes of workers' mobility and the allocation of labor among alternative economic uses. These are again a competent consolidation of a wide range of empirical data into a meaningful but simple framework. I was disappointed that the implicit contrast with Europe never came to the surface. In economic theory, wage differentials serve an important function: they induce the underpaid workers to shift to more remunerative jobs. In most European countries, however, and especially in a social welfare state like Holland, wages are more or less set by national laws and nationwide agreements, while in the United States the labor market functions with fewer "artificial" impediments. Where should the balance be struck between these social systems? In a completely unstructured market (e.g., agricultural workers in California) too much welfare is sacrificed to efficiency, but it may be that in Holland too much efficiency is sacrificed to welfare. More generally, how much of the higher mobility or the greater productivity of the American economy can be ascribed to the fact that its labor market is still relatively unstructured? Lulofs considers such questions from afar, but he has chosen not to cope with them directly.

The book ends with an eight-page summary in English and a bibliography. There is no index.

William Petersen

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The Unfinished Revolution: An Essay on the Sources of Influence of Marxism and Communism. By Adam B. Ulam. New York: Random House, 1960. Pp. [viii]+307. $5.00.

Professor Ulam has asked a challenging question: Why is it that so dull and complicated a theory as Marxism has had such recurrent appeal, and especially in just those countries—the "underdeveloped"—where its appeal would be least expected? Though he himself is a political scientist at Harvard, his answer will interest sociologists: it is that Marxism expresses the social psychology of the period of transition to industrialism, combining the peasant's anguished protest over his loss of status and the destruction of his way of life with an impatience for the material benefits of industrial technology. Marxism will therefore be popular wherever the industrial revolution has begun but is as yet "unfinished," for the completion of industrialism both brings those benefits into being and assimilates the population to industrial values.

The explication of this thesis begins with an analysis of the sources from which Marx constructed his theory. The most enlightening pages in the book are devoted to showing how much Marx relied for his premises on the liberal thought, and for his data on the social conditions, of early nineteenth-century England. He absorbed not only the "rational" image of man and the view that material self-interest was the motivating force of human behavior but also the implicit belief that industrialization was synonymous with progress and the consequent "mania" for production and investment. He found the English capitalist to be self-confident to the point of ruthlessness and the worker aggrieved and impotent despite his seeming "freedom." But Marx overgeneralized; what was true of early nineteenth-century England would not always be true of all industrial nations. By the time he formulated his theory, the very process of industrialization had so altered the social situation that Marxism no longer found a response in England. It would do so later, though, in other countries experiencing "detribalization."

When this insight is applied to Russia, however, it does not fare well. For example, Ulam acknowledges that not the Marxist, but the Social Revolutionary, party was the most popular in Russia in 1917. To be sure, the latter expressed the same anarchistic anti-industrial protest that the former did—but that implies that Marxism is simply one among many ideologies available to the discontented; its specific appeal has not been explained. At this point, unfortunately, the author shifts the focus of his argument to account for the *victory* rather than the popularity of the

Marxist party. The Social Revolutionaries were nothing more than anarchists and, hence, exhibited a wide range of opinions and crippling dissensions which "demonstrated the historical incapacity of anarchism to provide viable political and economic formulas." Yet, it must be said, the range and dissensions were no less great in Lenin's party; the major difference would seem to be that the Bolsheviks were ready to seize power, anyway, while the Social Revolutionaries were not, a readiness which can be derived from ideology but not from the "fit" between ideology and social conditions.

For another thing, Ulam's thesis leads him to conclude that Marxism has no function in a society which, like the Soviet Union, has completed its industrialization. The Soviet leaders only "use" it to justify their totalitarian rule. But this reveals the most serious weakness of the book: it fails to explain why the Soviet leaders should continue to insist on totalitarianism at all. On the contrary, the author evidently feels that industrialism tends toward democracy (has he, like his subject, overgeneralized from the English case?), and he merely says, somewhat lamely, "The illogicality of Soviet totalitarianism, of Marxist ideology in a society that has no further need or use for it, may yet for a long time be with us." Illogicality there may be, but it hardly serves as an explanatory principle. On the other hand, this reviewer more than suspects that Marxism is itself inherently totalitarian and that it is precisely that which accounts both for the behavior of Soviet leaders and, as much as anything else, for such popularity as Marxism enjoys in the underdeveloped areas.

Nevertheless, there are, in this book, many sophisticated suggestions concerning the relationships among ideology and political and economic organization. The type of analysis employed cannot but be attractive to sociologists.

Robert A. Feldmesser

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Revolution in a Chinese Village: Ten Mile Inn. By Isabel and David Crook. New York: Humanities Press, 1960. Pp. xxiii+190. $4.50.

The avowed objectives of the Chinese Communist revolution are the overthrow of "feudalism, imperialism, and bureaucratic capitalism," the collectivization of agriculture, and the socialization of industry. This book, by a British couple, long-time residents in China and highly sympathetic with all these aims, describes how one—"the destruction of feudalism"—was realized within a village in north-central China between 1937 and 1947. The book deals with the problem of controlled institutional change.

The pre-1937 "feudal" social structure of the village, taken as the base line from which change occurred, is described accurately in the first two chapters. Of the village population of 1,500 people, 10 per cent were landlords or rich peasants, 20 per cent were middle peasants, and the remaining 70 per cent were poor peasants. Wealth and power were concentrated in the class of landlords and rich peasants. but class consciousness and conflict had been minimized because the three major lineages (erroneously called "clans" by the authors), the secret societies, and the temple association all cut across class lines.

The bulk of the book describes the numerous programs which the Communists introduced into the village in order to destroy the traditional system. The economic lot of the middle and poor peasants was improved by land reform and by the development of mutual-aid teams for agriculture, commerce, and small-scale industry. A major hurdle was to overcome the peasants' belief that they were the helpless victims of fate and to make them politically active. A Women's Association was formed, but only a minority of the women, as of the peasants in general, became politically enthusiastic. A crucial test for the new "mass organizations" was the famine of 1942–43, when party officials worked alongside the peasants in cultivation; the Peasant Union confiscated the landlords' excess grain, prevented profiteering, and thus lessened the starvation disaster. While the Communists idealized heroes of manual labor, mass education was used to attack the "cultural backwardness" of the peasants. New village leaders emerged, poor peasants who had risen to the middle status through commitment to Communist directives. But for many of these upwardly mobile peasants personal gain had priority over party goals.

The Communist campaigns for planned

change had unanticipated consequences. For example, in the analysis of the class position of the villagers it was found that some of the middle and poor peasants had had immediate forebears in the landlord or rich peasant class. Whereas previously the Communists had developed solidarity among the middle and poor peasants, when this new knowledge was made manifest, the village "was split wide open." The middle and poor peasants were now divided, according to whether or not they were descended from "the exploiters of the people." Also, as in revolutions in other societies, members of the old elite families often preserved their position because their managerial ability and literacy made them indispensable, at least in the short run.

The authors are quite uncritical in the last chapter, when they summarize the changes in the village as of 1947. W. R. Geddes' forthcoming book, *Peasant Life in Communist China*, provides data which suggest that the Crooks are overly sanguine in their statement (p. 166) that infanticide has disappeared. Although the peasants were freed from land rent, the authors make no mention of the fact that these gains were partly nullified by the much heavier taxes levied by the Communist government. If all the changes claimed have in fact been effected, it is likely that Ten Mile Inn may be merely a "model village," a propaganda specimen for foreign consumption.

Sociologists should consult more adequate works on this subject, such as C. K. Yang's *A Chinese Village in Early Communist Transition* and the book by Geddes. The Crooks's report is innocent of any sociological analysis, theory, or methodology. In many places it reads like a Communist novel of "socialist realism." It will be indeed unfortunate if the great social transformations in the underdeveloped countries are to be analyzed only in terms of journalistic impressionism and special pleading.

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